DECORATIONS FOR THE HOLY DEAD

Visual Embellishments on Tombs and Shrines of Saints

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We dedicate this volume to
Constancio del Álamo and Mimi Costa Lamia

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AA.SS.	*Acta Sanctorum* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1643–1996)
Bibliotheca Sanctorum	*Bibliotheca Sanctorum* (Rome: Città Nuova, 1961–70)
BHG	*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1909)
BHL	*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1898–1911)
BHO	*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis,* ed. by Paul Peeters (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1910)
LCI	*Lexikon der christlischen Ikonographie,* 8 vols (Rome, Freiburg, Basel, and Vienna: Herder, 1994)
Patrologia Graeca	*Patrologia Graeca,* ed. by J.-P. Migne, 161 vols (Paris, 1857–66)
Patrologia Latina	*Patrologia Latina,* ed. by J.-P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1879–1963)
Syn CP	Hippolyte Delehaye, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1902)

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Foreword

DOROTHY F. GLASS, PRESIDENT
INTERNATIONAL CENTER OF MEDIEVAL ART

For many years, the International Center of Medieval Art has been pleased to sponsor sessions at the International Medieval Congress held at Leeds each summer. The papers collected in this volume truly reflect both the intent and spirit of the Center, an international organization dedicated to the study of medieval art.

Decorations for the Holy Dead: Visual Embellishments on Tombs and Shrines of Saints is a special cause for celebration because it marks the first time that the papers given in a series of sessions sponsored by the Center at Leeds have been published in a single volume. The publication is the result of the vision and hard work of its editors, Stephen Lamia and Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo, who have brought together thirteen stimulating papers on the decoration of saints' tombs. Geographically widespread and chronologically diverse, the papers appearing in this volume were written by a cadre of distinguished scholars from both Europe and North America. They offer new insights into a fascinating theme. The International Center of Medieval Art is thus both pleased and honoured to have sponsored the sessions on which this collection of essays is based.

Acknowledgements

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Introduction

STEPHEN LAMIA & ELIZABETH VALDEZ DEL ÁLAMO

Devotion to saints, their cult, and their memory was a central force of life in medieval Europe. Factual and material evidence in the form of tombs, shrines, reliquaries, pilgrimages, *vitae*, and souvenirs is legion and attests to the all-pervasive nature of the phenomenon. In an attempt to seek out patterns of similarity or temporal variations, this volume focuses on visual images carved and painted at specific *loca sancta* in the Latin West and the Byzantine East. Naturally, one would expect to find narrative, symbolic, legendary, and iconic representations of the holy dead, but is there a *corpus* of less predictable, more unusual motifs that has appeared at saintly sites? If so, do they expand our understanding of devotional and cultic practices at these holy places? Does any particular visual typology dominate the terrain of the sacred departed?

Decorations for the Holy Dead takes as its subtitle *Visual Embellishments on Tombs and Shrines of Saints*, and this compendium of essays explores the ways in which embellishment heightens the experience of the faithful at a saint's resting place. Our inquiry into this topic was prompted by our recent work on *Memory and the Medieval Tomb* wherein sepulchral monuments, or images of them, were considered with regard to the active role they assumed in relation to their audience.[1] The present volume carries forth that investigation of interactivity between visitor and tomb, sharing the burgeoning scholarly interest in the topic. What sets it apart from the previous volume, however, is the focus exclusively on saints' real or symbolic burial places.

While the literature associated with hagiography and art is vast, it is only now beginning to examine the reciprocal relationship between saint, supplicant, and site. Recently, many and varied publications about tombs and shrines for the holy dead have begun to emphasize cultic practice, but very few book-length studies are devoted to the broad category of saints' shrines as interactive artworks. To facilitate reference, we have included a short selected bibliography at the end of this introductory essay. Needless to say, a fully international study of saints' burials has not yet been carried out—perhaps because the subject is so immense—and it is our hope to make a contribution to that much needed domain with the present volume.

Useful overviews of saints' burials include work by David Sox, Sabine Komm, Ben Nilson, and John Crook.[2] Their research concentrates upon either a chronological or geographic context and emphasizes the important taxonomic and evolutionary nature of saints' tombs and shrines. Sox surveys several widely known medieval *loca sancta,* though not necessarily as art. Komm concentrates on a select number of important French eleventh- and twelfth-century monuments, proceeds to classify them into three groups—sarcophagi, shrines, and miniature structures resembling chapels—and discusses their placement within the physical space of the church. Among the tombs she includes are those of Saint Remigius in Saint-Rémi, Reims; Saint Menulphus in Saint-Menoux; Saint Guilhem at Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert; and Saint Lazarus at Autun. Komm also discusses specific forms of veneration at holy sites including physical aspects such as access, touch, circumambulation, and ensconcement, and her focus is the sepulchre itself, not any decorative embellishment that may prompt such behaviour. Nilson offers a regionally oriented study on English shrines dated between 1066–*c.* 1540, skilfully combining historical accounts of the canonization of saints, the means by which churches came into the possession of relics, and the financial implications for ownership of shrines with art historical data such as the design and structure of these feretories and their relationship with the ecclesiastic buildings which housed them. Crook, similarly, examines the relationship between architecture, the cult of relics, and saints' tombs and shrines but with a wider chronological and geographic swath. He surveys monuments in Italy, France, and Britain from the Early Christian period to the late twelfth century, charting the various architectural accommodations to the growing popularity of relic cults. These include the earliest simple subterranean crypts and their subsequent elaboration into shrine-crypts during the Carolingian era. He then discusses the tenth- and eleventh-century phenomenon of whole-body cults and the change in their location to the church proper, which, he argues, ultimately contributes to their evolution into shrines. Included in his analysis are many of the cultic practices our authors treat, but, like Komm, he situates these activities as responses to the tomb *qua* tomb. Most of the above-mentioned works, however, focus on typology more than on the psychological implications embedded in sepulchral monuments and their decor—a dimension which our volume offers.

In the broad category of art historical literature about saints and their *memoria*, Barbara Abou-El-Haj's book, *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations,* presents valuable insight into cults by means of manuscript illustrations of saints' *vitae*.[3] In a similar vein, *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, edited by Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell, focuses upon literary and visual images of holy women and men.[4] The classic works on tombs by Erwin Panofsky and Henriette s'Jacob emphasize tomb effigies and memorial portraiture, without, however, focusing specifically on saints.[5] The studies that are most informative on that account are those concerned with pilgrimage and reliquaries, but these do not necessarily treat the saint's tomb.[6] That all-time favourite, the *Pilgrim's Guide* to Santiago de Compostela is a treasure trove of information on twelfth-century relics, saints' shrines, and the regard in which they were held.[7] The embellishment of saints' burial places as part of an environment for liturgical and cultic practice is the focus of recent substantial studies in addition to those cited above. Thomas Dale's *Relics, Prayers, and Politics in Medieval Venetia: Romanesque Painting in the Crypt of Aquileia Cathedral* is one example, while the work of Sible de Blaauw, *Cultus et decor: liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale. Basilica Salvatoris, Sanctae Mariae, Sancti Petri*, as its title suggests, interweaves three Early Christian ecclesiastic structures with liturgical developments in Rome.[8]

Our project, *Decorations for the Holy Dead,* began as three sessions on the artistic setting for saints' burials in the Latin West, held at the 1999 International Medieval Congress at the University of Leeds, and sponsored by the International Center of Medieval Art. The original group of papers focussed on monuments in Spain, France, and Italy, and discussed the active role saints' tombs and their embellishments assumed within the fabric of medieval society. In order to widen the geographical and historic distribution of topics, essays covering monuments in Greece, Hungary, and England have been added to this volume. The contributing authors focus their articles on images carved and painted at specific *loca sancta* in medieval Europe. And so it is that they have discovered rich and often unusual narrative, symbolic, apocryphal, and iconic representations of the holy dead. But it is also true that they have interpreted their findings so as to situate the tombs, shrines, altarpieces, and artefacts in direct relationship to spectators, visitors, and pilgrims who came to these revered resting places for devotion and for penance, for healing and for supplication. The means by which this dialogue between relic and individual ensued was via visual embellishments, that is to say, decorations for the holy dead.

To decorate is to grace with something that adorns or honours.[9] In adorning the burial places of saints, medieval Christians maintained the ancient tradition and human instinct to honour the heroic dead.[10] Decoration, as Oleg Grabar propounded, mediates between artwork and audience.[11] The ornament of a saint's tomb formulated the saint's memory, conditioned the response of the faithful visitor, and signalled the comportment appropriate for that sacred place.

For example, the important relationship between the sense of sight and the decor of tombs and shrines in the Byzantine East and Early Medieval West as a persuasive means to manipulate pilgrims' faith has been carefully studied by Cynthia Hahn.[12] And while contemporary scholarship is providing a much needed examination about the emphasis of sight in the supplicants' experience, it should be recalled that, for the faithful, a visit to a shrine involved a complete sensory experience in the realm of synaesthesia.[13] The papers included in this volume examine that reciprocal relationship between saint and spectator in the Middle Ages.

Saints' relics brought heaven and earth together; their embellished monuments provided the strategic area of confluence. One might even venture to say that the Early Christian practice of 'enjoying the saints' never went away, much to the chagrin of theologians who would have preferred less 'pagan' manifestations of faith instead of the feasting, drinking, dancing, singing, and games that worshippers carried to excess.[14] Augustine sought to sanctify Christian festivals by insisting that they existed solely to promote imitation of the martyrs, but—as Peter Brown points out in the Prolegomenon to this volume—such statements were a means to control vulgar behaviour. As medieval Christianity shifted its initial focus from persecution and martyrdom to proselytization and then reform, the type of saint changed, but not popular faith in the thaumaturgic power of relics.[15] The joy of being in the real presence of a saint—the desire to transform pain into delight, as characterized by Brown—is a constant in Christian cults. Augustine and his like were fighting a losing battle. Popular devotional practices thus prevailed, and were, in fact, necessary to sustain the churchly community.

The sacred site of a saint's burial prompted all kinds of activities, from the predictable acts of prayer or votive offerings, to performative rituals such as circumambulation, entering the tomb space, imbibing or ingesting part of the relic-tomb or its dust, and even the witnessing of legal transactions. By their embellishments and designs, many of the *loca sancta* analyzed in this volume induced and prompted the sort of behaviour on the part of seekers of cures, contrite penitents, and the purely devout that can be characterized as synaesthetic since a number of sensory experiences—chanting or praying aloud (sound), viewing and reading episodes from the saint's *vita* emblazoned on their tombs and shrines (sight), kinesthetic activities at, and osculation of the sepulchre (touch), drinking potions and elixirs composed of holy remains (taste), and burning candles and incense before sacred resting-places (smell)—were involved during their visit. These folkloristic rituals were just the sort of thing that the Church Fathers found suspiciously pagan, but they nurtured both the economy of the soul and that of earthly institutions as well. On the one hand, by involving the *loca sancta* for all of these goings-on, medieval women and men vicariously engaged the saints themselves and incorporated them into their own lives. On the other hand, the holy dead also benefited, for not only was the memory of their existence perpetuated, but their cults were promoted through the frequent attention and embellishment they received. The ornamental environment at these tombs, shrines, altarpieces, and artefacts reinforced the *praesentia* and *potentia* which the saints possessed and which, thereby, effected the supplicants' wishes.

The arrangement of a saint's burial, or construction of a shrine, was also the construction of a cult. Many of the essays collected here cast light on the aspirations, successes, or failures of relic guardians, the churchmen who sought to promote a saint's cult, or ignored its possibilities. As becomes clear from several essays, the contemporary distinction between saint's cenotaph and actual burial place has been too strictly applied. In her essay, Francesca Español documents that translations of saints' bodies often made provisions to recognize that an earlier burial place not only maintained its sanctity, but also frequently retained some relics. In addition, the long-standing belief in secondary relics, items that had been in contact with a saint's body, would have, in itself, rendered the original or even a secondary burial ground sacred. A valuable contribution has been made by Daniel Rico to our understanding of the relationship between the Christian and Jewish communities of Ávila, and particularly the role that Jews played in the creation of a saint's shrine, not just once, but over centuries. Whether similar roles were played by Jewish artisans in other cults and other regions would be a valuable field for further research. One of the essential elements of sainthood is Christomimesis, visualized in many ways in the artworks discussed here. One finds not only the traditional device of parallel poses, as in Saint Margaret's altarpiece or on cloister capitals, but also in copies of Christ's tomb with its openings, several examples of which are provided in this volume. The synaesthetic power of cultic ritual and faith in the saint is engineered by their monuments and artistic surround.

The papers presented in this volume have been subdivided into three categories that reflect the general tenor of their emphasis, though clearly, as the many cross-references between articles indicate, much overlapping exists. In the first group of papers, *Pilgrims, Piety, and Cultic Practice,* the authors examine the processes by which embellished tombs and shrines activate physical delight in the presence and power of a saint. That delight was channelled into action by the design of the saint's space. Performative monuments incite ritualistic movements or journeys, whether of a specifically circumscribed space or of a somewhat more expansive nature. The ritual of circumambulation around a tomb affords the faithful multiple points by which to view the sepulchre and its various decorations—recalling the saint's story and posthumous potency. Such *praxis* in turn could form new memories of saint and site for the visitor. The first essay by Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras provides several important examples of cultic practice in medieval Iberia, establishing a broad-based platform for the more specific studies to follow. Sánchez surveys the active relationship between figures carved on saints' tombs and pilgrims, documenting the ways in which images affirm the power of the tomb's occupant. At San Millán de la Cogolla, the saint's relics had been removed from his pre-Romanesque church, located on a steep mountainside, to a newer, more conveniently located monastery downhill. The thirteenth-century cenotaph designed for the old church includes figural representations of miracles that took place there, affirming the continuing potency of the place. Transactions between the devout and the saint at other thirteenth-century tombs such as those of San Pedro at the Cathedral of El Burgo de Osma and Santo Domingo at the Monastery of Silos are depicted through narrative—serious and comic—to provoke an empathetic response from the visitor. Stephen Lamia, in 'The Cross and the Crown, the Tomb and the Shrine: Decoration and Accommodation for England's Premier Saints', describes the immediacy of experience granted to visitors to the now-destroyed tombs and shrines of Edward the Confessor and Thomas Becket. This immediacy was facilitated through special arrangements at these monuments: openings, or *fenestellae,* provided for intimate ritual and thaumaturgic access to the saints' relics on the part of pilgrims. Crawling into such a tomb space could only have been a transformative experience for many faithful. Precious documents for these lost shrines are their representations in stained glass and manuscripts. Lamia traces the changes in the images of the shrines to record not only their conjectured appearance and devotional practice there, but also the sense of history on the part of the image-makers. Daniel Rico Camps, in 'A Shrine in its Setting: The Tomb of San Vicente de Ávila', describes how the cultic space of the saint's tomb expands outward from the original burial site to the city walls where the martyrdom of Vincent, together with his sisters Sabina and Cristeta, took place. Vincent's tomb is designed as a microbasilica picturing the saints' passion and the story of the Jew who charitably buried their broken bodies. By extending the *locus sanctus* to the larger urban environment, the shrine becomes the vehicle through which a metatransformation is achieved. Everything about the shrine of Saint Vincent—its iconography, orientation, and location within the church—has a symbolic rationale which converts the basilica of San Vicente into a macrosepulchre into which even the city of Ávila is incorporated. Vincent's was not the only shrine in the church's south transept: Sabina and Cristeta were also honoured, as was the Jewish founder. Rico traces the afterlife of these *memoria*, and reconstructs the women's shrine, of which significant fragments remain. In '*Caput sancti regis Ladislai*: The Reliquary Bust of Saint Ladislas in Late Medieval Hungary', Scott B. Montgomery and Alice A. Bauer discuss the political and cultic significance of a reliquary bust now in the cathedral of Györ. They demonstrate how the power of this reliquary protected the kingdom and its own physical safety as well. Unlike tombs bound to their architectural spaces, this reliquary head has mobility; it performs the rituals together with the faithful. Instead of being at the centre of a circumambulation, it moves with the populace in procession around its protectorate city. In times of war, the relic disappears from its shrine to do battle, then returns. The transaction with Saint Ladislas supersedes any individual, or even a city, to embrace an entire nation.

The second section, *Cloister – Holy Place for the Holy Dead*, positions a little-studied function of the pre-Gothic cloister—that of burial place—as a major function for this part of an early medieval monastery. Eduardo Carrero Santamaría, in 'The Bishop Saints of Galicia and León, their Cults and Material Remains (Ninth to Eleventh Centuries)', reviews the stories of nineteen bishop-saints who had been monks and who all chose to be buried in their monasteries rather than in their cathedrals. The burial of a saint could produce prosperity for a monastery, but the popularity of these individuals varied according to local political concerns. In analyzing the circumstances of each saint's cult and the objects associated with him, Carrero provides a fundamental survey of early medieval sainthood in relation to the Reconquest of Spain. In 'The Saint's Capital, Talisman in the Cloister', Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo examines one decoration created in the cloister of Silos for the holy dead, the patron saint Domingo, originally buried there and later translated into the church. The location of the sanctified grave site was marked in the cloister gallery by a large ornamental capital on which the saint's epitaph was inscribed. The words and ornament order the viewer's experience and define the entire north gallery as a funerary space. The epitaph not only signals the area of Domingo's first burial, but also invokes the saint's power to protect the faithful. The fearsome sirens and ferocious animals in combat carved on the capital zoomorphically and metaphorically underline the ordinary mortal's need for the saint as guardian advocate. Another capital, in this instance at Moissac's cloister, specifies a program to honour Saints Peter and Paul with ornamented sculpture, painting, and song, as analyzed by Leah Rutchick in 'A Reliquary Capital at Moissac: Liturgy and Ceremonial Thinking in the Cloister'. Unlike Silos, Moissac could not claim a whole body, but nevertheless celebrated the relics of their patron, the apostle of Rome. At the time the cloister was designed, the monastery was creating new hymns to Saint Peter, and these received ornate decoration in the monastic service books. In the cloister, a capital dedicated to Peter and Paul displays a cavity clearly intended to contain relics which must have played a part in the rituals enacted for the saints. Leslie Bussis Tait also underscores the ways in which a monastery, lacking the full body of a saint, makes known the presence of his relics at his eponymous monastery in 'Cloister as Shrine to a Patron Saint: Perpetuating the Memory of Saint Pontius at Saint-Pons-de-Thomières'. The exceptionally extensive cycle of twelfth- and thirteenth-century capitals representing the life of Saint Pontius evokes ways in which the monks could identify with his struggle against idolatry, a problem contemporary with these carvings. The saint, patron and guiding light, personifies his monastery.

Our third group of essays, *Shifting the Saint, Moving the Faithful*, examines the contextualization of the saint's imagery at the *locus* of veneration, and the changing needs of cults towards the end of the Middle Ages. An excellent example of contextualization is provided by Nadezhda Guerassimenko in 'The Representation of Physician Saints in the Katholikon of the Monastery of Hosios Loukas, Phokis'. The thaumaturgic saint Loukas Stiris was originally buried in the crypt of the Katholikon at Phokis. Subsequently, his relics were translated to a shrine within the church proper, and his healing power and saintly status invoked by locating images of him among other physician saints, especially in the narthex of the church—the public entrance. In this way, the content of the church decoration as a whole integrates the regional saint into the larger family of saintly healers. Another advocate for physical well-being is Saint Margaret: Leanne Gilbertson, in 'The Vanni Altarpiece and the Relic Cult of Saint Margaret: Considering a Female Audience', traces an altarpiece to its original location at the cathedral of Montefiascone, where the tomb of this holy heroine was installed. Because the church was temporarily rededicated, in 1262, to another saint, Flaviano, Margaret was shifted, a fate similar to that of the other saints in this section. The images of Margaret, object of veneration, now include a historiated *vita* as an encoded message to the viewing populace. The operation of her cult, especially as related to childbirth and the possibilities for self-identification on the part of the various types of female viewers, are embedded in the pictures painted on her retable.

The end of the Middle Ages transformed the visual language of the saint's tomb, and this is charted in the last papers of our volume. For reasons eloquently expressed in a fifteenth-century document, Saint Juliana's Romanesque sepulchre was dismantled by Alonso de Cartagena, Bishop of Burgos, and a simpler Gothic tomb, also no longer extant, was substituted in the same location. Francesca Español, in 'The Sepulchre of Saint Juliana in the Collegiate Church of Santillana del Mar', begins with two documents and a handful of sculptural fragments scattered around the Colegiata. In the course of her systematic detective work, she reconstructs not just one, but both tombs for the saint. The Romanesque feretory, the ornamental housing of the actual sarcophagus, was later deemed an obstruction by the devout bishop—a modification of taste that exemplifies the changing reception of elaborate saints' tombs on the part of officialdom. Apparently, the canons did not reduce the ornamental surround of the sarcophagus as much as the bishop would have liked, and the new Gothic shrine demonstrates the enduring nature of popular cultic practices, despite the translation of most of Juliana's relics to the high altar. This phenomenon runs parallel with trends in Italy identified by Ulrich Pfisterer in 'Civic Promoters of Celestial Protectors: The *Arca di San Donato* in Arezzo and the Crisis of the Saint's Tomb around 1400'. Richly historiated tombs for saints in Italy in the late thirteenth century were objects of civic pride and envy. The *Arca di San Donato*, begun after 1362, represents a culmination of escalating tomb decoration. However, the nearly half-century period between *c.* 1380–1430/40 witnesses the development of more simplified tomb shrines. This situation is explained by Pfisterer as a result of the combination of formal (excessively sumptuous), economic (financial collapse in the wake of the plague), ecclesiastical (a quest for *ecclesia primitiva*), and political concerns (a crisis of the institution of the commune itself).

The interdisciplinary nature of the thirteen studies along with the changing aspects of the medieval cult of saints are important dimensions of this volume. We offer this compendium to document the ways in which saints' burials were experienced and enjoyed by the medieval faithful. What is clear from their practices is that those who sought aid from the holy dead were little interested in imitating those saints. They wanted protection and healing, and so turned to beings more potent than themselves, their 'special friends'. The powerful sense impression made upon the pilgrim by visual decor and active participation in the sacred presence imprints both mind and body—a sensation that can only be described as awe.[16] Nor is this power a thing of the past. Only a few years ago, prayers, flowers, and photographs implored Saint Radegonde in her crypt tomb at Poitiers for aid in finding a child who had disappeared. Even today, the experience of Bede's massive sarcophagus at Durham Cathedral, however modern, does not fail to impress with its solemnity.

The nature of this volume, the commemoration of the holy dead of the medieval past, has prompted us to connect it with recent events. The void where once stood the World Trade Center has become a *locus sanctus*. As New Yorkers, we have witnessed the creation of new shrines and cults in the aftermath of September 11, 2001. In a few weeks since then, the vigils at the 1913 Firemen's Memorial in Riverside Park, the impromptu memorials in Union Square and other parts of the City, and the many visitors to the site of the Twin Towers all demonstrate the currency of the phenomena described in this book. The urge to decorate a sacred site, the desire to order chaotic experience through the arts, is not something exclusive to the misty past. It is ours.

Stephen Lamia
and Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo
All Souls Day, 2 November 2001

Postscript

International saints' names have been Anglicized, but for local, regional saints we have retained their traditional names in order to maintain a clear distinction—thus, Saint Dominic, founder of the Dominican Order, but Santo Domingo de Silos. Moreover, in order to avoid the jarring effect of mixed languages within a given article, we retain regional use of spellings such as Castilla, Navarra, and the like.

NOTES

1. *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, ed. by Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo with Carol Stamatis Pendergast (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000). The volume includes an essay by Stephen Lamia, 'Souvenir, Synaesthesia, and the *sepulcrum Domini*: Sensory Stimuli as Memorial Stratagems', pp. 19–41.

2. David Sox, *Relics and Shrines* (London and Boston: G. Allen and Unwin, 1985); Sabine Komm, *Heiligengrabmäler des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich: Untersuchung zu Typologie und Grabverehrung* (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1990); Ben Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1998); John Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West, c. 300–c. 1200* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

3. Barbara Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

4. *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991).

5. Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (1964; repr. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1992); Henriette s'Jacob, *Idealism and Realism: A Study of Sepulchral Symbolism* (Leiden: Brill, 1954). In this category may be included Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. by Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994)

6. Amy J. Remensnyder, 'Legendary Treasure at Conques: Reliquaries and Imaginative Memory', *Speculum*, 71 (1996), 884–906; *Gesta*, 36 (1997) is exclusively devoted to a study of reliquaries and contains articles by Caroline Walker Bynum and Paula Gerson, Barbara Drake Boehm, Cynthia Hahn, Ellen M. Shortell, Scott B. Montgomery, and Thomas Head. See also Marie Madeleine Gauthier, *Highways of the Faith: Relics and Reliquaries from Jerusalem to Compostela*, trans. by J. A. Underwood (Secaucus, NJ: The Wellfleet Press, 1986).

7. Most recently, Paula Gerson, Jeanne Krochalis, Annie Shaver-Crandell, and Alison Stones, *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela: A Critical Edition* (London: Harvey Miller, 1998); Anne Shaver-Crandell and Paula Gerson, *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela: A Gazetteer* (London: Harvey Miller, 1995); *Santiago, Camino de Europa. Culto y Cultura en la Peregrinación a Compostela*, exh. cat., ed. by Serafín Moralejo and Fernando López Alsina (Santiago: Monasterio de San Martín Pinario, 1993); *The Codex Calixtinus and the Shrine of St James*, ed. by John Williams and Alison Stones (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1992).

8. Thomas E. A. Dale, *Relics, Prayers, and Politics in Medieval Venetia: Romanesque Painting in the Crypt of Aquileia Cathedral* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); Sible de Blaauw, *Cultus et decor: liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale. Basilica Salvatoris, Sanctae Mariae, Sancti Petri* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994).

9. *Webster's New International Dictionary*, 2nd edn (Springfield, MA: Merriam, 1956), s.v. 'decorate'.

10. For a contemporary example of this impulse, see Janice Mann, 'Malice Green Did like Jesus: A Detroit Miracle Story', *Reclaiming the Spiritual in Art*, ed. by Dawn Perlmutter and Debra Koppman, SUNY Series in Aesthetics and Philosophy of Art (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), pp. 117–27.

11. Oleg Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament*, Bollingen Series, 38 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

12. Cynthia Hahn, 'Seeing and Believing: The Construction of Sanctity in Early-Medieval Saints' Shrines', *Speculum*, 72 (1997), 1079–1106. Although we were not able to consult her recent book, *Portrayed on the Heart*, we have added it to our bibliography.

13. On synaesthesia, medieval tombs, and visitors to their sites see Lamia, 'Souvenir, Synaesthesia, and the *sepulcrum Domini*' and his article in this volume, as well as Valdez del Álamo and Pendergast, 'Introduction', in *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*.

14. Peter Brown, 'Enjoying the Saints in Late Antiquity', in this volume; idem, 'Images as a Substitute for Writing', *East and West: Modes of Communication*, ed. by Evangelos Chrysos and Ian Wood (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 15–34; Ian Wood, 'Images as a Substitute for Writing: A Reply', in *East and West*, pp. 35–46.

15. Brigitte Cazelles, *Le Corps de sainteté d'après Jean Bouche d'Or, Jehan Paulus et quelques vies des XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Geneva: Droz, 1982); André Vauchez, *Saints, prophètes et visionnaires: Le pouvoir surnaturel au Moyen Age* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1999); idem, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* , trans. by Jean Birrell (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); idem, *La Spiritualité de l'Occident médiévale (VIIIe–XIIIe siècle)*, 2nd edn (Paris: Seuil, 1994).

16. For a discussion of imprinting the mind in connection with funerary monuments, see Valdez del Álamo and Pendergast, 'Introduction', in *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, pp. 5–8

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PROLEGOMENON

Enjoying the Saints in Late Antiquity

PETER BROWN

The discovery at Mainz by François Dolbeau of a new collection of sermons of Augustine has enabled us to study, in far greater detail, the attitude of Augustine to the reform of the cult of the martyrs between 391 and 404. This study aims to understand Augustine's insistence on the need to imitate the martyrs against the background of his views on grace and the relation of such views to the growing differentiation of the Christian community. It also attempts to do justice to the views of those he criticized: others regarded the triumph of the martyrs over pain and death as a unique manifestation of the power of God, in which believers participated, not through imitation but through celebrations reminiscent of the joy of pagan festivals. In this debate, Augustine by no means had the last word. The article attempts to show the continuing tension between notions of the saints as imitable and inimitable figures in the early medieval period, and more briefly, by implication, in all later centuries.

Let us begin with Augustine, preaching in Carthage in 412:

> Brethren, see how it is that when a feast of the martyrs or some holy place is mentioned, to which crowds might flow to hold high festival. See how they stir each other up, and say, 'Let us go, let us go'. And each one asks the other, 'Where to?' They say, 'To that place, to that holy place'. They speak to each other, and as if each one of them were set alight, they form together one single blaze.[1]

Augustine addressed a congregation that needed little encouragement to enjoy such occasions. The Christians of Carthage and elsewhere came from societies which had, for millennia, identified religious festivals with moments of frank remission. In the words of Strabo:

> although it has been said that human beings then act most like the gods when they are doing good to others, yet one may better say that they are closer still to the gods when they are feeling good—when they rejoice and hold high festival.[2]

For Plutarch, the high cheer of festivals proved conclusively that the Epicureans were wrong. The gods were not, as the Epicureans claimed, mere persecutory projections of human fears, chill Superegos characterized by vengeance and wrath. The relaxed mood of a religious feast proved the exact opposite. On such occasions, human beings stood in the real presence of serene and eminently fun-loving beings.[3] Greek etymologists derived the verb *methuein,* 'to be drunk', from *meta to thuein,* 'to be in on the sacrifices', even from *methienai,* 'to participate'—to share, for a blessed moment, in the heady, joyous essence of the gods.[4]

Given such long-established expectations, it is not a matter for surprise that, in every region and in every period of Late Antiquity, Christians, too, should just want to have fun. They also were *philheortoi,* impenitent 'lovers of high festival'. In southern Gaul, at saints' festivals in the countryside outside Arles, crowds would stream in from the surrounding villages. They sung songs, they danced, they drank heavily, with many toasts for the saints. The young men fought each other, and their elders settled law suits.[5] It would have been a scene not unlike the great *patterns* that were still to be seen in early nineteenth-century Ireland, named, significantly, from the *patrún,* the *patronus,* the patron-saint of the region. Such a one was the Pattern of Cloghane, in the Dingle peninsula: 'a day of games, athletics, vaulting over horses, dancing, singing and courtship, of faction fighting and feasting'. It was a day renowned, also, for its fine meat pies.[6]

At the other end of the Christian world, at the great pilgrimage site of Qala'at Sem'an, the peasants danced around the column of Saint Symeon Stylites. When the first outriders of the Muslim armies fell upon the pilgrims, in 637, Christians of stricter views thought that it had served them right: they had angered God by their drunkenness at the festival.[7]

As this last, sharp remark shows, the enjoyment of the cult of the saints remained a problematic issue in Christian circles, as it had not been, to so great an extent, among pagans. Preachers at such festivals, even at the most euphoric of them, were careful to point out how little Christian occasions resembled what they considered to be the coarser junketings of Jews and pagans. Preaching at Christmas, Gregory Nazianzen enumerated in quick succession twenty two different ways in which the feast was *not* to be enjoyed.[8] Twenty-two negative clauses in one paragraph is a lot of negatives—even for a Cappadocian father. Yet, when it came to the issue of control of the festivals of the saints in Late Antiquity (in effect, in this case, control of the feasts—the *natalia,* the *natalicia*—of the martyrs) the most prominent figure is, without a doubt, Augustine of Hippo.

We have long known of the determination which Augustine showed, from the moment of his ordination to the priesthood at Hippo, in 391, to reform the manner in which the cult of the martyrs was celebrated in Hippo and Carthage. As a priest, he abolished the songs and solemn drinking associated with the *Laetitia,* the day of solemn good cheer, that accompanied the memory of Leontius, a former Bishop of Hippo.[9] At the same time, he had gone out of his way to obtain the collaboration of his senior colleague, Aurelius of Carthage and, by implication, of the other Catholic bishops of Africa, in undertaking what was nothing less than a thorough-going reform of Catholic piety, especially as it related to the cult of the martyrs.[10] The Mainz collection of sermons of Augustine, discovered and now edited by François Dolbeau, has added precious evidence to the dossier of a reform of Christian worship that may have been unique for its time in its determination and trenchancy.[11]

It is certainly the most fully documented example of such a reform in Christian Late Antiquity. The new sermons have provided us with an unexpected glimpse of Augustine in action, when faced with the long-established religious habits of his fellow Christians. It is a disturbing glimpse. Here was a Christian preacher who was quite prepared to bring to bear, within his own, Catholic congregation, a searching critique of 'superstition' and of *imperitia,* of culpable ignorance in matters of religious practice, such as had usually been deployed, by Christians, only against the cultic practices of pagans outside the Church.[12] In a sermon preached on 23 January 404, Augustine rejoiced that, through the firmness of Aurelius and his colleagues, the exuberant practices (the singing, the drinking, and the easy mingling of the sexes in night-long vigils) associated with the shrine of Saint Cyprian—the greatest cult-site in Christian Africa—had been brought to an end:

> Where in those days the din of dirty songs was heard, nowadays it is the singing of hymns that lifts the roof [...] in a word, where God used to be offended, God is now being propitiated.[13]

In other regions of the late antique Christian world, language such as this would only have been used to celebrate the victory of Christian over non-Christian, pagan cult.[14]

Faced by what he considered to be disorderly and irreligious behaviour, associated with the cult of the martyrs, Augustine repeated, over and over again throughout his life, variations of a single, basic formulation: festivals occur, he said,

> ut per eas congregatio membrorum Christi admoneatur imitari martyres Christi. Haec omnino festivitatis utilitas. Alia non est.
>
> (so that through those festivals the congregation made up of members of Christ should be prompted to imitate the martyrs of Christ. That is the one and only *raison d'être* of a festival. There is no other.)[15]

For a religious historian, the problem with Augustine is that he is almost invariably entirely right. It is difficult to gainsay a statement that is the condensed essence of a religious system which has, to a large extent, formed the religious common sense of Western Europe. Seen in its eschatological context—that is, as Augustine tended to see it, from the lofty but ultimate standpoint of the Heavenly Jerusalem, the City of God—it was obvious that those who wished to join the martyrs in heaven must, in their own way, follow Christ as the martyrs had done. In the words of the Visigothic liturgy of Toledo, those frail worshippers who had tended, in the dangers of the present life, to look to the saints as guardians and as patrons, as *comites* and *patroni*—as sources of help in day-to-day matters rather than as models of behaviour—must also strive to live in such a way as to be welcomed into heaven by the saints as their *socii*. They had to become true companions of the saints, worthy of the company of Christ, because transformed by Christ's grace in the same manner as his grace had once, to a high degree, transformed the martyrs of old.[16]

But heaven is a long way off, and Western Christendom is a complicated phenomenon, made up of many currents of belief and practice, spread over an extensive geographical area and subject to constant change over the millennium of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. The clear intuitions of one religious genius can not be expected to embrace such diversity, still less should Augustine's standard of correct worship be allowed, by scholars of late antique and medieval religion, to act as the tacitly agreed yardstick by which to judge the intrinsic religious worth of the many, various ways in which late antique and medieval persons conducted the cult of the saints.

What strikes the historian of medieval religion is the fact that the notion of the imitation of the saints, though it may seem eminently sensible from a religious point of view, fits awkwardly into the overall development and elaboration of the cult of saints in Europe. The ideal of the imitation of the saints was usually invoked so as to place a check upon powerful opposing notions. Often, it was invoked to spoil the fun—to criticize what were presented, by preachers and moralists, as the more 'earthy', less religious forms of Catholic worship.

In the case of Caesarius of Arles, in the early sixth century, the notion of the imitation of the martyrs was invariably invoked by him so as to attack current practices. He presented such imitation as the only permissible alternative to the rambunctious scenes that we have already described, in connection with saints' festivals in Arles and in the surrounding countryside.[17] With Caesarius (and also with many phrases of the Roman liturgy) one gets the impression that the idea of imitating the saints was interposed, like a screen, to hold the believer back from more exuberantly physical forms of worship. In much the same manner, Gregory the Great had insisted that religious pictures should be read, *ut scriptura*. In so doing, he attempted to substitute a more detached, intellectual activity—the act of reading—for the more direct, physical manifestations of adoration—the bowing, the kissing, the candles, and the heavy whiff of incense—usually associated with sacred paintings.[18] In both cases—in the insistence that the martyrs should be 'imitated' and that religious paintings should be 'read'—we are dealing with a formula of control that privileged the intellectual over the physical, and that insisted that contemplation of the meaning of objects of Christian worship was superior to all other forms of access to them—whether this was unmediated participation in the joy of festivals or loving 'adoration' of holy images.

We must, therefore, make an effort of the imagination to recover something of the full *religious* weight of the expectations of those who, in fourth-century North Africa and, indeed, in all subsequent centuries of the western Middle Ages, enjoyed the saints without necessarily feeling obliged to imitate them. I use the word 'religious' advisedly. The effect of Augustine's rhetoric has been to drain away from our image of such feasts the heavy charge of sacrality that lay at their centre. He singled out for denunciation the elements of moral disorder and of inappropriate excitement associated with the cult of the martyrs. The impression that he leaves is that the *hommes moyens sensuels* of Carthage came to the feasts to have fun, when they should have come to have religion. As a former *jeune homme sensuel,* Augustine knew of what he spoke. I never dreamed, until the publication of the Dolbeau sermon *On Obedience,* that I would hear Augustine, the Catholic bishop in 404, speak with such candour about his own behaviour in the 370s:

> When I went to vigils as a student in this city, I spent the night rubbing up beside women, along with other boys anxious to make an

> impression on them and, who knows, should the opportunity present itself, to 'make it' with them.[19]

But such engaging candour on Augustine's part should not cause us to forget that such 'happenings' belonged to the highly specific excitement of a specific occasion: disorderly though they were, they were only the outermost shock waves, on the fringes of the martyr's festival, that registered the detonation, in its midst, of a heavy charge of religious feeling, associated with a particular notion of the sacred. Let us attempt to measure the mass of this charge, set up by a structure of distinct imaginative associations, connected with the cult of the martyrs throughout the fourth-century Christian Mediterranean.

It is best to begin with a remark of the wry pagan, Ammianus Marcellinus. Everyone, so he implied, knew what Christian martyrs had been like: though forced to abandon their beliefs, they had found their way to a 'glorious death' brought about by *cruciabiles poenae*—by 'excruciating torments'.[20] It is the image of the *cruciabiles poenae*, of the excruciating torments which had accompanied the deaths of the martyrs, that surged forwards, in the late fourth century if not earlier, to take centre stage. We move, within a century, from the curt, judicial records of the martyrs of the time of the Great Persecution—where torture is used only to discover information, in the 'aseptic' manner of a late Roman *cognitio* procedure—to a world awash with blood.[21] To Shenute of Atripe, in the first part of the fifth century, it was easy to distinguish between authentic and unauthentic accounts of the martyrs. Any account that did *not* recount how the martyr had died under great torments, that did not report that the martyr's eyes had been torn out, that the martyr's body had been chopped limb from limb, that did not describe how scorching fires had been applied to the martyr's sides, and that did not conclude with an account of how the martyr had been weighted down with stones and thrown, in vain of course, into the River Nile—such an account could not be authentic: it was a *martyros ñnoudj*, an account of a martyr based on lies.[22] It was the same for Victricius of Rouen when he preached in around 396 (that is, at the time when, in distant Africa, Augustine and his colleagues had embarked on their reforms):

> Let there be no day, dearest brothers, on which we do not meditate on these stories. This one did not pale before the tortures [...] this one greedily swallowed the flames [...] another was cut to pieces, yet remained whole.[23]

Those who came to the feasts of the martyrs came to participate in the unearthly 'glory' of a moment of total triumph over pain and death. Men and women alike, the bodies of the martyrs stood out as the centre of attention. For the martyrs had been rendered immune by God to the horrors inflicted on their flesh. In the words of an inscription of the martyrs at Haïdra (Ammaedera), they were the ones 'cui divinitus inspirare hoc in animo dignatus est' (to whom God has deigned to place in their soul the breath of divine spirit).[24]

The emotion which the sight of the violated yet unmoved bodies of the martyrs evoked was not one of sympathy and admiration for human courage. It was, rather, a sense of awe such as had always fallen heavily on the hearts of ancient persons, when confronted with a fellow human being in whose strangely altered body they sensed the presence of a mighty god. This is what made Saint Eulalia so stunning to the readers of the *Peristephanon* of Prudentius (written in around 400). In applying to the words of Eulalia before her persecutors the classical phrase *infremuit* [...] *spiritus,* 'her spirit raged', Prudentius chose to use the language of the ancient oracles, to describe the raw 'frenzy' of a young girl's spirit, that had 'breathed in' the power of God.[25]

Prudentius, I suspect, shared with many of his contemporaries what has been somewhat unfairly labelled (in comparison to the Neo-Platonic notions of Augustine) as a 'material' view of the soul. It is better to talk of a 'localized' view of the soul. For Prudentius, the soul lay in the depths of the body, beyond the reach of human probing. With the martyrs, this inner soul finally 'leapt free', unscathed, to regain its home beyond the stars.[26] The notion of a 'localized' soul gave rock-like, ontological solidity to the belief that the martyr, possessed by God, had remained throughout inviolate: 'There is another, within the body, whom no man is able to outrage [...] free, undisturbed, unharmed, exempt from grievous pain'.[27] The body of Eulalia was 'painted scarlet with new blood'.[28] But that blood had touched her hidden, inner self as little as a wash of red paint affected the cool, smooth surface of a wall down which it dripped.

The miracle of impassivity, associated with the torments of the martyrs, tilted over into a yet greater miracle. So great was the disjuncture between the observed, outside state of the martyr, brought into contact with sources of excruciating pain, and the inviolate state of his or her inner being, that the associations of human pain, as it were, passed through the looking glass: pain was transformed into its very opposite. The searing flames outside became like cooling water to the soul; or they came to seem as cold as ice compared to the firestorm of the spirit of God that raged within the martyr.[29] In a dream-like moment of God-possessed dissociation, all meanings became reversed. The martyrs lay upon the burning coals of their bonfire as if they were reclining 'amid red roses'.[30]

We can catch a hint of the crackle of awe generated by so total a disjuncture between observed torment and the miracle worked by God's presence in the martyr if we look at Byzantine illuminations of just such scenes. Leslie Brubaker has remarked, most acutely, of ninth-century renderings of the deaths of the martyrs, that these were models of classical restraint: 'the dying saints [...] seem to us detached; they do not elicit our sympathy'. Yet Byzantines expected that to contemplate just such illuminations would provoke an outburst of 'warm tears'.[31] For in the miniatures, one was given a glimpse of the bodies of the martyrs as they appeared, at the time of torment, to the souls of the martyrs. The believer would supply the rest. We are dealing, here, with an exquisitely late antique structuring of the emotions, by which a scene in which one element is uncannily absent acts as a trigger, to unleash the full horror and wonder of a moment charged with the presence of God. For this was how martyrs were thought to feel their own martyrdom. His mind and soul filled with God, the martyr Dativus (from Abitina, near Carthage, in 304) 'viewed the ruin of his body all the while like a spectator, rather than feeling its pain'.[32]

What matters, in such an imaginative structuring of the cult of the martyrs, is that the martyr (as, later, the ascetic or the saintly bishop) stands isolated. He or she is sheathed in the majesty of the full presence of God. The martyr's festival was a *spectaculum* in the most profound and ancient sense: it was a showing of God. The sufferings of the martyrs were offered to believers—in a manner that I am tempted to speak of with a term more usually applied to late medieval Eucharistic devotion—as a *heilbringende Schau*, a sight which in and of itself unleashed salvation. It was a *spectaculum*, also, in that the believers were drawn by the deeper imaginative logic of the occasion to *participate* in the glory of the martyrs rather than to imitate them. They gathered so as to share, for a time of high celebration, in the original, death-defying moment of 'glory' associated with God's triumph in the saint. In that way, the cult of the saints took up, and rendered that much more physical, more local and more frequent the supreme moment of Christ's triumph over death, celebrated every year at the feast of Easter. Easter, also, was an occasion for a frank explosion of physical joy and, among some believers, for heavy use of the bottle.[33] As with Easter, there was a strong, non-verbal element in such participation. One was expected to join, body and soul, in a great event that shook, for a moment, the boundaries of the possible. The high cheer and 'oceanic' feelings induced by wine; the chanted songs (songs whose wild pitch, rather than their words, may have shocked stricter, ancient ears as 'obscene'); the potential for the breaking of the boundaries between the sexes; and, above all, the gravity-defying leaps of the dancers: these were physical expressions of a moment of vast release, that marked the passing of a great soul, through torments, to beyond the stars. Equally non-verbal and equally dramatic were the healings which the saint was believed (in all later centuries) to bestow on the faithful, throughout the year but most especially at the high moment of the festival of the saint. For this was the moment when the iron constraints of pain and death, that held the lives of the faithful in their grip, had suddenly sprung open, for the martyr, at the touch of God.[34]

It was to the isolation of the martyrs from other members of the faithful, implied in this powerful model—and hence to the essentially participatory relationship established between the martyrs and their devotees—that Augustine addressed the full force of his own, most deeply meditated religious convictions. He aimed to leave the imprint of a very different notion of God's grace—a notion equally dramatic but more evenly distributed between martyrs and faithful—on the burgeoning cult of the saints.

Put very briefly, while never denying for a moment the majesty of God's presence in the martyrs, he went out of his way to insist that the martyrs did not enjoy an outright monopoly of the overwhelming grace of God. The working of God's grace in every heart was, in itself, a miracle. It was surrounded by the same sense of amazement as was the blood-soaked glory of a Lawrence, a Cyprian, or a Eulalia.

Much recent scholarship, now ably interpreted by Carole Straw, has stressed the extent to which, from his very first years as a bishop, Augustine's thought on grace grew out of the deep taproot of his daily involvement in the African cult of the martyrs.[35] The martyrs were spectacularly visible creatures of God's grace. They owed their 'glory' to God alone. Nobody doubted that for a moment. They were the 'predestinate' members of the elect *par excellence,* made plainly visible on earth by the nature of their lives and by the glory of their passing.[36] Everyone agreed with that. What Augustine went on to say, as often as he could, was that exactly the same grace might stir—discreetly at first but eventually, perhaps, triumphantly—in the hearts of every one of his hearers:

> God who gave grace to them can give it to us [...]. By that grace they became his friends; we can, at least, by the same grace become his servants [...] and, why not, then also his friends: through his grace, that is, not through our own will.[37]

At one stroke, Augustine had taken possession of the reservoir of raw charisma, associated with the persons of the martyrs, and had led it, along innumerable, hidden paths, into the lives of every Catholic Christian. He did it, largely, by placing the martyrs in the larger context of the Church. All Catholics were subject to the command to 'follow' Christ. All were bound to Christ—even if with widely varying degrees of prominence—as 'members' of his body, the Church.[38] At Upenna (Henchir Chigarnia in modern Tunis), a list of otherwise unknown and local martyrs was given new majesty, at some time in the fifth century, by being copied on to a mosaic, in such a way that they now appeared ranged on either side of a great, jewelled cross.[39] In the same way, in Augustine's vision of the Church, the faithful were encouraged to crowd in behind the martyrs, because equally dwarfed by that great Cross, ranged behind the image of Christ to which all believers, in their different ways, strained to conform themselves:

> The martyrs followed Christ right up to the shedding of their blood, up to a likeness of His own Passion.
>
> They followed him, but they did not do so alone. It is not as if, once they passed, that bridge would be lifted; nor, once they had drunk of the fountain [of God's grace] that fountain had dried up.[40]

Augustine's notion of the 'imitation of the martyrs', therefore, was founded on the need to throw a bridge across the crevasse that appeared to separate the martyrs from the faithful. It was based, in part, on his extraordinary ability to reduce the spiritual struggle to a universal common denominator. On that theme, Augustine could be trusted to wax eloquent:

> We have always drawn attention to this, brethren. We have never ceased to say it. We have never been silent: life eternal is what we should love; this present life, what we should scorn.[41]

Before grace had worked upon them, the hearts of the martyrs had been divided by just such a conflict between two loves as was the heart of the simplest Christian. It was not the distant, blood-stained bodies of the martyrs that spoke most directly to the faithful: the martyrs, rather, spoke heart to heart to every believer of a struggle that they also had experienced—the struggle between the love of God and the deep, fierce love of the soul for its own body and for the present life.[42]

Thus, when it came to the issue as to how exactly each individual saint might be imitated, Augustine remained gloriously unspecific. Apart from the occasional praise of women martyrs, so as to shame the men and to prove that any woman might expect to enjoy the full measure of God's grace;[43] apart, also, from a pointed reference to martyrs who had been married women and mothers of children, so as to rebuke nuns who were tempted to despise married persons,[44] Augustine never offered the behaviour of any specific saint for imitation by any specific group. He felt that he did not need to do so. All the faithful should admire and imitate all the saints, for they all had faced the same, basic struggle as they faced themselves. The struggle of the love of God to overcome love of the world was the only confrontation that mattered. All must face it, as the martyrs had faced it, irrespective of class, race, or gender; and no one could hope to triumph in that struggle unless they came as utter paupers, stripped of social and cultural particularity, to the rich banquet of God's grace.[45]

We should remember that Augustine, for all his brilliance and considerable idiosyncracy, was a man of his generation and the inheritor of a dense Christian tradition. His insistence on Christ as the primary model and the only help of the martyrs both followed the teachings of Cyprian and also echoed faithfully the *Epigrammata* of his near-contemporary, Pope Damasus: *'possit quid gloria Christi'* (believe then what Christ's glory can achieve).[46] What is significant, however, is the difference between the physical setting in which such piety was shown. The piety of Damasus was elaborated in little masterpieces of calligraphic style, discreetly displayed in quiet burial chambers for the benefit of literate visitors of meditative disposition.[47] Augustine wished to impose such views also on large, tumultuous assemblies.

One can sense, in Augustine's insistence on the personal workings of grace that made the examples of the martyrs directly relevant to ordinary persons, the groundswell of an African Christian community that had become ever more complex in its social and intellectual structures. Differing groups of the laity pressed forwards for special attention. Among the well-to-do, especially, one may suspect that there were many who did not want to feel as distant from the martyrs as everybody else, because equally deprived of the supreme charisma of their unearthly death. They did not wish to lose their identities by sinking back into the crowd, in great, participatory rituals. They wanted their own, more personal share in the 'portion of the saints'.

To take one small but revealing example of these pressures, in the higher Empire, the educated gentry began to accord to their own beloved forms of funerary remembrance modelled on the cult of the gods and of the heroes of old. Private 'heroization' became widespread.[48] It is possible to talk, for the late fourth century, of a similar drift towards a 'martyrization' of the deceased. Take the example of the young Christian lady Proiecta. Proiecta may have been buried, in Rome, in a chamber as impressive as that of any martyr. Damasus had no hesitation about writing of her as if she were already in heaven, with the martyrs, and even hinted that, from heaven, she now brought comfort to her entire family.[49] At Thabarka, in North Africa, the deacon Crescentinus was portrayed, in the mosaic above his tomb, trotting jauntily across the countryside. But the inscription speaks of him in such florid terms, as 'guest of the angels, companion of the martyrs', that it is only recently that Yvette Duval has struck him from the register of saints, placing the young deacon, firmly, in an appendix devoted to 'faux martyrs'.[50] Crescentinus had been 'martyrized' by his loved ones, much as his pagan predecessors had 'heroized' their dead. Furthermore, the increasing practice of *depositio ad sanctos* points in the direction of a sincere wish on the part of the deceased (and not only on the part of those who preserved their memory) to draw closer to the martyrs by imitation. Burial beside the saints was not only an occasion for the rich and for the clergy to show their special status in the community: for some pious persons, it marked the end of a life characterized by continuous effort to imitate their chosen saints.[51]

Altogether, religious history would be immeasurably poorer if it were not for the unflagging pretentiousness of members of the sub-elites. Augustine's world was marked by the constant presence of relatively well-to-do persons, inhabitants of the fluid urban worlds of Carthage and of Hippo—women, quite as much as men, married persons quite as much as celibates; and members of the laity quite as much as those associated with the clergy. The discreet upward pressure of so many little groups of men and women ensured that Augustine's system of grace maintained a strong 'democratic' flavour. For Augustine's insistence on the accessibility of the grace that rendered possible the spiritual struggle and, so, the imitation of the martyrs, was a challenge addressed to all categories of persons within the Catholic Church. There were always some persons, at least (often from a surprisingly wide range of social and cultural backgrounds: by no means invariably educated or of clerical background), who took Augustine at his word.

It is necessary to linger upon Augustine so as to conjure up the distinctive profile of his attitude to the cult of the martyrs. It is, indeed, so distinctive that it should come as no surprise to learn that, in the centuries immediately following his death, Augustine had considerably less influence on the religious behaviour of Latin Christians than many modern estimates of his work would lead us to suppose. He was a striking figure, but one figure only, in a large and well-populated landscape. Without being in any way less intelligent or spiritually more obtuse than the Bishop of Hippo, many Christians, in many regions, thought very differently on how they might relate to the saints.

If we turn, for instance, to the Visigothic liturgies of the late sixth and seventh centuries, we find ourselves among the nameless authors of great prayers. These men were acquainted with the works of Augustine and Caesarius. They were masters of the art of sacred rhetoric. They came from a world not so very different from the *studiolo* of Augustine.[52] But what they offered, in the prayers preserved in the Mozarabic Sacramentary of Toledo, was nothing less than a weighty evocation of the sheer 'magic' of the feasts. Imitation of the martyrs, such as Augustine proposed, had its place in these liturgies, as was also the case, and to a greater degree, in the Roman-Frankish liturgies of the eighth and ninth centuries. But the notion of imitation was a recessive colour. It was overshadowed by the vibrant phrases that gravitated incessantly around themes that came straight from the poems of Prudentius and from the glory days of the fourth-century cult of the 'unconquerable', inimitable martyrs.

Reading the Mozarabic Sacramentary, we are left in no doubt that we are dealing with a book of potent rituals. These rituals derived their power from an incantatory deployment of charged metaphors, associated with the miraculous circumstances of the sufferings of the great martyrs. In these prayers, the believers did not strain to join their hearts to the martyrs, as if to prototypes for their own hope of victory. Rather, they offered their souls (and, often, the souls of their dead kin) as passive objects, on which God would work the great transformation of pain into delight, of constraint into freedom, as he had done in the miraculous bodies of the martyrs:

> Eternal God, by whose grace the virgin Eulalia stood protected and blushed not to confess amidst the flames, for, through your promise, you caused her to be scorched by the fire of your love. So may you protect us, through her prayers, amidst the treacherous wall of flame that is this world [...].
>
> And so may God [the bishop would proclaim], who once covered her naked body with a drift of pure white snow, make you all snow white and pure from every sin and misdemeanor.[53]

In such prayers, one is struck by a contrast. On the one hand, the prayers evoked insistently, in language worthy of Prudentius, the unparalleled sufferings of the bodies of the martyrs. These sufferings marked out the saints as unique and utterly otherworldly beings. On the other hand, the prayers called upon the saints to answer all and every prayer for safety and for success in this life.[54] Confronted by so stark a juxtaposition between otherworldly heroes and the impenitently earthly desires of their devotees, one cannot help but being reminded of the rituals by which modern Buddhist monks in Sri Lanka bless the peasantry. The chants of blessing, the *parittâ,* consist of recitations, in Pali, of the melodramatic scenes that accompanied each stage of the renunciation of the Buddha. Yet these chants are performed so as to bestow 'long life, good health and a fair complexion'.

> The intriguing paradox [writes Professor Tambiah] is that the conquests of the Buddha which relate to the withdrawal from life are in the process of transference transmuted into an affirmation of life.[55]

Anyone who wishes to understand how and why the saints came to be enjoyed in Late Antiquity and in the early Middle Ages must grapple, at some time or other, with that paradox. When I wrote my own book on the *Cult of Saints,* now almost twenty years ago, I had not done that. I had entered with gusto into one aspect of the cult of the saints in late antique Italy and Gaul. My book attempted to do justice to the impressive religious, cultural, and artistic energy deployed around the notion of the saints as *patroni,* as protectors and intercessors, on a frankly late Roman, aristocratic model of the exercise of spiritual power.[56] I explained *how* the saints worked, as *patroni,* in terms that were easily available to contemporaries, and that were, for that reason, easy for them to verbalize. On looking back, I realize that I did not delve as deeply as I might have done into the other side of the problem, for which late Roman contemporaries did not have a ready language. I did not address the deeper, more implicit imaginative structures that explained not only *how* the saints worked (a subject on which late Roman Christians could be trusted to wax eloquent) but *why* the saints worked and, above all, on *what objects.*

Why was it that those whose lives and deaths were associated with such prolonged suffering that they had been, as it were, drastically 'cauterized' from all contact with the 'world', re-entered the same 'world', after death, not only as lordly figures, but as figures deeply implicated in all that was most earthy and most irreducibly profane in the life of the world? One can understand how a Roman patron might be interested in the welfare of his clients. But overwhelming and meticulous concern for semi-feral pigs, for horse herds, for the wombs of women, and for the thick, rich mud of the Nile are not interests one automatically associates with late Roman aristocrats.[57] A different model has to be invoked to explain that aspect of the relation between the saint and the world.

For the evidence appears to show that it was precisely by keeping the saints *in*imitable—and, above all, inimitable in their physical sufferings—that the Christians of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages kept the saints sacred. For, in keeping the saints sacred, they felt able to bring them back into worldly affairs, as invulnerable presences, capable of reaching into the deepest, most potentially polluted and polluting levels of daily life. To build a frail bridge of imitation between oneself and such persons was the exact opposite of what one wanted from them. It did far more than destroy the fun of the festivals. It brought the saints down to the level of their imitators, and, in so doing, it undermined the fundamental antithesis between the sacred and the profane. For if sacred figures such as the saints were no longer seen as utterly, inimitably different from the profane, then the very life-force of the profane world, which depended on intermittent contact with the sacred, would wither away.[58]

In her study of certain, extreme forms of late medieval hagiography, Brigitte Cazelles has suggested that the working of such imaginative structures—above all, the need to establish a clear antithesis between the sacred and the profane—accounted for the continued demand for lives of inimitable, heroic saints. Her insights can be fruitfully applied to the late antique and early medieval periods. But a historian of the cult of the saints in the early Middle Ages can not be content with a clear cut either/or. Imitation of the saints was often combined with a sharp sense of their uniquely sacred qualities. Much can be learned from figures who combined such a strong sense of sacrality with fervent belief that heroic sainthood could and should be replicated in their own times.

Gregory of Tours was one such person. He insisted that the faithful should imitate the martyrs. *'O homo mortalis* [...] *non agonizas':* human beings, in fact, must always struggle against the allurements of the world.[59] And they could struggle successfully. All that the Christian needed to do was to make the sign of the Cross with serious intent—*viriliter et non tepide* (the two words speak volumes on Gregory's view of life)—and to trust in Christ: 'For, as I have often said, the Lord himself struggles and triumphs in the martyrs'.[60]

Christ would 'struggle and triumph' once again in those who were faithful to him.Gregory felt that he lived in a world that dearly needed saints, to challenge the complacency of modern times. When he stated, in the *Preface* of his *History,* that he wrote 'propter eos, qui adpropinquantem finem mundi disperant', we misunderstand late Latin if we translate the phrase, as we so often do, as if it meant that Gregory wrote for those 'who are losing hope [or: who are driven to despair] as they see the end of the world coming nearer and nearer'.[61] In fact, *disperare* means, rather, 'to give up all hope', 'to expect no longer'.[62] What worried Gregory was that, apart from himself and his few pious friends—persons who took the approach of the end of the world with deadly seriousness—nobody seemed to give any thought to that distant event. Their conduct showed this only too clearly. Gregory, then, did not look out at a society shrinking beneath the chill shadow of the approach of the Apocalypse. What he saw, rather, was a Merovingian Gaul more like the world that recent scholarship has presented to us. He surveyed, with religious disquiet, a basically secure and sophisticated post-Roman society, still confidently profane in many of its reflexes, the majority of whose members were stolidly indifferent to the approach of the Last Judgement. A large part of his literary work was devoted to making the saints 'stand out'. They were the only truly active and vibrant figures in a world where nothing else moved, becalmed as it was in the windless, moral doldrums of the *saeculum.*

Not only was sanctity needed; it was possible. But this was an ancient sanctity, modelled on the martyrs and on the great ascetics. For nobody had yet told the Bishop of Tours about the *Adelsheiligen*. He did not know that such creatures existed. He did not believe that aristocratic lineage, nor even that a well-established family tradition of episcopal rule, conveyed sanctity. Indeed, like any pensive observer of the Roman governing class, from Seneca to Ammianus Marcellinus, Gregory had a low view of the moral fibre of the majority of his peers. Violence, sensuality, and a weakness for the bottle seemed to characterize only too many of his well-born contemporaries. Descent *de stemmate Romanorum* was no guarantee in itself that a bishop would show the high degree of physical courage, the integrity, and the self-control that were necessary for a bishop's tasks.

What conveyed these qualities was grace, and a somewhat old fashioned grace at that. For Gregory had inherited from Augustine, perhaps through Augustine's Gallic admirers, that streak in the Augustinian system that emphasized that the *saeculum* still needed heroes—persons endowed with the gift of perseverance: 'strong figures who could tame the unjust powers of the world'.[63]

This was not the fluid, bubbling grace that had encouraged so many humble groups—women as well as men, married as well as celibate, lay persons as well as clergy—to strive towards the martyrs, as in the churches of Augustine's Africa. It was the grace required by a human ice-breaker, before whose solid prow the ice floes of the *saeculum* broke and gave way.

But, for Gregory, such grace was still active in Gaul. It was a matter of pride to him that it had come to members of his own family. Nicetius, Bishop of Lyons from 552 to 573, was the uncle of his mother. Here, plainly, was a man predestinate. He had been blessed from the womb. Nicetius was one of those who had received 'the first and basic act of pity shown by a merciful God, who heaps the wealth of grace upon the undeserving and who sanctifies the one who is not yet born'.[64] And how did Gregory know this? Nicetius had picked up little Gregory, then aged eight, and had sat him on his knee, but not before adjusting his robe: 'holding his fingers on the edge of his garment he covered himself with it so well that my body was never touched by his blessed limbs'.[65] Would that all clergymen had such *cautela*—so deeply internalized a sense of clerical decorum! The gesture showed the 'wealth of grace' that God had 'heaped' upon the bishop's soul.

With Gregory we can glimpse how a religious person of the late sixth century strove to make his own the awesome qualities of the saints of old. Their sacrality and fierce deaths did not hold them at a distance from him. Gregory grew up talking about saints with his mother at the fireside.[66] His first lessons in reading and writing from the Scriptures enabled him to copy out a remedy with which to heal his father's gout.[67] He lived among persons whom he admired especially for the reverent awe with which they would pass on stories of the saints.[68] He wrote profusely so as to do the same himself. He was an active member of what we might call a 'hagiological subculture'.

Faced by a man such as Gregory and his many tales of the saints, we must remember what the cognitive psychologists tell us. The very act of thought contains a strong narrative element. 'Asleep and awake it is just the same: we are telling ourselves stories all the time'.[69] There is no reason not to suppose that the stories told so often by Gregory did not become part of his own story to himself about himself. The raw dramas of the lives of the saints entered the thought flow of an entire group of men and women, such as Gregory himself, who had created for themselves a 'hagiological subculture'. Ethnographers can see this happening, over the years in a living society, as the Buddhist monks in modern Sri Lanka absorb dramatic tales of the trials of the Buddha. Even as lay persons, they had taken these archaic narratives, set in a distant time, often characterized by redundant, barely explicable violence against the self, into their own thought flow and, hence, into their own inner narrative about themselves. Of the great monk Paññānda, Michael Carrithers can write: 'having so much hagiography about him to begin with, he easily became the stuff of hagiography itself'.[70]

One such person, perhaps, was the lady Blatta, who was buried in Rome in the church of Saint Anastasia in 688:

> et quia martyribus Christi studiosa cohaesit
> Christigeri meruit martyris esse comes
>
> (And because with zeal she clung to the martyrs of Christ, she has deserved to be the companion [perhaps through *ad sanctos* burial] of the Christ-bearing martyr herself).[71]

Historians should not underestimate persons like the lady Blatta, although they barely appear in the sources for the religious history of the early Middle Ages. But they were there. Sixty years old, Blatta had been loyal to priests and generous to the poor. She had instilled *pudicitia* in all her children. She was the sort of grandmother, a true *nonna,* who would have fostered many a little Gregory of Tours. Ethnographers of living Buddhist societies still find themselves challenged to understand 'the actual replication of a living tradition'.[72] Medievalists, I think, face a similar challenge. Persons such as Gregory and the lady Blatta are so welcome to us, as they give a hint of how a section of the religious world of the early Middle Ages set about the 'replication of a living tradition' by establishing a constant, warm relation with the saints.

With a date such as 688, we have reached the end of Late Antiquity. But recent studies of the hagiography of the medieval West indicate that the story continues. The medieval cult of the saints owed its contours to the continued grinding together of two massive tectonic plates—the urge to imitate and the urge to admire. The monumental study of André Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident,* published in 1981, dealt with the change in attitudes to sanctity in the later Middle Ages, that led to the emergence, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, of 'les saints imitables'—of imitable saints, cut to a more human measure, presented as models of Christian behaviour appropriate to a more complex and urbanized society.[73] Within a year, however, the brilliant analysis of vernacular saints' lives in northern France, *Le Corps de sainteté* by Brigitte Cazelles, drew attention to a strong current of devotion that flowed in the opposite direction. She pointed out the extent to which an 'archaic' image of sanctity continued to feed the imagination of believers on utterly *in*imitable figures, conjured up from the distant, late antique past. Saint Catherine, Saint Margaret, Saint Christina, and Jehan Bouche d'Or—Saint John Chrysostom as the wild hermit—are troubling *revenants.* They are avatars from a very ancient Christian East.[74] They fit awkwardly into our image of a tidy, *bourgeois* Gothic Europe, where each group can be supposed to have enjoyed its own, made-to-measure saint, and where the cunning of the medievalist can be fruitfully deployed in matching the aspirations, the social codes, and the needs for empowerment of each group in medieval society to an appropriate 'role model' saint.

This juxtaposition, within the same high medieval society, of two very different images of sanctity, calls for a few, necessarily brief, concluding observations. The first is that the tenacity of 'late antique' forms of the image of the saints, revealed in studies such as those of Brigitte Cazelles, should cause us, perhaps, to redefine the boundaries of Western Europe. Throughout this period, Catholic Western Europe was flanked by Christian societies that had not lost touch with the late antique imaginative structures that had favoured, on the whole, the emergence of *in*imitable saints. No Augustine had come to spoil the fun of the festivals, and to cause the shadow of his austere insistence on the imitation of the saints to fall between the faithful and more ancient forms of the enjoyment of the saints, through heady participation in their triumph. Such post-Augustinian developments did not occur in Greece, in the Balkans, in Ethiopia, and in medieval and early modern Russia. And yet Western and Eastern Christendom never became entirely separate worlds. Both were the heirs of Late Antiquity. In the year 1400, in a continuum that stretched from Novgorod to London, the Christian imagination continued to be fed by legends whose dramatic structures, whose insistent physicality and whose notions of the sacred still carried with them the distinctive flavour of fifth century Syria and of Coptic Egypt.[75]

We should not isolate the hagiography of Western Europe, by privileging only its more distinctive and original features. There is no denying that the sudden development of the notion of imitable saints in the later medieval West was a notable phenomenon. In recent years, the notion that late medieval saints were expected to function as 'role models' has stimulated a series of historiographical endeavours. Historians of literature and society have attempted to do justice to the full complexity of the relationships between saints, their patrons, and their audiences in the differing regions of Western Europe. But, seen from the viewing point of a wider Christian world, the notion of imitable sanctity is a theme as vivid and as colourful, but as superficial, as a growth of lichen across an ancient rock. If we listen to what Byzantinists and students of medieval and early modern Russia (and even students of medieval and modern Ethiopia) can tell us about how the saints were perceived in those Christian regions, western medievalists may find an answer, through the valid comparison of cognate imaginative structures, to many of the mysteries which still perplex them.

Last but not least, the greatest mystery of all remains: how do saints produce saints? That is, how, for many religious persons, does the inimitable come to be absorbed in such a way as to provide a glimpse of wider, heroic horizons beyond the cramped confines of their normal life? On this issue, it is a relief to learn that the saints tend to give as many different answers to that question as do professors. For they also were products of very different spiritual landscapes, formed by the differing pressures of the tectonic plates to which we have referred. To take a few examples, in the months before the death of Saint Thérèse of Lisieux, in 1897, the companion of her bedside, Sister Agnès de Jésus (in fact, Thérèse's elder sister), spoke to her of certain saints who had lived extraordinary lives, such as Saint Symeon Stylites. Thérèse was unimpressed. She wished, rather, for saints who had fear of nothing in this world, such as Saint Cecilia, who had not feared even to be married.[76] The late antique historian (who tends to have a soft spot for Syrian holy men of melodramatic disposition) is chastened by such words.

Thérèse of Lisieux was an exquisite example of a very modern Catholic piety. For when we draw nearer to the culture of the later Middle Ages, we meet persons for whom the ancient, inimitable saints had lost nothing of their appeal. In his autobiography, Ignatius of Loyola describes how, when still at Manresa, in 1522, he had tested his mind. Always the fine psychologist, he observed that:

> When he was thinking about things of the world, he took delight in them, but afterwards, when he was tired and put them aside he found that he was dry and discontented.
>
> But when he thought of going to Jerusalem barefoot and eating nothing but herbs and undergoing all the rigors that he saw the saints had endured [and by these saints, Ignatius meant the formidable Desert Fathers of early Byzantium, transferred to the West in all their archaic ferocity in books such as the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine] not only was he consoled when he had these thoughts, but even after putting them aside, he remained content and happy.[77]

Heroic saints, their unearthly image transmitted from the days of Prudentius, were still available, also, to give courage and a sense of drama to the lives of lesser figures. In 1576, a young girl from Seville, recruited as a nun by Saint Teresa of Ávila, confessed to Teresa that while she was being brutally battered by her parents for refusing to marry, 'she had felt almost nothing, for she thought of what Saint Agnes had suffered, a thought which the Lord brought into her memory'.[78] Somehow, Ignatius and the unknown nun from Seville had, like Gregory of Tours a thousand years before them, absorbed the inimitable. By the manner in which they had remembered the saints, they had contributed to 'the actual replication of a living tradition'.

It is the purpose of this article to suggest to medievalists that the continuous tension, evident in medieval hagiography, between imitation of the saints and other forms of imaginative appropriation of their power, goes back directly to the late antique period. It is a tension that can be traced back to the fact that, for men such as Augustine and the poet Prudentius, differing images of the martyrs and differing attitudes to their festivals implied divergent views, also, on the relation between grace and human nature, on the possible relations between members of the Christian community and its shared heroes, and, ultimately, on the nature of the boundary between the sacred and the profane. These were weighty topics. A debate upon them, begun around the year 400, was by no means concluded by the year 1500. It is this unresolved, late antique debate that goes some way to explain the remarkable diversity in function and in imaginative content that characterized the medieval cult of saints.

NOTES

1. Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 121.2, ed. by Eligius Dekkers and A. Fraipont, *Corpus Christianorum,* 40 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1956), III, 1802.

2. Strabo, *Geography* 10.3.9, ed. by H. L. Jones, Loeb Classical Library, 5 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961), p. 92.

3. Plutarch, *A Pleasant Life Is Impossible,* 1101E–1102D, ed. by B. Einarson and P. H. de Lacy, Loeb Classical Library, 14 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 114.

4. Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 2.11(40 A), ed. by G. Kaibel (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1965), p. 93; and Philo, *De plantatione* 163, ed. by J. Pouilloux (Paris: Le Cerf, 1963), p. 100; see esp. A. Dihle, 'La fête chrétienne', *Revue des études augustiniennes,* 38 (1992), 323–35.

5. Caesarius of Arles, *Sermons* 13.3–4; 47.5 and 55.2, ed. by Germain Morin, *Corpus Christianorum,* 103 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953), I, 66–67, 214, 242.

6. Máire MacNeill, *The Festival of Lughnasa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), II, 104.

7. Evagrius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.14: *Patrologia Graeca,* 86, col. 2461A; Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 11.6, trans. by Jean Baptiste Chabot, *Le Chronique de Michel le Syrien* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1901), II, 422.

8. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio* 38.5: *Patrologia Graeca,* 36, cols. 316A–317B; trans. by C. G. Browne, *Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1974), VII, 346. See esp. M. Harl, 'La Dénonciation des festivités profanes dans le discours épiscopal et monastique en Orient chrétien à la fin du IV siècle', in *La fête, pratique et discours,* Annales de l'Université de Besançon, 262 (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1981), pp. 123–47 (p. 129).

9. Augustine, *Ep.* 29, to Alypius of Thagaste: see Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints. Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 26, 34–35; and Victor Saxer, *Morts, Martyrs, Reliques en Afrique chrétienne aux premiers siècles,* Théologie Historique, 55 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1980), pp. 133–47. It is perhaps important that Leontius was not a martyr: he was celebrated as builder of the basilica. Thus, the *Laetitia* may have originated as a more 'social' event than was the cult of a martyr. For that reason, the *Laetitia* may either have been more rowdy than those at the feast of a martyr, or, alternately, Augustine may have found it easier to abolish.

10. Augustine, *Ep.* 22, to Aurelius of Carthage.

11. Now edited by François Dolbeau, *Vingt-six sermons au peuple d'Afrique* (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1996)—using the French title, Mayence, for Mainz—and trans. by Edmund Hill, *The Complete Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the Twenty-First Century. Sermons III/1: New Discovered Sermons* (Hyde Park, NY: City Press, 1997). The most relevant of these are *Mayence 5/ Dolbeau 2: On Obedience,* first edited in *Revue des études augustiniennes,* 38 (1992), 50–79; and *Mayence 62/ Dolbeau 26: Against the Pagans,* first edited in *Recherches augustiniennes,* 26 (1992), 69–141; now edited in Dolbeau, *Vingt-six sermons,* pp. 315–44 and 345–417, and trans. by Hill, *Sermons,* pp. 331–42 and 180–237 respectively.

12. Peter Brown, *'Qui adorant columnas in ecclesia'. Saint Augustine and a Practice of the 'imperiti', Augustin Prédicateur (395–411),* ed. by Goulven Madec (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1998), pp. 367–75 (pp. 371–74).

13. Augustine, *Sermon Mayence 5/ Dolbeau 2,* 5.95, *Vingt-six sermons,* p. 330, trans. by Hill, *Sermons,* p. 334.

14. See the inscription of the church that claimed to have replaced a pagan temple at Azra'a in Syria: 'Where God was angered once, now God is made content'. *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum,* 4, no. 8627 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1977), p. 295; see Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), p. 98.

15. Augustine, *Sermon* 325.1, *Patrologia Latina* 39, col. 1447.

16. *Liber Sacramentorum* 23.208, ed. by Marius Férotin, *Le Liber Mozarabicorum Sacramentorum* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1912), col. 96.

17. See above note 5 and *Sermon* 233. 1–2 , p. 882.

18. Peter Brown, 'Images as a Substitute for Writing', in *East and West: Modes of Communication,* ed. by Evangelos Chrysos and Ian Wood (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 15–34 (pp. 23–25).

19. Augustine, *Mayence 5/Dolbeau* 2, *On Obedience* 5.79, *Vingt-six sermons,* p. 330; Hill, *Sermons,* p. 333. On the strength of a discreet mention in *Confessions* 3.3.5, I had proposed (as befitted a young Oxford don of the early 1960s) a considerably more chaste interpretation: see Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (London: Faber, 1967), p. 41.

20. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae* 21.11.10, ed. by John C. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library, 3 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956), II, 262. Ammianus wrote as he did so as to ensure that the lynching of George, the high-handed Christian Bishop of Alexandria, would not be considered as a 'true' martyrdom: see Timothy David Barnes, *Ammianus Marcellinus and the Representation of Historical Reality* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), p. 236. His criteria, therefore, were not dissimilar from those of Shenute!

21. As is shown in the newly discovered *Acta Gallonii*: P. Chiesa, 'Un testo agiografico africano ad Aquileia. Gli *Acta* di Gallonio e dei martiri di *Timida Regia*', *Analecta Bollandiana,* 114 (1996), 241–68 (p. 252). On judicial torture in the later Roman Empire, see now Jill Harries, *Law and Empire in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 122–29. A similar, curt original account of an Egyptian martyrdom has been discovered among the papyri of Duke University: P. Van Minnen, 'The Earliest Account of a Martyrdom in Coptic', *Analecta Bollandiana,* 113 (1995), 13–38. It is significant that, in a tantalizingly incomplete letter, newly discovered by Johannes Divjak, Augustine expressed his strong preference for such *Acta,* over against contemporary attempts to re-write the tales of the martyrs: *Ep.* 29*, *Oeuvres de Saint Augustin 46B: Lettres 1*–29*,* Bibliothèque Augustinienne (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1987), pp. 414–16; trans. by Robert B. Eno, *Saint Augustine. Letters VI (1*–29*),* Fathers of the Church, 81 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1989), pp. 193–95.

22. Jürgen Horn, *Studien zu den Märtyrern des nordlichen Oberägyptens*, I: *Märtyrerverehrung und Märtyrerlegende im Werk des Schenute,* Göttinger Orientforschungen, 4, Aegypten, 15 (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1986), p. 8. See in general Theofried Baumeister, *Martyr Invictus* (Münster: Regensberg Verlag, 1972).

23. Victricius of Rouen, *In Praise of the Saints,* 12, *Patrologia Latina,* 20, col. 456CD; trans. by J. N. Hillgarth, *Christianity and Paganism, 350–750. The Conversion of Western Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), pp. 27–28.

24. Yvette Duval, *Loca sanctorum Africae. Le culte des martyrs en Afrique du IVe au VIIe siècle,* Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 58 (Rome: Palais Farnèse, 1982), nos 51A and 52 at pp. 108, 110–12.

25. Prudentius, *Peristephanon* 3.31–34, ed. by H. J. Thomson, Loeb Classical Library, 398 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961), II, 144.

26. Prudentius, *Peristephanon* 1.30, p. 100. See esp. Jacques Fontaine, 'Images virgiliennes de l'ascension céleste dans la poésie latine chrétienne', *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum: Ergänzungsband 9. Gedenkschrift für A. Stuiber* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1982), pp. 55–67. The notion of a 'material' soul was more widespread than we realize: see Ernest L. Fortin, *Christianisme et culture philosophique au Ve siècle. La querelle de l'âme humain en Occident* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1959); and Michele Di Marco, *La polemica sull'anima tra [Fausto di Riez] e Claudiano Mamerto,* Studia ephemeridis Augustinianum, 51 (Rome: Augustinianum, 1995). The effect of this notion on late antique Christian piety has not been fully explored.

27. Prudentius, *Peristephanon* 5.157, p. 178.

28. Prudentius, *Peristephanon* 3.143, p. 152.

29. For example, *Liber Sacramentorum* 47.880, ed. by Férotin, col. 393: an image constantly employed on the martyrdom of Saint Laurence.

30. John Chrystostom, *De sanctis martyribus* 1, *Patrologia Graeca,* 49, col. 708.

31. Leslie Brubaker, 'Byzantine Art in the Ninth Century: Theory, Practice and Culture', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies,* 13 (1989), 23–93 (pp. 24–25); see now *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium. Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 260.

32. *Passion of the Martyrs of Abitina* 10, ed. by Jean-Louis Maier, *Le Dossier du Donatisme* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1987), I, 72.

33. Gregory the Great, *Dialogues* 4.33.1–2, ed. by A. de Vogüé, in *Grégoire le Grand: Les Dialogues,* Sources chrétiennes, 265 (Paris: Le Cerf, 1980), p. 108, gives an example of drunkenness after the Easter Vigil and of its chilling consequences.

34. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints,* pp. 80–85.

35. Carole Straw, s.v. 'Martyrdom', in *Saint Augustine through the Ages. An Encyclopedia,* ed. by A. D. Fitzgerald (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), pp. 538–42. See also Pierre-Marie Hombert, *Gloria Gratiae* (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1996), with Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo,* reprint with Epilogue (London: Faber, forthcoming), and 'The New Augustine', *New York Review of Books,* 24 June 1999, 45–50 (p. 49).

36. Augustine, *Sermon* 312.6, 1422, on Saint Cyprian; compare the mid fourth-century Donatist *Passio Marculi* 2, ed. by Maier, in *Dossier du Donatisme,* p. 278: 'Ille [...] olim praeelectus et praedestinatus a domino'.

37. Augustine, *Sermon* 335H, in *Revue bénédictine,* 68 (1958), 103 = *Patrologia Latina Supplementum,* II, 831.

38. Augustine, *Sermon* 280.6, 1283.

39. Duval, *Loca sanctorum,* no. 29, fig. 42 at p. 65.

40. Augustine, *Sermon* 304.2.2, 1396.

41. Augustine, *Sermon* 302.9, 1389.

42. For example, Augustine, *Sermon* 284.4, 1279 and *Sermon Frangipane* 6.2, ed. by G. Morin, in *Miscellanea Agostiniana* (Rome: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1930), I, 221.

43. Augustine, *Sermon Denis* 13.2, ed. by Morin, p. 56.

44. Augustine, *De virginitate* 44.45.

45. Augustine, *Mayence 24/Dolbeau 9,* 5.123, *Vingt-six Sermons,* p. 33, Hill, *Sermons,* p. 51.

46. Damasus, *Epigrammata* 8.9, cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* 11.386: *possit qui virida virtus.* See esp. Jacques Fontaine, 'Damase poète théodosien: l'imaginaire poétique des epigrammata', in *Saecularia Damasiana* (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1986), pp. 115–45 (p. 134). On Cyprian, see esp. Simone Deléani, *Christum Sequi. Étude d'un thème dans l'oeuvre de saint Cyprien* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1979), pp. 75–95 and 106–110.

47. J. Guyon, 'Damase et l'illustration des martyrs. Les accents de la dévotion et l'enjeu d'une pastorale', in *Martyrium in a Multidisciplinary Perspective. Memorial Louis Reekmans,* ed. by Mathijs Lamberigts and P. Van Deun (Leuven: Peeters, 1995), pp. 157–77.

48. Henri Irénée Marrou, *MOYCIKOC ANHP. Étude sur les scènes de la vie intellectuelle figurants sur les monuments funéraires romains* (Grenoble: Didier et Richard, 1938), pp. 231–57; Henning Wrede, *Consecratio in formam deorum. Vergöttlichte Privatpersonen in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Mainz: Deutsche Archäologische Institut, 1981).

49. Guyon, 'Damase', pp. 177–79.

50. Duval, *Loca sanctorum,* nos 208–09, fig. 281 at p. 431.

51. Yvette Duval, *Auprès des saints corps et âme. L'inhumation 'ad sanctos' dans la chrétienté d'Orient et d'Occident du IIIe au VIIe siècle* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1988), pp. 154–62.

52. Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, 'Literary Aspects of the Visigothic Liturgy', in *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches,* ed. by Edward James (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 61–76; and J. N. Hillgarth, 'Popular Religion in Visigothic Spain', in *Visigothic Spain,* pp. 23–25.

53. *Liber Sacramentorum* 11.95 and 100, ed. by Férotin, cols 47, 49.

54. For example, *Liber Sacramentorum* 28.247, ed. by Férotin, col. 113—to Saint Vincent of Saragossa.

55. S. J. Tambiah, 'The Magical Power of Words', *Man,* 3 (1968), 175–208 (p. 181).

56. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints,* esp. pp. 54–68.

57. See Peter Brown, *Authority and the Sacred. Aspects of the Christianization of the Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 76, where I attempt to address this problem in relation to Eastern hagiography.

58. On this issue, see Brigitte Cazelles, *Le Corps de sainteté d'après Jean Bouche d'Or, Jehan Paulus et quelques vies des XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Geneva: Droz, 1982), esp. pp. 64 and 78. I am indebted to Professor Caroline Bynum for having urged this book upon my attention.

59. Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum* 105, ed. by Bruno Krusch, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, 1.2 (Hanover: Hahn, 1885), col. 111; trans. by Raymond Van Dam, *Gregory of Tours: Glory of the Martyrs* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1988), p. 132.

60. Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum* 106, ed. by Krusch, p. 111, trans. by Van Dam, p. 133.

61. Gregory of Tours, *Liber historiarum* 1, praef., ed. by Bruno Krusch, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, 1.1 (Hanover: Hahn, 1951), col. 2; trans. by L. Thorpe, *Gregory of Tours. The History of the Franks* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974), p. 67. A. H. B. Breukelaar, *Historiography and Episcopal Authority in Sixth-Century Gaul. The Histories of Gregory of Tours Interpreted in Historical Context*, Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte, 57 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1994), esp. p. 300, n. 23, pp. 52–55 and 169–74; and Martin Heinzelmann, *Gregor von Tours (538–594). 'Zehn Bücher der Geschichte'. Historiographie und Gesellschaftskonzept im 6. Jht.* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1994), pp. 69–101; both accept the conventional translation.

62. For Gregory's use of *disperare* to mean 'not expect, lose hope of', cf. *Liber historiarum* 4.12, ed. by Krusch, p. 142, n. 2, citing Sidonius Apollinaris, *Letter* 2.1: *nec accipiebat instrumenta desperans*, trans. by Ormonde Maddock Dalton, *The Letters of Sidonius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1915), I, 35: 'nor does he trouble to furnish himself with deeds, knowing it hopeless to prove a title'. See also *Sortes Sangallenses* 33, R.8: *Habebis spem fidei, sed de disperato*, in Alban Dold, *Die Orakelsprüche im St. Galler Palimpsestcodex 908*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Sitzungsberichte, 225.4 (1948), p. 24, with note on p. 110: 'from someone you do not expect'. By contrast to the insouciance castigated by Gregory, expectation of the coming end of the world was the attitude expected of religiously minded persons: e.g. the formula for a legacy to a pious foundation: Marculf, *Formulae* 2.3, ed. by Alf Uddholm (Uppsala: Eranos, 1962), p. 178.

63. Steven Muhlberger, *The Fifth Century Chroniclers*, ARCA Monographs 27 (Leeds: F. Cairns, 1990), p. 131.

64. Gregory of Tours, *Vita Patrum* 8, ed. by Krusch, p. 241; trans. by Edward James, *Gregory of Tours. Life of the Fathers* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1985), p. 65.

65. Gregory of Tours, *Vita Patrum* 8.2, ed. by Krusch, p. 242; trans. by James, p. 67.

66. Gregory of Tours, *De gloria confessorum* 3, ed. by Krusch, p. 300; trans. by Van Dam, *Gregory of Tours*, p. 20.

67. Gregory of Tours, *De gloria confessorum* 39, ed. by Krusch, p. 322; trans. by Van Dam, p. 51.

68. Gregory of Tours, *Vita Patrum* 17, ed. by Krusch; trans. by James, p. 114.

69. Liam Hudson, in *Times Literary Supplement*, 25 January 1980, p. 85, cited by Michael Carrithers, *The Forest Monks of Sri Lanka. An Anthropological and Historical Study* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 86.

70. Carrithers, *The Forest Monks*, p. 88.

71. Ernestus Diehl, *Inscriptiones latinae christianae veteres*, no. 2088.3 (Zurich: Weidmann, 1970), I, 49.

72. Carrithers, *The Forest Monks*, p. 74.

73. André Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 241 (Rome: Palais Farnèse, 1981); see also his most illuminating second thoughts on the subject, 'Saints admirables et saints imitables: les fonctions de l'hagiographie ont-elles changé aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge?', in *Les Fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (IIIe–XIIIe siècle)*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 149 (Rome: Palais Farnèse, 1991), pp. 161–72. See now Patrick Geary, 'Saints, Scholars and Society. The Elusive Goal', in *Saints: Studies in Hagiography*, ed. by Sandro Sticca, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 141 (Binghamton, NY: SUNY Press, 1996), pp. 1–22.

74. Cazelles, *Le Corps de sainteté*, p. 19.

75. For example, Thomas J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography. Saints and their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 280–92, on the English vernacular legends of Saint Christina; and Gail Lenhoff, *The Martyred Princes Boris and Gleb*, UCLA Slavic Studies, 19 (Columbus, OH: Slavica, 1989), pp. 60–61, on the cult of Saint Christina in Novgorod, later replaced by the equally dramatic *Passion* of Boris and Gleb.

76. Sainte Thérèse de Jésus et de la Sainte Face, *Le carnet jaune* 30.6.1, *Derniers Entretiens* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer and Le Cerf, 1971), p. 233, cf. 21.8.3*, p. 390, on the Virgin Mary: 'On la montre inabordable, il faudrait la montrer imitable'.

77. *The Autobiography of St. Ignatius Loyola*, ed. by John C. Olin and trans. by Joseph F. O'Callaghan (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1974), p. 24.

78. Teresa of Ávila, *Las Fundaciones* 26.8, ed. by T. Álvarez, *Obras Completas* (Burgos: Editorial Monte Carmelo, 1998), p. 1006.

PART I.

Pilgrims, Piety, and Cultic Practice

Imagery and Interactivity: Ritual Transaction at the Saint's Tomb

ROCÍO SÁNCHEZ AMEIJERAS

Gonzalo de Berceo's well-known verse lives of Santo Domingo de Silos, of San Millán, and of Santa Oria bear witness to a new interest in establishing a closer relationship between the narrator of the saint's life and his audience. Not only did Berceo choose the vernacular language, but he also elaborated upon the Latin stories on which they were based, with vivid depictions of the protagonists' inner emotions, with lively dialogue, and with comic situations in order to provoke a more emotional response from listeners. A similar process of shifting from narrative to drama is also apparent in the visual language used to embellish a number of thirteenth-century Castilian saints' tombs. In this paper I shall analyze the various structural and figurative devices employed in several of these tombs and cenotaphs to demonstrate that they created a more 'empathetic' relationship between the tomb and its eager audience. Some of these figurative devices, such as the motif of a person embracing a column, the recurrent representations of grapevines, or images of ex-votos, are clearly related to ritual practices performed at these sites for the holy dead. Others, like the introduction of the three-dimensional effigy or the personage who gazes at the spectator, emphasize the faculty of sight over that of touch, one of the primary sensory experiences in prior devotional customs.[1]

From Narrative to Drama

As several authors demonstrate elsewhere in this volume, it was often the case in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that, upon the elevation of saints' bodies from their original burial places, they were translated into richly decorated monuments inside churches. A notable exception is the cenotaph of San Millán at his eponymous monastery, San Millán de la Cogolla, in the upper church, Suso (figs 1–3).[2] The cenotaph was erected *c.* 1200 and set in the chapel, excavated into the living rock, believed to be the sixth-century saint's oratory and original burial place. Although, in the eleventh century, the saintly confessor's relics had been transferred to the church down the hill, Yuso, and placed in the famous reliquary of San Millán, his oratory at Suso was kept as a site of spiritual devotion and physical healing.[3] The precocity and richness of the hagiographic cycle carved in the reliquary's ivories outshine the cenotaph in the eyes of most art historians; the latter has been seriously neglected by modern scholarship. Like the slightly later *Translatio et miracula sancti Emiliani* written by the monk Fernandus and Berceo's *Vida de San Millán*, the richly innovative cenotaph was one of the undertakings carried out by the monastic community of Suso. It was conceived to stimulate pilgrimage to the upper church, overshadowed, as it was, by Yuso where the *arca* and the relics were housed.[4]

And it is precisely this exception, the empty cenotaph of San Millán, that introduces a new figurative syntax and rhetoric into the realm of medieval Castilian-Leonese saints' monuments.[5] Until then it was an established tradition to set saints' remains into sarcophagi with roof-shaped lids. The preference of this type of tomb for saints' bodies is confirmed by several examples: the now destroyed sarcophagus of San Rosendo

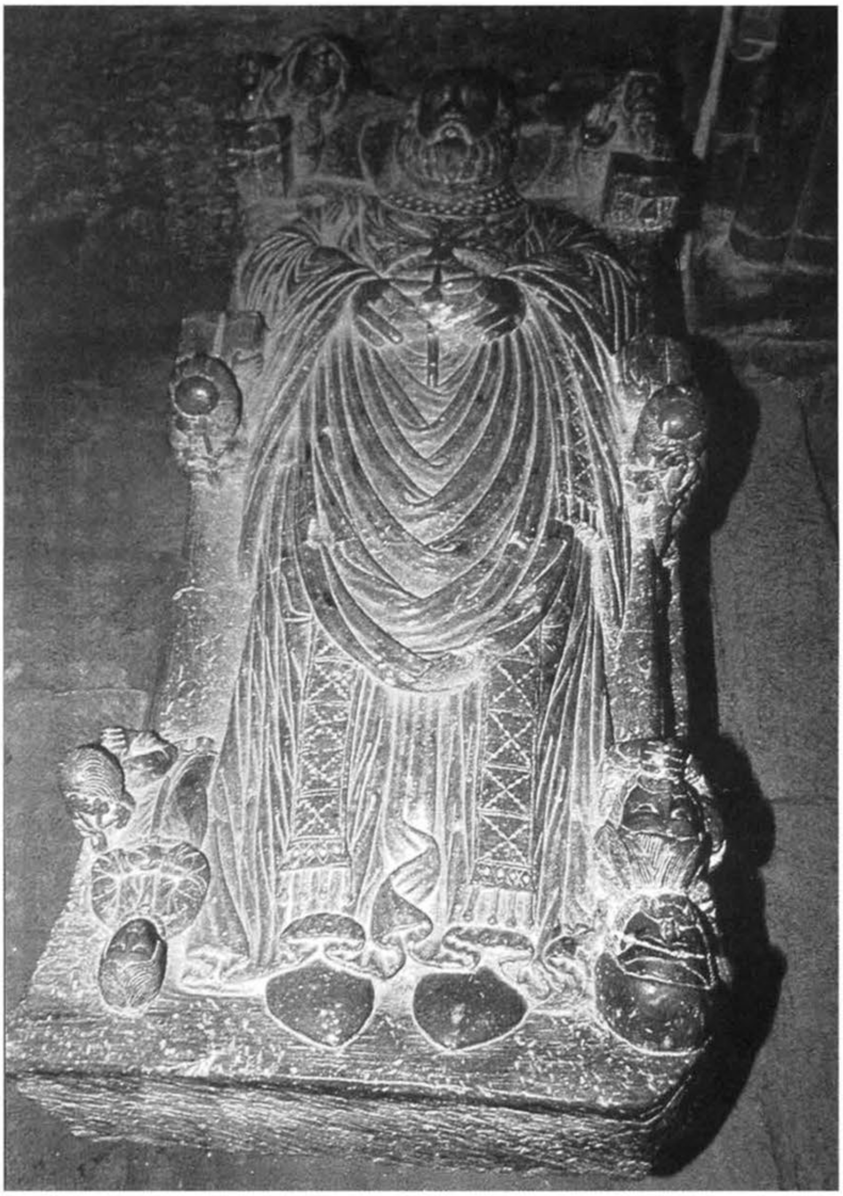


Fig. 1. Cenotaph of San Millán, *c.* 1200. Monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla, Suso (photo: Dirección General de Patrimonio, Junta de La Rioja)

in the Galician monastic church of Celanova, that of Santo Domingo at Silos, the sarcophagus erroneously attributed to Santa Froila at Lugo Cathedral, and that of San Juan de Ortega.[6] Even in exceptional cases, such as the so-called enamel 'altarpiece' of Santo Domingo de Silos, or the shrine of San Vicente de Ávila, the domatomorphic structure of the sarcophagus can also be recognized, undoubtedly because they were intended to shelter the saints' remains.[7]

The innovative introduction of the recumbent effigy on San Millán's cenotaph can be explained, as already stated, by a new interest in the sense of sight—emphasized here by the radically different appearance of the cenotaph with respect to saints' tombs. In San Millán's cenotaph there were no sacred remains, so the designer instead offered the pilgrims a visual performance, a *tableau vivant*, in order to authenticate the holy nature of the place, the *locus sanctus*. Suso was the final stop of a devotional tour that included an earlier station at Yuso for contemplation of the *arca*, which had formulated the public visual imagery of San Millán until then.[8] The cenotaph, therefore, was designed with intentional allusions to the reliquary's sculptural cycle in order to establish a visual equivalence between the two monastic houses. The life-size image of the balding, bearded effigy is dressed in full priestly regalia, as on the ivory reliquary, but here he is rendered notably older (figs 1, 2). As a result, the effigy could easily be identified by pilgrims as the 'holy body' of San Millán, who was known to have died at the age of 101.

A second detail in the cenotaph was intended to reinforce the cross-reference between Suso and Yuso. San Millán's effigy holds a portable

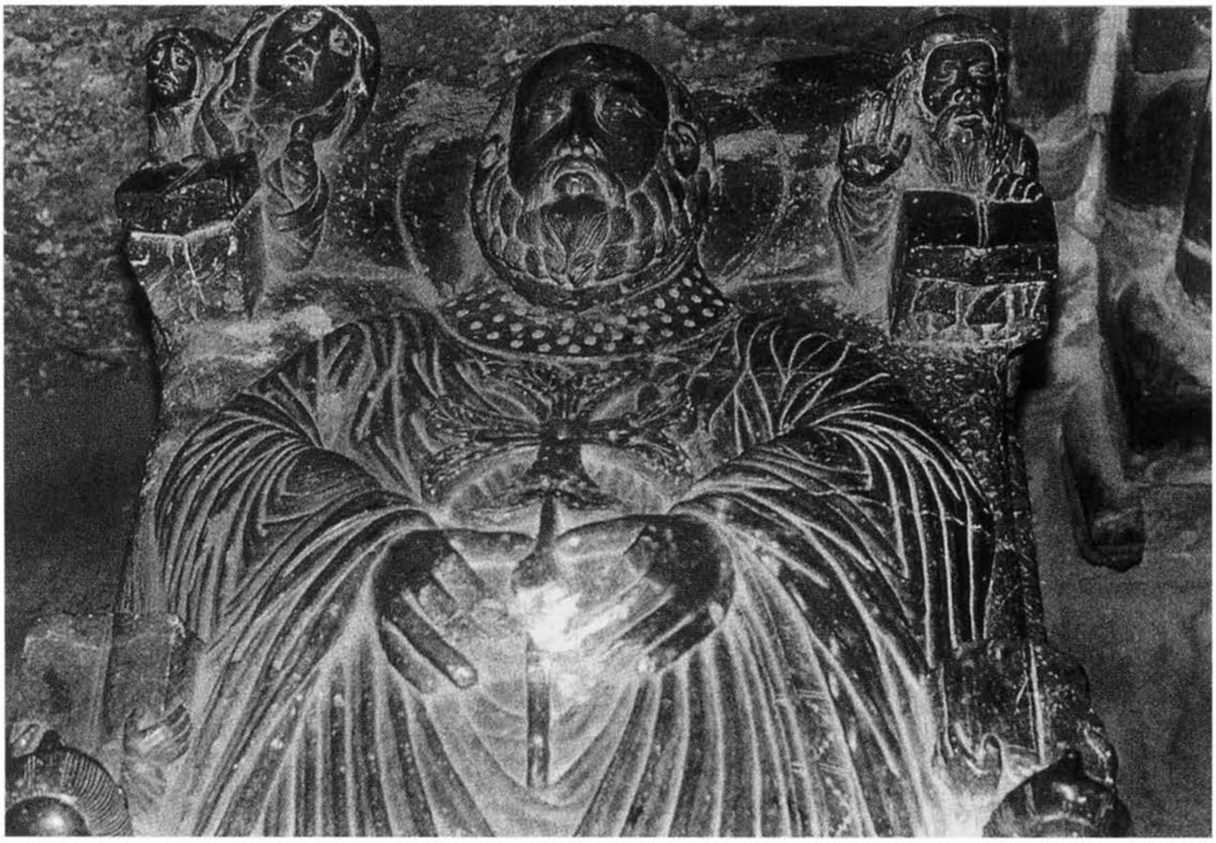


Fig. 2. Cenotaph of San Millán, detail of upper half of effigy, *c.* 1200. Monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla, Suso (photo: after M. Sáiz Rodríguez)

cross similar to the one placed at the head of the saint's deathbed in the reliquary's representation of his death; the same cross is later carried by an acolyte in the scene of the saint's burial. The Mozarabic cross housed at Suso was thought to have been the very cross used by the saint himself. Thus, its appearance in the hands of the effigy visually links the cenotaph both with the shrine down the hill and with the time of the monastery's foundation.[9]

An additional innovation found on San Millán's cenotaph is demonstrated by the way the small figures which flank the *gisant* or serve as pedestals are employed; they encapsulate narrative episodes. In earlier examples of Hispanic sculptured saints' lives, such as those decorating the *Arca of San Millán* or the shrine of San Vicente, compositions offer striking similarities with the conventions for painted hagiographical cycles, as discussed by Francis Wormald, Magdalena Carrasco, and Barbara Abou-El-Haj.[10] In pictorial cycles, according to Abou-El-Haj, 'the authenticity and antiquity of cults is particularly emphasized through a large, distinctive group of portraits, dedication pictures and cult images beyond what text prefaces and letters might call for'.[11] Such portraits and cult images are, in fact, found on the *Arca of San Millán,* a seminal work in the sculptural tradition for saints' lives. On its long sides there are twenty-two panels with narrative episodes from the *vita* and a frontal image of the saint, while on the short sides there are images of Christ blessing, and the death of San Millán—accompanied by portraits of the donors and artists who contributed to the execution of the reliquary itself.[12]

As might be expected, the ratio between scenes of the saint's life and posthumous miracles on the cenotaph and the *arca* differ. On the reliquary, seventeen panels represent Millán's life, and four are dedicated to his posthumous miracles. In contrast, on the cenotaph, only a single event of his life is alluded to by the supporting figures, as will be discussed below. Although the monument's disposition has been altered, it is clear that it was, from the outset, conceived to be almost free-standing. The effigy's feet must have been placed against the wall since this is the only side that was not carved. An old photograph in the Mas Archives informs us of a disposition closer to its original appearance, with crouching men underneath the bier

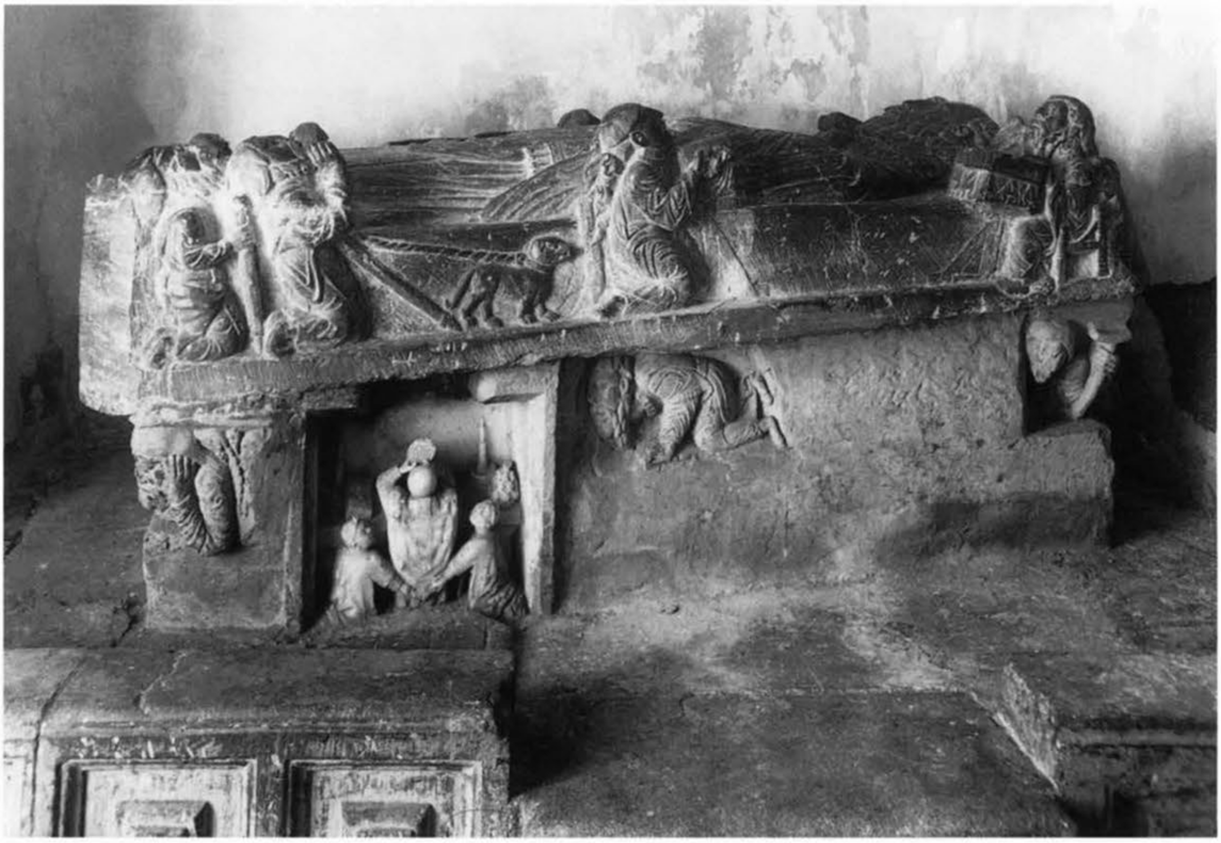


Fig. 3. Cenotaph of San Millán, side view, *c.* 1200, former installation, undated photograph. Monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla, Suso (photo: Mas)

(fig. 3). However, the Mas photograph shows that the monument had already been altered. For instance, the panel with the scene of San Millán officiating at Mass is a later addition.[13] Moreover, both the format and size of the supporting figure on the left lead us to speculate that it was initially set on the opposite corner, as the block has two sculptured faces. It is likely that busts presently found at the front of the cenotaph may once have been situated at the saint's feet. Therefore the position of the cenotaph in relation to the wall corresponds with the position of the saint's bed in the representation of his death on the *arca*.[14]

Reconstructing the base makes it possible to understand the iconography of the monument (fig. 3). A kneeling figure with a torch in his hand is positioned so as to turn the right corner of the bier. A second individual, with long tresses, is creeping under the slab; and a third is supporting the monument with his right hand while resting his head on his other hand. The group is enacting an episode of the *Vita sancti Emiliani* written by Braulio of Saragossa in the sixth century and represented on an ivory panel on the *arca*. The story tells of the frustrated attempt by a group of people possessed by the devil who tried to set fire to the saint's bed while he was sleeping.[15] On the ivory *arca*, the story unfolds in two registers (fig. 4). In the upper one, only two of the possessed are shown holding torches in their hands. In the lower zone, the awakened saint seems to laugh at the uncoordinated evildoers. Perhaps the supporting figures on the cenotaph were understood as the evildoers by the poet Berceo in his amplified version of the episode, since, probably inspired by the cenotaph's imagery, he describes one of them 'with his hand on his cheek planning his villainy' (fig. 3).[16]

On the cenotaph, those potential arsonists possessed by the devil and discussed above have not yet been cured, neither have the blind supplicants depicted with canes and accompanied by a seeing-eye dog, nor has the dead girl at the feet of the *gisant* (figs 1–3). They are the protagonists of two posthumous miracles also recounted by Braulio: a pair of blind men who recovered their sight at the saint's original sixth-century sepulchre, and the little dead girl who was resurrected after being placed on the altar in the saint's oratory. The choice of these two

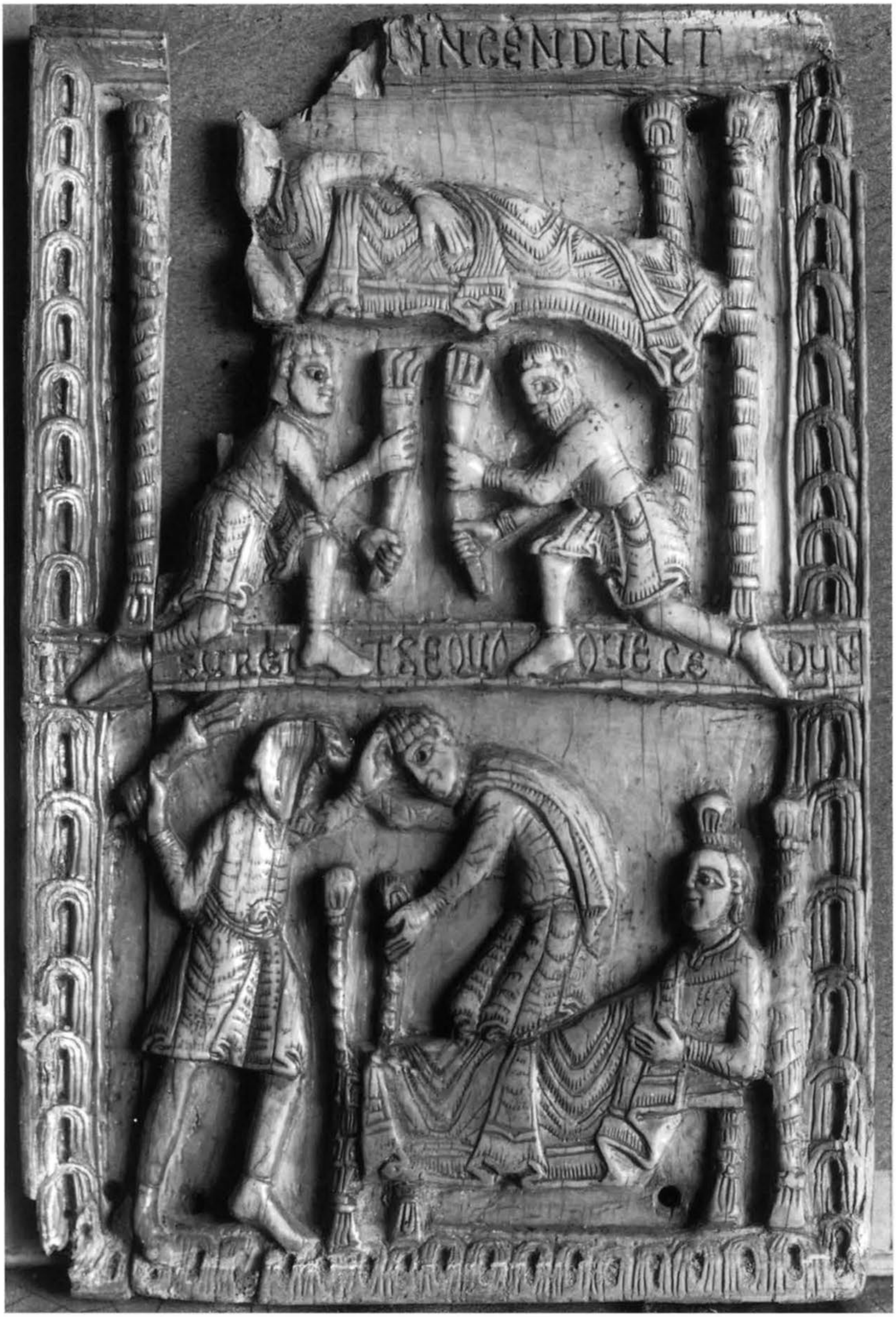

INCENDUNT
SURGIT
DUN

Fig. 4. Reliquary of San Millán, detail of men setting fire to the saint's bed, eleventh century. Monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla, Yuso, Monastic Museum (photo: Mas)

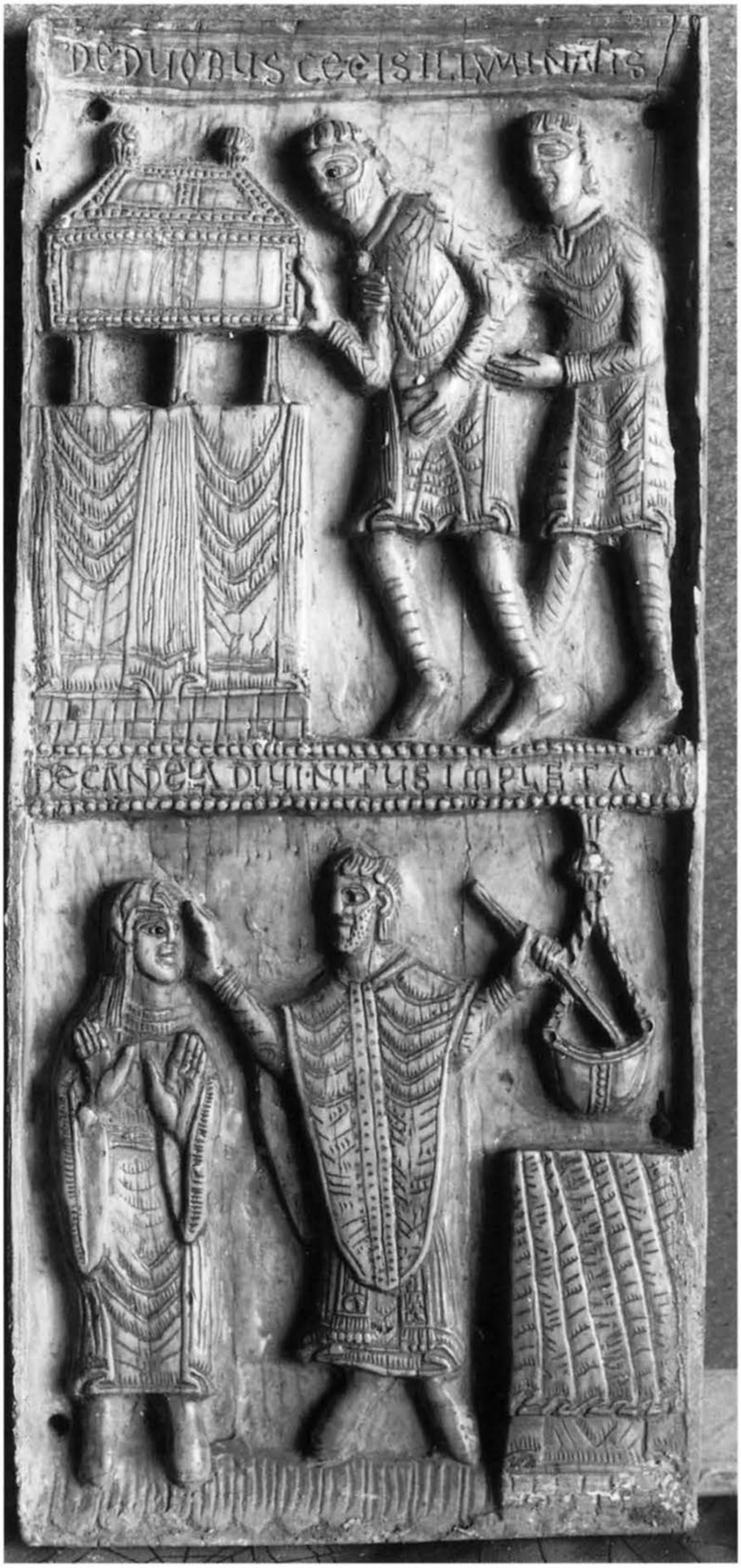

DE DUOBUS CECIS ILLVMINATIS
DE CANDELA DIVINITUS IMPLETA

Fig. 5. Reliquary of San Millán, detail of the miracle of the blind men, eleventh century. Monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla, Yuso, Monastic Museum (photo: Mas)

posthumous miracles was deliberate. Both had taken place in the oratory and at the site of the saint's first tomb. Radically different versions of both episodes appear on the *arca* (fig. 5). There, the blind men are cured by touching the shrine itself, with the effect of authenticating its wondrous power, as Julie Harris has demonstrated.[17] In fact, the man touching the reliquary has opened his eye—clear proof of the occurrence of the miracle. The other individual standing behind him has not yet approached the *arca*, hence his eye remains closed. On the cenotaph, the designer represents the blind men guided by the dog and kneeling in prayer at the tomb.[18] The story of the resurrected girl is also depicted differently on both works of art. On the ivory panel she is shown already resurrected in the company of a priest and standing at the foot of an altar without any additional elements of identification. This could have led pilgrims to identify the site with the altar in the church at Yuso where the reliquary was located. On the other hand, on the cenotaph at Suso, and precisely in the original oratory where the miraculous resuscitation occurred, the girl, apparently still dead and accompanied by her supplicant mother, is placed at the foot of the *gisant* (fig. 1). Thus, the monastic inhabitants installed as sextons at the upper church of Suso, the actual dwelling place of San Millán, sought to emphasize, through the recreation of his posthumous miracles on the cenotaph, the *praesentia* of the saint and the interaction between seekers of cures and his holy remains vicariously embodied in his effigy.

But San Millán was not the only saint buried at Suso. The monastery also housed the remains of the eleventh-century visionary saints Oria and Amunia who had lived there as well. If we accept a local oral tradition, the pair of women seated at Milláns's head on the right of the cenotaph are to be identified with these saints (fig. 2). The monument's designer has thus integrated into the cenotaph both saints' images, just as later, the poet Berceo includes their tombs in the pilgrim's devotional tour of Suso. Berceo had also composed a *Poema de Santa Oria*, based on an older Latin version of a now lost *vita*.[19] After describing both saints' tombs in a cave at Suso in this poem, he concludes, 'These bodies are worthy to be venerated'.[20] Both the attitude and attributes of the two small female figures at the head of the cenotaph conform to the information provided by Berceo about these holy women. The designer's fondness for anecdotal representation is evident once again. The girl, Oria, is trying to remove a book from her grieving mother's lap. Berceo informs us about the literacy of both women, and about the grief of Amunia upon learning of her daughter's imminent death. Both women are also portrayed on the *arca* at Yuso, and the self-referential system with the church down the hill explains the inclusion of their images on the cenotaph.[21] Once again, the events that took place at Suso are emphasized.

The monument of San Millán is of particular interest for the way in which it presents the visitor with a *tableau vivant*. Neither the blind men and the resurrected girl, nor Oria and Amunia, are isolated figures. They attend, in the company of two beardless clerics kneeling and holding their prayer books, a liturgical ceremony officiated by a bearded and tonsured personage, seated at the left side of the saint's head. This figure, perhaps the abbot of the monastery, places his hands upon a book atop a draped lectern. A perpetual petition to the saint is represented here, and the suffering pilgrims who approached the monument could identify with these images of their predecessors in the very place where many miraculous events had occurred. In this way, San Millán's cenotaph manifests a shift in the visual language of saints' memorial monuments from declaratory narrative, as in the ivory shrine, to dramatic episode.[22]

Rituals and Images

Liturgical ceremonies associated with the cult of a saint played an important role in the innovative design of San Millán's cenotaph. I firmly believe that other rituals related to saints' tombs in the Middle Ages could have exerted their influence on its final design. Both the twelfth-century *Liber de vita et virtutibus sanctissimi Rudesindi episcopi* and documentary evidence from the cathedral of Santo Domingo de la Calzada, where Santo Domingo of la Calzada's tomb was housed, provide descriptions of the types of ceremonies to which I refer. One of these practices consisted of setting the suffering person under the sepulchre, which was usually elevated on columns. The paralytic Miguel was installed in this way, prostrated among the columns of San Rosendo's tomb.[23] Circumambulating the saint's tomb was another medieval practice, documented in the cathe-

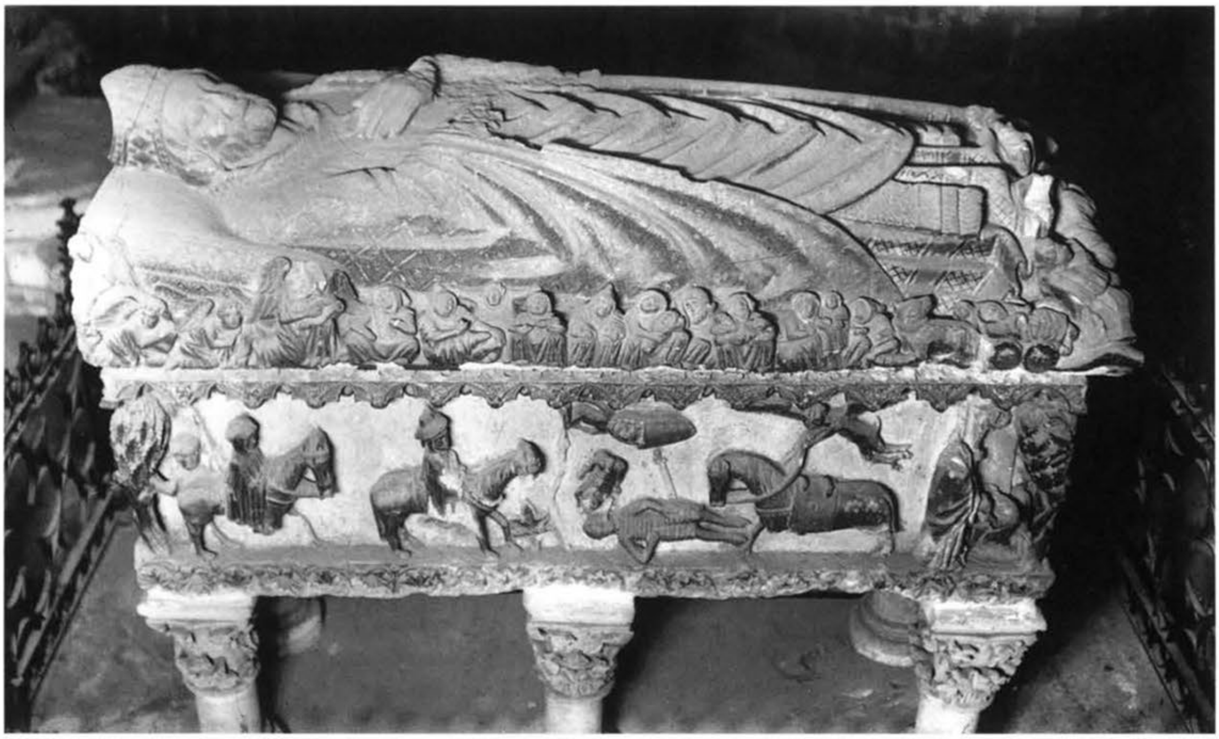


Fig. 6. Tomb of San Pedro of El Burgo de Osma, *c.* 1258, photograph before 1967. Cathedral of El Burgo de Osma (photo: Mas)

dral of Santo Domingo de la Calzada, not far from San Millán de la Cogolla.[24] These physical activities very likely suggested the disposition of those individuals possessed by the devil carved at the base of San Millán's sculptured funerary bier. The implied beholders—that is the worshippers who knelt before, lay down under, or walked around the tomb—can be recognized in the ritual performances represented on the monument.

Other rituals may have also determined specific structural and figurative features on another tomb, that of San Pedro of El Burgo de Osma. Carved in 1258 for the eleventh-century bishop-saint who restored the see, the tomb was originally placed in the chapel opening onto the south transept (fig. 6).[25] The sculptor rendered in the reliefs on all four sides of the sarcophagus the story of this bishop-saint with multiple scenes from his life, miracles, death, translation, and entombment. But he privileged one surface of the tomb as the primary face, reserving it solely for the scene of the punishment and subsequent humiliation of the Lord of El Burgo de Osma. The *Vita sancti Petri Oxomensis episcopi* tells us that, during the journey of the bishop to San Esteban de Gormaz, the Lord of Osma went to meet and attack him. Suddenly the irascible nobleman became possessed by a demon who knocked him down from his horse. This part of the narrative is depicted in the central field of the relief. After being cured by the bishop-saint, the lord asked for his mercy as can be seen on the right corner of the urn, in the detail where the lord kneels before San Pedro.[26] The choice of this scene for the front of the tomb was not alien to mid-thirteenth-century episcopal and political concerns. The troubled relationship between episcopal and municipal powers that had characterized Pedro's life more than a century earlier reappeared in the mid-thirteenth century, coeval with the erection of the shrine. The carving of the bishop-saint's new monument was ordered by Bishop Gil of Osma who was also experiencing difficulties with the local nobility. During the same time that the designs for the tomb were in the works, Bishop Gil, under great duress from these struggles, felt compelled to appeal to the king to intervene in this situation.[27] Thus, the subjugation of the political to the episcopal that was awarded pride of place on the tomb of San Pedro of El Burgo de Osma was not simply an episode germane to the *vita* of this saintly man. It appears that his successor to the see of Osma utilized the holy dead to speak to contemporary local nobility and to pilgrims. He designed a visual message concerning hagiographic precedents for episcopal hegemony in this particular municipality.

Despite the single extended episode represented on the front, the tomb offers a traditional narrative cycle, resembling pictorial hagiographies, such as that on the shrine of San Vicente in Ávila.[28] Conversely, the cover, with the *gisant* surrounded by small figures, seems to have been inspired by the compositional pattern of San Millán's cenotaph. However, the unity of both scale and format of the diminutive figures that embellish the cenotaph of San Millán has been altered. Angels and canons seated at the back, the head, and the feet of the dead prelate are represented on a larger scale than the beggars (fig. 6). The chanting canons officiate at a ceremony that finds its celestial counterpart in the singing angels emerging from clouds. These angels and monks actively engaged in reading, censing, and singing bring to mind the blissful message of a twelfth-century hymn composed in honour of San Pedro which begins with these words: 'Let the celestial armies celebrate the festivity of such a great pontifex sent by heavenly order to *Oxama Biturica* (El Burgo de Osma)'.[29]

The afflicted beggars do not attend the liturgical celebrations. Instead, they manifest the reasons for the heavenly joy: all kinds of diseases can be cured simply by visiting the tomb of the bishop-saint. One can recognize here the gouty man from Andalucía with his enlarged feet, the paralytic woman carried on a chariot, and the mute girl; they are all mentioned as beneficiaries of miracles in the twelfth-century *Vita sancti Petri Oxomensis.* The compositional arrangement juxtaposes many small figures, and the emphasis on vivid representations of deformities, such as the beggar holding his shoe and baring his injured foot, accords with the character and disposition of ex-votos offered at saints' tombs. The ancient custom of offering ex-votos survived throughout the Middle Ages, and there is not only literary but also pictorial evidence of this practice in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Castilla.[30] Freed captives holding their chains thank Santo Domingo of Silos in a relief now affixed to a wall in the cloister (fig. 7).[31] The relief represents the actual ceremony of offering ex-votos, as was done at Silos. There, former prisoners' chains decorated the now-destroyed pilgrims' entrance to the church, and some may still be seen in the Romanesque transept.[32] Berceo tells us how the freed captive Servan deposited his chains on Santo Domingo of Silos' tomb, following the saint's instructions.[33] This popular practice is also illustrated in the miniatures of Alfonso X's *Cantigas*, where liberated captives offering ex-votos to the Virgin appear.[34]

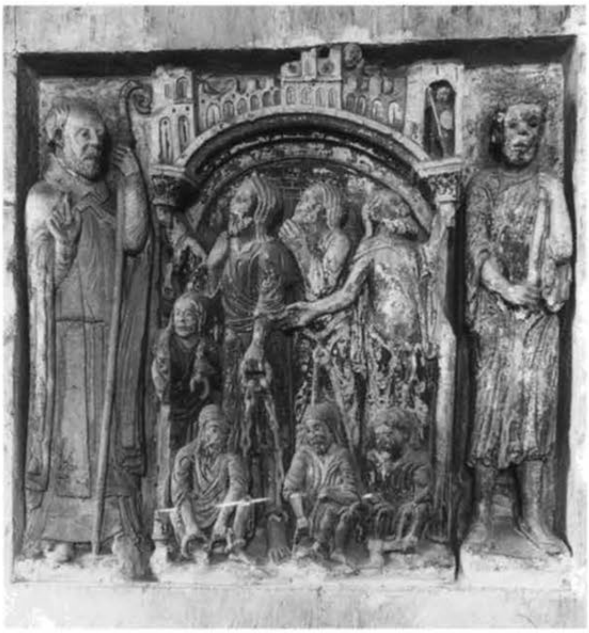


Fig. 7. Santo Domingo freeing captives, *c.* 1200, cloister. Monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos (photo: Mas)

Another custom among those seeking relief from their maladies was to embrace or touch the columns that supported the elevated sepulchre. In the *Vita Rudesindi episcopi* we read of the extraordinary cure of a blind woman while grasping the columns upon which Rosendo's sarcophagus rested.[35] Another miracle achieved by the same means appears in the only surviving illustrated life of San Rosendo, now in the Lisbon National Library. On fol. 14v a demon escapes from a woman's mouth as she holds onto a column, thanks to the intervention of the saint standing on the other side (fig. 8).[36]

The Osma monument was originally set on columns as well, as can be seen in a nineteenth-century engraving and in an old, though unfortunately undated, photograph (fig. 6).[37] The ritual of touching columns could have determined certain motifs that appear on saints' tombs. Modern viewers often read columns or trees simply as framing devices to separate one scene from another or to define an interior setting, but on a saint's tomb these objects may take on deeper significance. The free-standing tree and column carved on the front corners of San Pedro's sarcophagus, for example, may

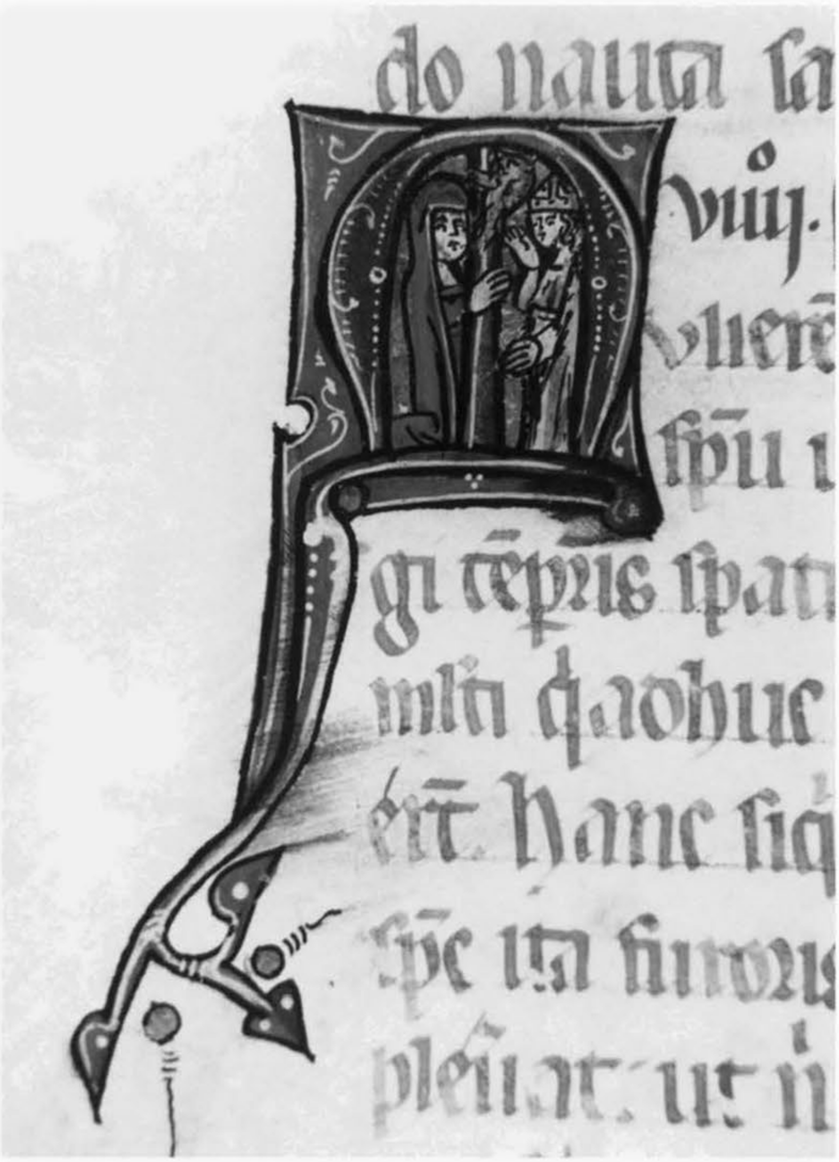


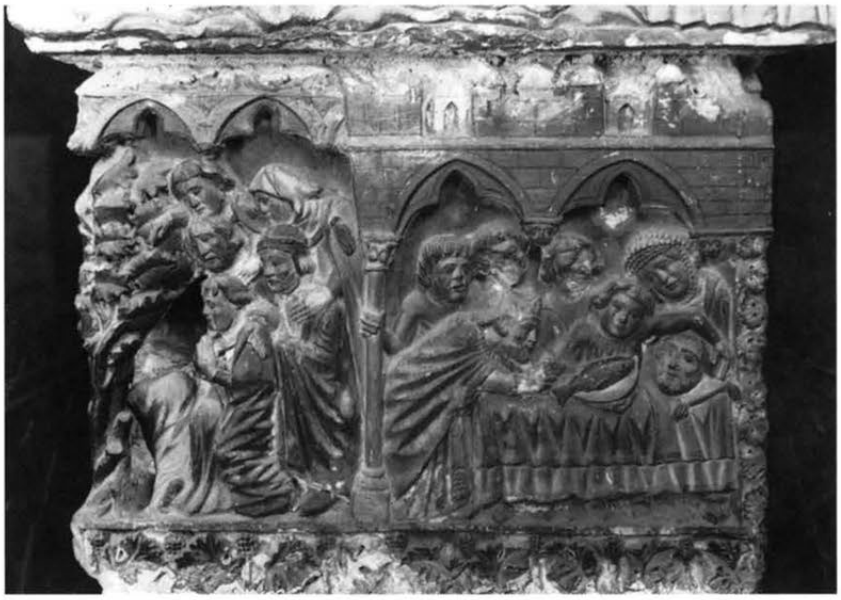
Fig. 8. Woman embracing a column, *Liber de vita et virtutibus Rudesindi episcopi* (Lisbon, National Library, MS Iluminado 184, fol. 14v), mid-thirteenth century (photo: Lisbon National Library)

have been intended as visual prompts for grasping the original supports (fig. 4). For instance, the man grasping the column in the relief of an innkeeper's healing suggests this thaumaturgic practice (fig. 9). Perhaps it is also suggested by the figure whose arm is wound around a column in the prisoner relief of Santo Domingo of Silos. In fact, the strategic placement of this figure immediately adjacent to the saint, evokes the saint's *praesentia* in his tomb (fig. 7).[38] At Silos, pilgrims were able to touch the stone altar over the tomb through the intercolumniations of an enamel altarpiece.[39] Hence, several structural and figurative devices on saints' shrines employ a visual language of expectation and desire, inspired or determined by actual rites that took place at saints' tombs, and intended to provoke the pilgrim's active response.

Tasting the Sepulchre

Images on saints' sepulchres were intended to stimulate the sensorial apprehension of touch and sight on the part of spectators, as we have already seen. In addition, some elements on saints' tombs must be related to gustatory experiences, and in particular with rituals involving the Eucharist. In both San Millán's cenotaph and in San Pedro's tomb one can see carefully detailed representations of grapevines. On San Millán's cenotaph luscious bunches of grapes are placed at the backs of several of the small figures that flank the effigy of the saint (fig. 1). On San Pedro's monument the grapes appear at the head of the *gisant* (fig. 11). The regions where these saints' tombs are located—La Rioja and Ribera del Duero—were renowned for

Fig. 9. Tomb of San Pedro of El Burgo de Osma, detail of the healing of the innkeeper, *c.* 1258. Cathedral of El Burgo de Osma (photo: Mas)



their wines; therefore, providing a visual symbol that would insure a good harvest was probably one reason to include the grapevines. At El Burgo de Osma, vines frame the scene of a miracle that took place while a group of peasants were praying for rain at San Pedro's sepulchre. Prayers for rain, necessary for good growth, were also recited at San Millán's cenotaph at Suso, as the monk Fernandus attests in his *Miracula sancti Emiliani*.[40] Thus, these images of grapes may be related to local traditions of popular piety. The Eucharistic connotations associated with the vine in the Middle Ages were an additional factor in incorporating this motif to accompany the eager supplicants on both monuments. Be that as it may, the Eucharistic symbolism could also suggest more specifically a tasting ritual associated with saints' tombs. A kind of sepulchral Eucharist, for instance, is alluded to in documents from Silos and Celanova in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Grimaldus informs us about miracles performed at Silos by giving wine mixed with earth from Santo Domingo's original grave in the cloister to supplicants, and the *Vita Rudesindi* attests to the wondrous healing of a woman and a monk by the same means in the Galician monastery.[41]

The Figure Gazing at the Spectator

Another device found on tomb decoration and intended to stimulate an empathetic response is that of the sculptured figure who makes eye contact with the beholder.[42] A seated cleric pointing to an open book and turning his head to gaze at the spectator is located at the back of the Osma sarcophagus between the scenes of the saint's death and the translation of his relics—two of the central episodes of any hagiographic tale which are liturgically celebrated (fig. 10). His presence here affirms the close correspondence between the cycle displayed around the tomb and the textual version he holds open in his hand. The image functions, rhetorically speaking, as an authenticating topos for hagiographic literature. It also serves as intermediary between the narrative cycle which embellishes the tomb and the devout beholder who simultaneously prays to the holy dead and contemplates the imagery.

There are some precedents for this phenomenon of making eye contact with the viewer in Spanish saints' tombs. In another monument, the sarcophagus of Doña Blanca in Nájera, angels presenting her eidolon gaze at the spectator; and although the queen was not a saint, the suggestion that she is saint-like is made emphatic in her tomb, as Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo has demonstrated.[43] Yet another precedent for the gazing monk in San Pedro's sarcophagus is found in the tomb of a Castilian saint which remains to be discussed: that of Santo Domingo de la Calzada, which was carved in the first quarter of the thirteenth century (colour pl. 1).[44] Today, the *gisant* is practically concealed beneath a sixteenth-century canopy, and several fragments from the tomb were

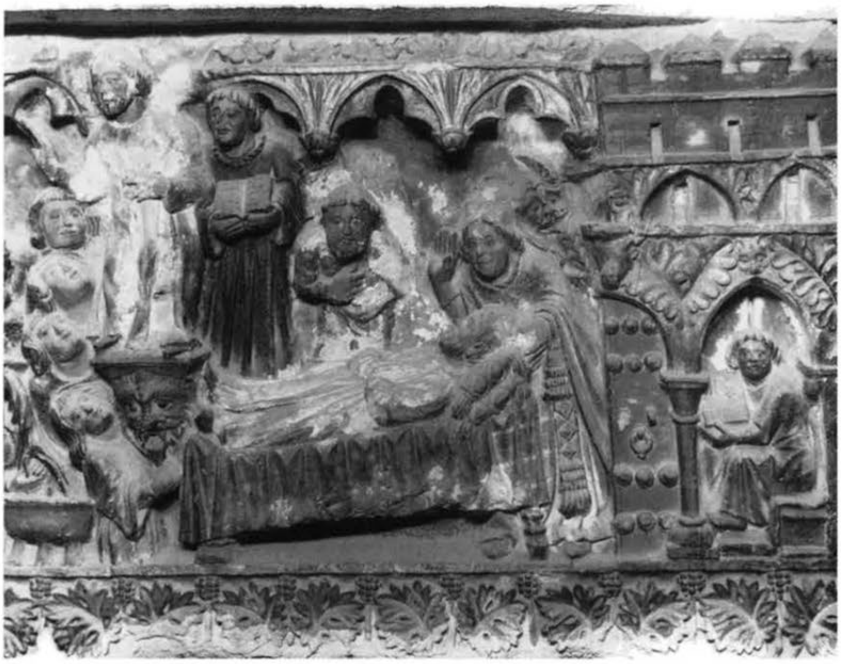


Fig. 10. Tomb of San Pedro of El Burgo de Osma, detail of a monk reading, *c.* 1258. Cathedral of El Burgo de Osma (photo: Mas)

reused on the modern sarcophagus in the crypt. Both the format and the iconography of one fragment suggest that it originally belonged to a baldachin that surmounted the tomb. Unfortunately, because of an obstruction, no photograph can adequately illustrate the saint's effigy from behind its head, the strategic vantage point for the spectator's interactivity. The Santo Domingo *gisant*, like that of San Millán, is actively integrated into a ceremony performed by the acolytes enshrouding the corpse and covering his head with the monastic cowl. Furthermore, the dramatic content has a heightened dimension: the acolytes turn their heads to gaze at the hypothetical beholder standing at the head of the monument, inviting him to circumambulate the tomb in order to contemplate the venerable corpse symbolized by its *gisant*.

The intimate relationship between worshippers and saints' tombs stimulated an active response to the sepulchre itself, and prompted such ritual actions as circumambulation, as these examples on Castilian saints' tombs demonstrate. Figures gazing at spectators, embracing columns, attending liturgical ceremonies, or emulating ex-votos were designed to engage the beholders' emotions and remind them of the saint's *praesentia* in his tomb. The case of the tomb of San Pedro of El Burgo de Osma was famous in this respect, as both the *vita* and the carvings of the monument manifest. At the head of the sarcophagus and in its second register a posthumous miracle is represented. The bishop-saint and two of his successors rise from their tombs with the intention of preventing another bishop, who was guilty of simony, from being buried near them (fig. 11). The drunken peasant on the lid above may also allude to another posthumous miracle. A pilgrim, ignoring the advice of his companions who devoutly made their offerings to the saint, irreverently sat on Pedro's sepulchre. He was tossed off the holy tomb by the saint himself, who stirred about inside his coffin and raised its lid. A later collection of miracles informs us that San Pedro arose from his tomb to sing litanies for the sake of those buried at the cathedral cloister.[45] Perhaps the slant of the *gisant*, unusual in an extant monument conceived for circumambulation, could have been understood by pilgrims who visited the tomb as a warning: 'Don't disturb the rest of this unsettled prelate'. San Pedro's monument, as the other tombs discussed in this article, was an 'interactive sepulchre'.

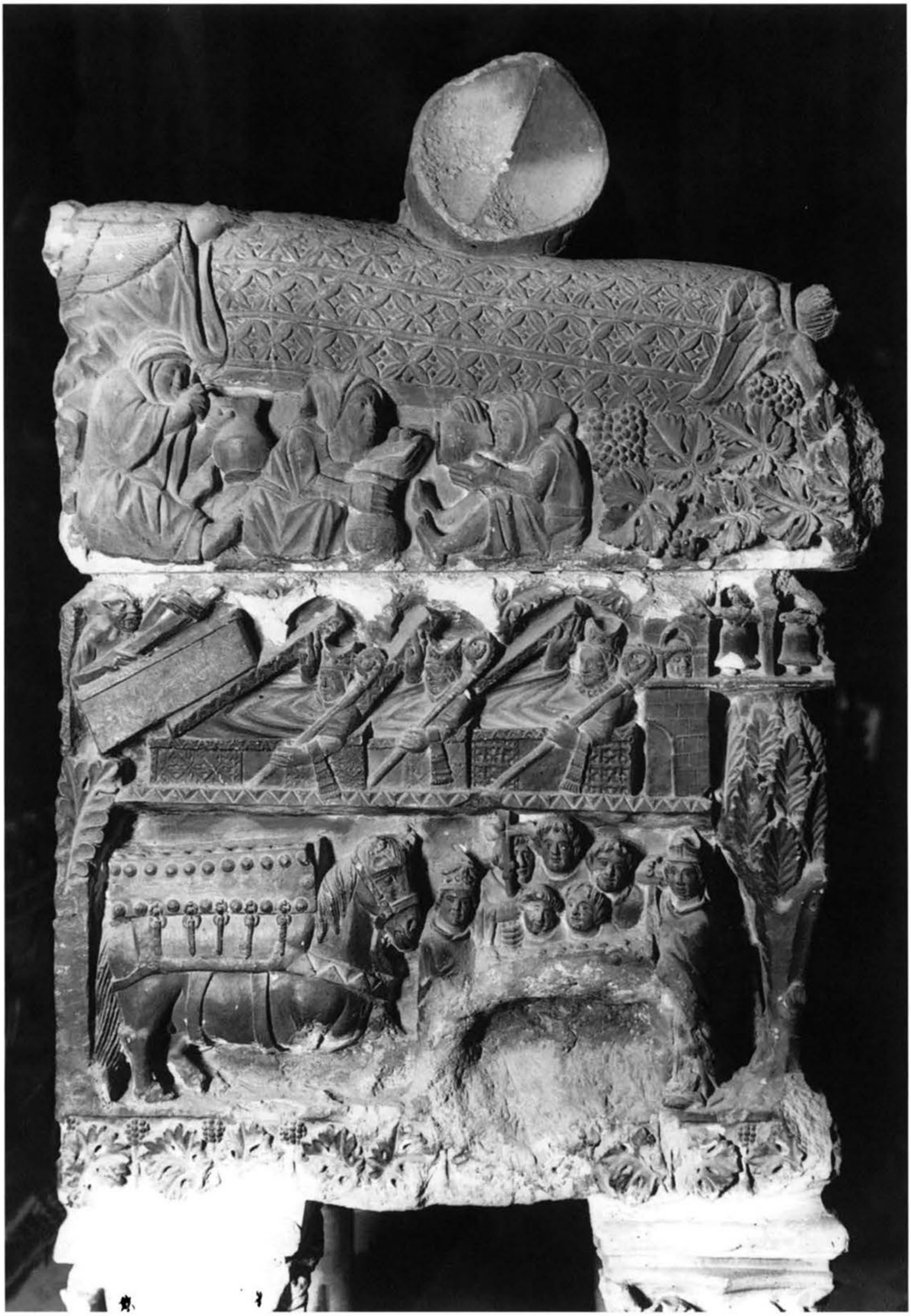


Fig. 11. Tomb of San Pedro of El Burgo de Osma, detail of posthumous miracles of San Pedro, *c.* 1258. Cathedral of El Burgo de Osma (photo: Mas)

NOTES

I wish to thank Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo and Stephen Lamia for their valuable suggestions and assistance with the translation of this paper. I also wish to express my gratitude to Domingo Contreras and José Antonio González Rojas for their generosity with their precious material on the tomb of Santo Domingo de la Calzada; to the Dirección General de Patrimonio of the Junta de Logroño, who provided me with photographic material on San Millán's cenotaph, nowadays difficult to photograph; and to Inma Gigirey for her logistical support while I was writing this paper.

1. On the increasing interest in the faculty of sight with respect to medieval saints' tombs, see Paul Binski, *Medieval Death. Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), p. 78. On Hispanic medieval saints tombs, see Joaquín Yarza Luaces, 'El santo después de la muerte en la Baja Edad Media Hispana', in *La idea y sentimiento de la muerte en la historia y en el arte de la Edad Media* (II) (Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago, 1992), pp. 95-117.

2. The cenotaph is often misdated; for example, Fray Pedro Fabo, *El convento de San Millán* (Cádiz: Imprenta de Manuel Alvarez, 1914), p. 8, and Constantino Garrán, *San Millán de la Cogolla y sus dos insignes monasterios* (Logroño: Diputación Provincial, 1929), p. 11, dated it to the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries; and even now Juan B. Olarte, *Monasterio de San Millán de la Cogolla. Suso y Yuso* (León: Edilesa, 1995), p. 30, dates it to the first half of the twelfth century. José Angel García de Cortázar, *El dominio del monasterio de San Millán de la Cogolla (siglos X a XIII). Introducción a la historia rural de la Castilla Altomedieval* (Salamanca: Universidad, 1969), p. 22, dates it to 1175, and María Jesús Alvarez Coca, *La escultura románica en piedra en la Rioja Alta Logroño* (Logroño: Instituto de temas Riojanos, 1978), pp. 67–76, characterizes it as late Romanesque and dates it to the end of the twelfth century. This opinion was accepted by Luis-María de Lojendio and Abundio Rodriguez, *Castilla*, I: *Burgos, Logroño, Palencia, Santander* (Madrid: Encuentro, 1978), p. 367; Soledad Silva Verástegui, 'La escultura funeraria en el románico español', in *Hispania Christiana. Estudios en honor al Prof. Dr. José Orlandis Rovira*, ed. by Josep-Ignasi Saranyana and Eloy Tejero (Pamplona: Eunsa), pp. 331–42 (p. 339); and Minerva Sáenz Rodríguez, 'El cenotafio de San Millán de la Cogolla en el Monasterio de Suso', *Berceo*, 133 (1997), 51–84. The monument was carved in dark alabaster; cf. M. Ibáñez Rodríguez, 'El cenotafio de San Millán', *El hall. Boletín informativo del Colegio de Arquitectos de La Rioja*, 21 (1996), 2, who notes that Christine Geiger, from the University of Munich, is writing a dissertation on the tomb, which I have not been able to consult. See below, note 5, for the rationale for a thirteenth-century date.

3. On the original burial place and the early history of Suso and Yuso monasteries, cf. Antonio Ubieto Arteta, 'Los primeros años del monasterio de San Millán', *Príncipe de Viana*, 34 (1973), 121–200; idem, *Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla*, I: *795–1076* (Valencia: Anubar, 1976); idem, *Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla*, II: *1076–1200* (Valencia: Anubar, 1989); L. Alberto Monreal Jimeno, 'San Millán de Suso. Aportaciones sobre las primeras etapas del cenobio Millánense', *Príncipe de Viana*, 49 (1988), 71–95; and Ismael Maestro Pablo, 'Reflexiones en torno a las iglesias y monasterios de San Millán de la Cogolla (siglos X–XI)', *Príncipe de Viana*, 57 (1996), 89–100. Traditionally, it is maintained that two translations of the relics took place: the first was carried out in 1030, and the definitive one in 1067, when the sacred remains were placed in the *arca*. On the *arca*, see J. Peña, *Los marfiles de San Millán de la Cogolla* (Logroño: Ochoa, 1978); M. A. de las Heras y Núñez, 'La literatura emilianense y el arte medieval riojano', *Ephialte. Lecturas de Historia del Arte*, 2 (1990), 222–26; and Julie A. Harris, 'The Arca of San Millán de la Cogolla and its Ivories' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1989), who revisited the dates of the translations; and eadem, 'Culto y narrativa en los marfiles de San Millán de la Cogolla', *Boletín del Museo Arqueológico Nacional*, 9 (1990), 69–85. For the alterations to the saint's oratory, see Sáenz Rodríguez, 'El cenotafio', pp. 62–63, and Isidro G. Bango Torviso, 'Iglesias de Peregrinación', *Arte*, 5 (1999), 64–70.

4. Brian Dutton has analyzed how Fernandus *monachus*, the author of the *Prefatio in liber translationis sancti Emiliani a Ferndinando monaco* and *Miracula beati Emiliani*, and Berceo in his life of Saint Millán were motivated by the desire for pilgrims on their way to Compostela to visit Suso; see his *La 'Vida de San Millán de La Cogolla' de Gonzalo de Berceo* (London: Tamesis Books Limited, 1967); and also B. de Gaiffier, 'Les sources de la *Translatio Sancti Emiliani*', *Etudes critiques d'hagiographie et d'iconologie* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1967), pp. 140–55. This 'pilgrimage enterprise' seems to have begun *c.* 1173 when Doña Isabel donated to Suso monastery a hospital in Azofra, itself located along the pilgrimage road ('ad atrium sanctorum confessorum Emilium et Felicis [...] unum hospitale in Azofra, iuxta caminum beati Iacobi limina petentium, cum sua Ecclesia Sancti Petri ad tumulandos peregrinos circa caminum fundata'; (see Ubieto Arteta, *Cartulario*, II, 422–23). This initial effort was strengthened by the donation made by García Pérez and his wife of a guest-house for pilgrims in Barrio Estabell (Gruñón), also situated on the pilgrimage road to Compostela ('illam alvergariam [...] Caminus peregrinorum est de una parte et de alia parte alvergarie'); see ibid, pp. 344–45.

5. A date *c.* 1200 for the cenotaph is supported on the basis of historical and stylistic arguments. Both Fernandus and Berceo seem to have looked at its imagery for inspiration. Thus, it must have been carved before 1225–30, when Fernandus wrote the *Miracula* and after 1186 when the 'pilgrimage enterprise' was strengthened. On the other hand, the survival of some features of the style of the sculpture of the second workshop from Silos suggested a date *c.* 1200 for the cenotaph to Serafín Moralejo, 'Raimundo de Borgoña (†1107) o Fernando Alfonso (†1214)? Un episodio olvidado en la historia del panteón real compostelano', *Galicia en la Edad Media* (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 1990), pp. 161–79 (p. 168, n. 27).

6. On the tomb of San Rosendo, cf. Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz, María Virtudes Pardo Gómez, and Daría Vilariño Pintos, *Ordoño de Celanova: Vida y Milagros de San Rosendo* (Santiago de Compostela: Galicia, 1990), pp. 303–04; and the article by Eduardo Carrero Santamaría in this volume. On Santa Froila's tomb in Lugo Cathedral, see James D'Emilio, 'Tradición local y aportaciones foráneas en la escultura románica tardía: Compostela, Lugo, Carrión', in *Actas del Simposio Internacional sobre 'O Portico da Gloria e a Arte do seu Tempo'* (Santiago: Xunta de Galicia, 1993), pp. 83–102 (pp. 88, 93, n. 37), who elaborates the theory of Bertaux on the Burgundian affiliation of its sculpture; Émile Bertaux, 'La sculpture chrétienne en Espagne des origines

au XIVe siècle', *Histoire de l'art*, ed. by André Michel, 8 vols (Paris: A. Colin, 1905–29), II, 1906, pp. 243–44. D'Emilio identifies the tomb with that of Bishop Odoario. It is possible, however, that the monument was carved for San Froilán, Bishop of León, whose remains were claimed by both sees. On Leonese claims to his figure and his remains at the end of the twelfth century, see Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras, 'Una empresa olvidada del primer gótico hispano: la fachada de la sala capitular de la catedral de León', *Archivo Español de arte*, 276 (1996), 289–406 (pp. 399–400). The earliest evidence of the cult of San Froilán at Lugo is found in a thirteenth-century missal; see Xosé Fernández Fernández, 'O Misal lucense, singular texto litúrxico do Arquivo da catedral', *Lucensia*, 9 (1993), 71–84. For illustrations of San Froilán's sarcophagus, see Manuel Chamoso Lamas, *Escultura funeraria en Galicia* (Ourense: Instituto de Estudios orensanos 'Padre Feijoo', Diputación de Ourense, 1979), pp. 237–39. On the tomb of San Juan de Ortega, see Braulio Valdivieso Ausín, *San Juan de Ortega, hito vivo en el camino de Santiago* (Burgos: Santuario de San Juan de Ortega, 1985), pp. 108–14. On another non-Castilian example, see Francesca Español, 'Le sépulcre de Sant Ramon de Roda. Utilisation politique du corps saint', *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxà*, 29 (1998), 177–87.

7. On the so-called enamel 'urna' of San Domingo of Silos, see Manuel Gómez-Moreno, 'La urna de Santo Domingo de Silos', *Archivo Español de arte*, 48 (1941), 493–502. His conclusions were accepted by Marie-Madeleine Gauthier and Geneviève François, *Emaux méridionaux. Catalogue international de l'oeuvre de Limoges. L' epoque romane*, 2 vols (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1987), I, cat. 68, pp. 79–81; and Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, 'L'Atelier d'Orfebrerie de Silos a l'epoque romane', *El Romanico en Silos. IX Centenario de la consagración de la iglesia y claustro* (Silos: Abadía de Silos, 1990), pp. 377–95 (p. 383); but see the recent opinion summarized by Constancio del Álamo in the exhibition catalogue *Tesoro Sagrado y Monarquía*, León, 2000, cat. nos. 161–162, pp. 400–02, and idem, 'El sepulcro altar del cuerpo santo en la antigua iglesia de Silos', *Actas del Congreso internacional sobre la abadía de Santo Domingo de Silos* (forthcoming). The original burial place in the cloister is documented by Santo Domingo's biographer, Grimaldo, I, XXIII, in Vitalino Valcárcel, *La 'Vita Dominici Silensis' de Grimaldo. Estudio, edición crítica y traducción* (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1982), pp. 107–09. On the epitaph in the cloister, see Miguel C. Vivancos, 'El claustro de Silos y las fuentes documentales', *Silos. IX Centenario*, pp. 77–84 (p. 79); Vicente García Lobo, 'La epigrafía del claustro de Silos', *Silos. IX Centenario*, pp. 85–104 (p. 97, pl. 5), and the article by Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo in this volume. On Saint Vincent's shrine in Ávila, see the article by Daniel Rico Camps in this volume.

8. A tenth-century illustrated *vita* of San Millán had only two marginal miniatures representing two miracles, and one of the illustrated folios is now lost; see G. Antolín Pajares, *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*, 5 vols (Madrid: Helnica, 1910), I, 42–45; Harris, 'Culto y narrativa', p. 71, n. 15; and Soledad Silva Verástegui, 'Miniaturas inéditas de la "Vida de San Millán de La Cogolla" en un códice del siglo X', *Berceo*, 124 (1993), 61–66. The audience for this manuscript was supposed to be strictly monastic, not public.

9. Three arms of a Mozarabic cross found at Suso are now distributed between the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid, and the Musée du Louvre, Paris; see Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *Arte árabe español hasta los almohades. Arte mozárabe*, Ars Hispaniae, 22 vols (Madrid: Plus Ultra, 1951), III, 406; Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, *Ivoires du Moyen Age* (Friburg: Office du Livre, 1978), no. 85. On the intentional representation of the cross at the head of the deathbed and on the scene of the burial of the saint on the *arca*, see Harris, 'Culto y narrativa', p. 70 and fig. 9.

10. See Francis Wormald, 'Some Illustrated Manuscripts of the Lives of Saints', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 35 (1952–53), 248–66; Magdalena Carrasco, 'An Early Illustrated Manuscript of the Passion of St. Agatha (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 5594)', *Gesta*, 24 (1985), 19–32; eadem, 'Spirituality and Historicity in Pictorial Hagiography: Two Miracles by St. Albinus of Angers', *Art History*, 12 (1989), 1–21; eadem, 'Spirituality in Context: The Romanesque Illustrated Life of St. Radegund of Poitiers (Poitiers, Bibl. Mun., MS 250)', *Art Bulletin*, 72 (1990), 414–35; eadem, 'Sanctity and Experience in Pictorial Hagiography: Two Illustrated Lives of Saints from Romanesque France', in *Images of Sainthood and Medieval Europe*, ed. by Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 414–35; and Barbara Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints. Formations and Transformations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

11. Abou-El-Haj, *Medieval Cult of Saints*, p. 35.

12. This is a standard compositional mode for reliquary shrines; see San Vicente's monumental shrine, discussed by Daniel Rico Camps in this volume. Paradoxically, in the realm of Castilla and León illuminated hagiographical cycles are scant. Besides the *vita* of San Millán alluded to in note 8, the cycle of the martyrdom of San Facundo (Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Cod. 9, fol. 106v, 107v, 108, 108v) is short and reproduces not the life, but the martyrdom; see Soledad Silva Verástegui, 'Un ciclo inédito del martirio de los santos Facundo y Primitivo, patronos del monasterio de Sahagún, en un leccionario del siglo XII', *Archivos Leoneses*, 46, nos 91–92 (1992), 391–98. The *Liber Sancti Jacobi* only shows the scene of the *inventio* of the sepulchre and some portraits. The thirteenth-century illustrated *Vita Rudesindi* (Lisbon, National Library, MS Illuminado 184, fols. 7v, 11v, 13, 13v, 14v, 22, 29v) is a late example; it shows historiated initials, but not a narrative cycle.

13. Fray Prudencio de Sandoval in his description of the cenotaph includes the relief of the Mass of San Millán, a fourteenth-century addition, and locates the tomb 'at the back of the oratory behind a bar and covered with a rich cloth'; Sandoval, *Primera parte de las fundaciones de los monasterios del glorioso Padre San Benito* (Madrid: Luís Sánchez, 1601), fol. 21v.

14. I would like to thank Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo for this observation. For an illustration of the current installation see Olarte, *Suso y Yuso*, pp. 24, 25, and 28.

15. For Braulio's account of those possessed by the devil, see Dutton, *La 'Vida de San Millán de La Cogolla'*, pp. 205–06. He quotes Braulio de Zaragoza, *Vita sancti Emiliani*, ed. by Luis Vázquez de Parga (Madrid: Instituto Jerónimo Zurita, 1943). An illustration of this episode as rendered on the *arca*, in Peña, *Los marfiles*, p. 105.

16. As Dutton has pointed out, Berceo transformed and amplified Braulio's version, probably with oral monastic material, that is a legendary tale known as *'la segurança'* which provided him with the motif of the council of devils; Dutton, *La 'Vida de San Millán de La Cogolla'*, pp. 205–06. This legendary episode was probably known by the carvers of the cenotaph, and contributed to the striking disposition of the figures of the possessed underneath the slab, as if they were *marmousets* of a statue-column. Nevertheless, some descriptive details in Berceo, such as the thinking gesture

described, could have been the result of a visual experience of the monument itself: 'El huésped de Onorio que fue mal segudado, sedié man a maxiella planniendo so mal fado [...]'; Dutton, *La 'Vida de San Millán de La Cogolla'*, p. 117. For the representation of the miracle in the fourteenth-century painted reredos with the life of the saint, formerly at Suso and now in the Logroño Museum, see de las Heras y Núñez, 'La literatura emilianense', pp. 222–26.

17. The text is in Braulio, *Vita Emiliani*, p. 87; for the miracle of the resurrected girl, see p. 89. On the posthumous miracles represented on the *arca*, see Harris, 'Culto y narrativa', pp. 79–81, figs 13 and 21; and Peña, *Los marfiles*, pp. 117–19.

18. Again Berceo seems to have looked at the cenotaph for inspiration when he transformed the passage of Braulio, describing the grieving blind with 'their staffs' preaching at the tomb: 'Ixieron de sus casas ambos con sos guiones, /entraron en carrera fincando sos bordones / vinieron al sepulcro lazrados dos barones' (Berceo 324); Dutton, *La 'Vida de San Millán de La Cogolla'*, p. 134.

19. On Santa Oria see the introductory analysis in Gonzalo de Berceo, *Poema de Santa Oria*, ed. by Isabel Uría Maqua (Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 1987), pp. 9–69, and the richly documented notes. See also P. Peña, 'Glosas a la Vida de Santa Oria', *Berceo*, 16 (1961), 371–82. The oral tradition that identifies these figures is undoubtedly based on M. de Anguiano, *Compendio historial de la provincia de La Rioja, de sus santos y milagrosos santuarios* (Madrid: Juan García Infanzón, 1704).

20. Gonzalo de Berceo, *Poema de Santa Oria*, pp. 134–35: 'Çerca de la iglesia es la su sepultura, / a pocas de passadas, en una angostura, / dentro en una cueba, so una piedra dura, como merescié ella, non de tal apostura. / La fija e la madre, ambas de sancta vida, / como ovieron siempre grant amor e complida, /en la muerte y todo non an cosa partida, / çerca yaze de Oria Amuña sepelida. / Cuerpos son derecheros, que sean adorados. [...]'

21. Sandoval describes Santa Oria and another woman, probably her mother Amunia represented on the frontispiece of the *arca*. Among the inscriptions that identified the figures he quotes: 'Auria nobilis foemina iuuamen afferens'; Sandoval, *Las fundaciones*, fols 25v–26v.

22. The miraculous recoveries would take place during the celebration of the Mass or the Penitence. On the ceremony of petition, see Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo and Constancio del Álamo Martínez, 'Témoins de la Foi: Le portique nord de Silos et le pélerinage à Saint Dominique', *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 31 (2000), 17–35 (p. 20). This process is not exclusive to the Castilian realm. It was also experienced in the Holy Roman Empire. Although stylistically independent, San Millán's cenotaph finds a contemporary parallel in the funerary effigy of the priest Bruno in Hildesheim Cathedral (†1194), whose sainthood is manifested by the suffering beggars who attend his enshrouding. The relationship between both monuments was noticed by Silva Verástegui, 'La escultura funeraria', p. 339; and Sáenz Rodriguez, 'El cenotafio', p. 72. On Brunos's monument, see Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture. Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1992), pp. 60–69; and Stephen Lamia, 'Funeral/Burial', *Encyclopedia of Comparative Iconography* (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1998), I, 347–55.

23. 'Quadam vero die cum more solito mane ante tumulum alienis manibus duceretur ibique solo inter columnas monumenti iactaretur. [...]' Díaz y Díaz, Pardo Gómez, and Vilariño Pintos, *Ordoño de Celanova*, p. 219. The description of the monument provided by Castellá Ferrer, Morales, and Florez seems to allude to these rituals: 'elevated on four stone columns [...] in such a way that a man can be set underneath it'; ibid., pp. 303–04. Other rituals witnessed in medieval Galicia, and still practised today (at least at Santa María de Iria La Coruña), include lying on the cover of the tomb; see Fermín Bouza Brey Trillo, 'Las enfermedades infantiles de Rosalía de Castro', *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos*, 22 (1967), 193–96; and José Carro Otero and María Luisa Varela Ogando, 'Estudio anátomo-antropológico del esqueleto atribuído a D. Osorio Gutiérrez, el 'Conde Santo' de Villanueva de Lorenzana, Lugo', *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos*, 35 (1984–85), 91–113. See also the article by Eduardo Carrero Santamaría in this volume. Some of these customs reproduce rituals performed at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem; see Stephen Lamia, 'Souvenir, Synaesthesia and the *sepulcrum Domini*', in *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, ed. by Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo with Carol Pendergast (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 19–41. On other practices, such as embracing the columns of the sepulchre, see below.

24. Two indulgences granted by several bishops at Avignon in 1350 to La Calzada Cathedral bear witness to theses practices. Among the beneficiaries of the indulgences were those who walked around the saint's sepulchre: 'Seu qui tumbam dicti sancti Dominici ciucuiendo orationem dominicam cum salutatione angelica devote dixerint'; José González de Tejada, *Historia de Santo Domingo de La Calzada, Abrahán de La Rioja, patrón del obispado de Calahorra y La Calzada y noticia de la fundación y aumentos de la santa iglesia cathedral y ciudad nobilissima de su nombre, sus hijos, compuesta por* [...] (Madrid: Viuda de Melchor Alvarez, 1702), pp. 226–27; and Ciriaco López de Silanes and Eliseo Sáinz de Ripa, *Colección diplomática calceatense*, I: *Archivo Catedral (Años 1125–1397)* (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1985), nos 98 and 99, pp. 160–62; José Gabriel Moya Valgañón, *Etapas de construcción de la catedral de Santo Domingo de La Calzada* (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1991), p. 16, n. 30.

25. On the tomb of San Pedro of El Burgo de Osma, see Juan Loperráez y Corvalán, *Descripción histórica del obispado de Osma, con el catálogo de sus prelados*, 2 vols (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1788), I, 93–95, 247, 418; Nicolás Rabal, *España. Sus monumentos y artes. Su naturaleza e historia. Soria* (Barcelona: Daniel Cortezo, 1889), pp. 340–41; and Ibáñez Gil, *El sepulcro de San Pedro de Osma* (Burgo de Osma, 1895); Vicente Núñez Marqués, *Guía de la S.*, I: *Catedral del Burgo de Osma* (Madrid, 1949; repr. Soria: Grafical, 1999), pp. 3, 5; Juan Ainaud and Agustín Durán, *Escultura Gótica*, Ars Hispaniae, 22 vols (Madrid: Plus Ultra, 1956), VIII, 94; José María Martínez Frías, *El gótico en Soria. Arquitectura y escultura monumental* (Soria: Diputación Provincial, 1980), pp. 133–36; Joaquín Yarza Luaces, 'Depesas facen los omnes de muchas guisas en soterrar muertos', *Fragmentos*, 2 (1984), 4–19 (p. 16); Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras, 'Investigaciones iconográficas sobre la escultura funeraria del siglo XIII en Castilla y León' (Santiago de Compostela: Tesis Doctoral Microfilmada, Universidad de Compostela, 1993), pp. 187–92; and Jesus María Caamaño Martínez, 'Sepulcro de San Pedro de Osma', in *La Ciudad de Seis Pisos. Las Edades del Hombre. El Burgo de Osma. Soria. 1997* (Soria: Junta de Castilla y León, 1997), pp. 128–30. Loperráez, in *Descripción histórica*, I, 247, suggests that the carving of the new monument was carried out during the episcopacy of Bishop Gil (1246–61), and the translation of the body in 1258, for in the following year Fernando, the Bishop of Córdoba, granted indulgences for those who visited San Pedro's tomb on the dates of the death and the translation of the saint. This

new tomb was placed in a chapel originally dedicated to the Resurrection, opening into the south transept of the church, as is documented in the fifteenth-century lectionary from which Loperráez quotes: 'deinde crescente miraculorum gloria de humili loco ubi jacebat extractum in capella quae nunc Resurrectionis dicitur supra altare in sepulchrum lapideo optime elaborato collocatum est'. The saint's remains were translated again in 1551, when they were set in a new chapel located over the old chapter house; and the empty Gothic sepulchre was hidden behind the reredos of the Virgin of 'El Espino', the new titular of the old chapel. It was rescued from there in 1894, and placed on the north transept of the cathedral, from where it was moved again in 1967 to the old chapter house, where it currently remains. From this late date onwards it suffered serious interventions: it was newly painted and new foot-supports were carved. On the original foot-supports, see note 37.

26. The *Vita sancti Petri episcopi Oxomensis* is dated to the twelfth century by Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz, *Index scriptorum latinorum Medii Aevii Hispanorum* (Salamanca: Pars Prior, 1958), p. 215, n. 953, and Fernando Baños Vallejo, *La hagiografía como género en la Edad Media. Tipología de doce vidas individuales castellanas* (Oviedo: Departamento de Filología Española, 1989), no. 61, p. 225. Loperráez, *Descripción histórica del obispado de Osma*, pp. 77–83, reproduces some Latin passages and summarizes others from the fifteenth-century lectionary preserved in the El Burgo de Osma Cathedral archives, as does López de Quirós, *Vida y milagros de san Pedro de Osma* (Valladolid, 1724), who includes some miracles that occurred in later centuries, a version translated by Agapito Alpanseque y Blanco, *Vida y milagros de San Pedro de Osma en romance* (Aranda de Duero: Cesáreo Esteban, 1917). See also F. Plaine, 'Vita S. Petri Oxomensis... colita studio et opera R.P. Dom Fr.', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 4 (1885), 10–29. A critical edition of the *Vita* has not yet been published. I think we are dealing with at least two different versions: an almost contemporary biography of the saint, and a later collection of miracles written in the second half of the twelfth century, since the protagonists of some of the miracles—as Bishop Juan Téllez—can be historically documented.

27. On the struggle that started *c.* 1244 between the Lord of El Burgo de Osma and the bishop, see Loperráez, *Descripción histórica del obispado de Osma*, I, 243, and II, doc. LIX, p. 84. Curiously modern literature, such as Teófilo Portillo Capilla, *Instituciones del Obispado de Osma* (Soria: Caja General de Ahorros y Prestamos de la Provincia de Soria, 1985) omits this episode. The judges sent by King Alfonso X passed sentence in favour of the bishop, and fined the council 1000 *maravedíes*. The representation of the punishment of the Lord of El Burgo de Osma in the saint's monument also alludes to the vice of Pride, usually represented in the Middle Ages by the image of a knight thrown down from a horse, such as the famous drawing of Villard de Honnencourt (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 19093, fol. 3v). Another contemporary representation of Pride was recognized by B. Kurth and Madeline Caviness in the miniature of the death of Gibert Mareschall in the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 16, fol. 147v); see B. Kurth, 'Matthew Paris and Villard de Honnencourt', *Bulletin Monumental*, 81 (1942), 227–28; and Madeline H. Caviness, '"The Simple Perception of Matter" and the Representation of Narrative, ca. 1180–1280', *Gesta* (1991), 48–64 (p. 53 and fig. 10).

28. The narrative cycle sculptured around the sarcophagus invites one to think of a model from an illuminated manuscript; the relationship between hagiographical text and tomb was so close that in some cases, as in the tomb of Giraldus of Angers, a book with the hagiographical record was tied with chains to the tomb. There is no evidence of an illuminated *vita* of San Pedro of Osma. See Carrasco, 'Spirituality and Historicity', p. 4. The Osma monument was carved by the same sculptor who made the lintel with the Dormition of the Virgin on the south transept façade. Probably trained in Burgos, he must have had a model-book with hagiographic scenes borrowed from stained glass narratives, and adapted them to the specific case of San Pedro.

29. 'Plaudat phalanx angelica / Tanti festa pontificis, / Quae Oxamam Biturica / Jussis transmisit caelicis. / Ut tribulos evelleret, / Spinas, et Sentes veprium, / Et surculos insereret / Virtutum coruscantium. / Prius Toleti floruit / In archidiaconio: / Metropoli se subdidit / Sub Bernardi Dominio. / Post Uxamae basilicam / Instaurat, et in spiritu / Gentes edocet, qualiter / Sit venerandus Dominus; AA.SS., I, 190.

30. On ex-votos, see Leopold Kriss-Rettenbeck, *Ex-voto: Zeichen Bild und Abbild im christlichen Votivbrauchtum* (Zürich and Freiburg in Breisgau: Atlantis Verlag, 1972); and David Freedberg, *The Power of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), chap. 7. Among the objects that grateful beneficiaries offered to a church there is a specific group: small wax figures representing the injured body parts, or the person or animal hoping to be healed. Alfonso X's *Cantigas* show a large number of images of this kind: a hawk is offered by a nobleman to the Virgin in C. 44. Human images are offered in at least three instances: C. 167, C. 176, and C. 177. See the illustrations of *Las Cantigas* in José Guerrero Lovillo, *Las Cantigas. Estudio arqueológico de sus miniaturas* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1949), pls 48, 49, 92, 118, 126, 131, 174; and G. Menéndez Pidal, *La España del siglo XIII leída en imágenes* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1986), p. 146. On ex-votos in an Hispanic context, see also Yarza Luaces, 'El Santo después de la muerte', p. 116. Elsewhere in this volume, Leanne Gilbertson furnishes additional evidence of this custom in her discussion of the *Altarpiece of Saint Margaret*.

31. Luciano Serrano, *El real Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos. Su historia y tesoro artístico* (Burgos: Hijos de Santiago Rodriguez, n. d.), p. 153, could still see the relief near the saint's cell, where it was moved when the northern portal was destroyed in the eighteenth century. On the style and chronology of the relief, see Joaquín Yarza Luaces, 'Nuevos hallazgos románicos en el monasterio de Silos', *Goya*, 96 (1970), 342–45 (p. 344); Jacques Lacoste, 'La Sculpture à Silos autour de 1200', *Bulletin Monumental*, 131.2 (1973), 101–28 (fig. 7, pp. 105–06); Justo Pérez de Urbel, *El monasterio de Silos* (Burgos, 1975), pp. 159, 162. Another hypothesis of its original function is that of tomb altar relief in the north transept; Nebreda (see below, n. 32) described such a tomb with the same imagery; Walter Muir Whitehill, *Spanish Romanesque Architecture of the Eleventh Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 177; Isabel Frontón Simón, 'Propaganda y autoafirmación de una institución monástica medieval: aproximación al programa iconográfico del pórtico del monasterio de Silos', *Boletín del Museo e Instituto 'Camón Aznar'*, 71 (1998), 173–200 (pp. 182–83), left the question open; and Valdez del Álamo and del Álamo Martínez are inclined to see the extant relief as coming from the north transept tomb altar; 'Témoins de la Foi', p. 27.

32. 'Tiene tambien clavados herraduras enteras sin hendedura y monedas que dieron los demonios en señal de salir de cuerpos humanos en presencia del sepulcro del santo'; from the description of the monastery written by Nebreda in the sixteenth century and published by Marius Férotin, *L'histoire de l'abbaye de Silos* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1897), p.

30. On the ex-votos related to the relief, see also Frontón, 'Propaganda y autoafirmación', pp. 182–84.

33. Gonzalo de Berceo, *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*, ed. by Teresa Labarta de Chaves (Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 1987), pp. 186–91.

34. See above, note 30.

35. 'Que manu palpans columpnas quibus sancti Rudesindi tumba sustentabatur flendo et deivelando flentibus accingebat'; Díaz y Díaz, Pardo Gómez, and Vilariño Pintos, *Ordoño de Celanova*, pp. 224–25.

36. The image is an illustration of the miraculous healing of a woman possessed by the devil *(mulierem immundo spiritu uexatam)* that took place at the saint's tomb; see Díaz y Díaz, Pardo Gómez, and Vilariño Pintos, *Ordoño de Celanova*, pp. 170–71. For a critical description of the manuscript, dated to the thirteenth century for paleographical reasons, see ibid, pp. 85–91. It must have been illustrated in Celanova, where it remained until 1835. Another illustration of an injured supplicant embracing the columns of a saint's tomb (that of Saint Radegond) may be found in an illustration of the Breviary of Anne de Prie (Poitiers, Cathedral Treasury, fol. 305), reproduced by Francesca Español, 'Santo Domingo de la Calzada: el cuerpo santo y los escenarios de su culto', in *La cabecera de la Catedral calcetense y el Tardorrománico hispano. Actas del Simposio en Santo Domingo de La Calzada, 29 al 31 de enero de 1998* (Santo Domingo de La Calzada: Catedral de Santo Domingo, 2000), pp. 207–81 (p. 259 and fig. 19). The marble columns around Saint Thomas Becket's tomb at Canterbury, rubbed smooth by the touch of pilgrims, provides us with another example of this practice. On the Canterbury columns, and the Eastern origin of the ritual, see Binski, *Medieval Death*, pp. 78–79; and Stephen Lamia's discussion of Becket's tomb in this volume.

37. The photograph of the Mas Archive is not dated, but an engraving signed by Isidro Gil and dated 1888, when the sepulchre was hidden behind the reredos of the Virgin 'del Espino', still shows the columns; Nicolás Rabal, *España. Sus monumentos y artes. Su naturaleza e historia. Soria* (Barcelona: Daniel Cortezo y ca., 1889) pp. 340–41. See also Caamaño Martínez, 'Sepulcro de San Pedro de Osma', pp. 128–30, who, without knowing the ancient engraving, suggested that the columns were reused when the tomb was placed in the north transept of the cathedral in 1894. The angels and lions that now serve as supports were carved in 1967 when the tomb was moved again and placed in the ancient chapterhouse. For a recent photograph, see José Arranz Arranz, *La catedral de El Burgo de Osma (Soria). Guía turística* (Pamplona: Castuera, 1995), pp. 113–17.

38. I wish to thank both Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo and Stephen Lamia for this suggestion.

39. Valdez del Álamo and del Álamo Martínez, 'Témoins de la Foi', p. 22. See also note 7 above.

40. The miracle performed by San Pedro de Osma, in Loperráez, *Descripción histórica del obispado de Osma*, p. 83. The miracle of San Millán, in Dutton, *La 'Vida de San Millán de La Cogolla'*, p. 48.

41. These rituals are attested to in Vitalino, *Vita Dominici*, p. 48; and in the *Vita Rudesindi* (M14 'Quod cum factum fuisset et de petra sancti tumuli rasa ab ipsa potaretur' and M26: 'et illius petram cum dentibus radendo deglutiens'); Díaz y Díaz, Pardo Gómez, Vilariño Pintos, and Carro Otero, *Ordoño de Celanova*, pp. 177–78, 200. Elsewhere in this volume Stephen Lamia discusses similar practices at the tomb of Thomas Becket; see also Lamia, 'Souvenir', p. 25 and n. 30, for additional instances in the context of thaumaturgy.

42. John Shearman, *Only Connect ... Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance*, Bollingen Series, 35 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), called my attention to the multiple relationships that the imagery can establish with the spectator.

43. Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo, 'Lament for a Lost Queen: The Sarcophagus of Doña Blanca in Nájera, *The Art Bulletin* 78.2 (1996), 311–33; reprinted in *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, pp. 43–79. See also Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras, 'Ecos de la *Chanson de Roland* en el sepulcro de la reina Doña Blanca (†1156) Santa María La Real de Nájera', *Ephialte*, 2 (1990), 206–14. Another example may have been on Santa Froila's sarcophagus. A free-standing figure of a monk reading, now rubbed smooth, may have originally glanced outwardly at the spectator.

44. On the hagiographical records of the life and miracles of Santo Domingo de la Calzada, and for a general discussion of this monument, see Español, 'Santo Domingo de La Calzada: el cuerpo santo', *passim*; for a different opinion on the saint's sepulchre and original location, see Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras, 'Nuevos hallazgos sobre el sepulcro de Santo Domingo de La Calzada' (forthcoming). The remains of the monument conform to a stylistically homogeneous group, which differs considerably from the sculptural decoration of the chevet of the cathedral.

45. For the posthumous miracles of San Pedro de Osma, see Loperráez, *Descripción histórica del obispado de Osma*, pp. 82–83; and Alpanseque, *Vida y milagros de San Pedro*, pp. 72–78.

The Cross and the Crown, the Tomb and the Shrine: Decoration and Accommodation for England's Premier Saints

STEPHEN LAMIA

The Holy Dead Featured

Glimmering with gold, sparkling with silver, resplendent with rock crystal, dazzling with colourful enamel plaques, luminescent with gems, jewels, and cabochons, the medieval shrine was the tangible and visible culmination of the *passio* or *transitus*, *elevatio*, and *translatio* of a saint as well as the visual symbol of holy *praesentia* and *potentia*.[1] Because of its sumptuousness and the precious relics it housed, this sacred object was displayed from the High Middle Ages onwards in a prominent and visible place for all to behold—frequently elevated upon a platform behind the high altar.[2] In contrast, a saint's tomb was sometimes only a temporary holding place, nonetheless imbued with sanctity, but less ornate in its embellishment, having perhaps decoration of a sculptural sort, and often either relegated to the crypt, set into a lateral area of the church such as an arcosolium, or placed in another ancillary space of the ecclesiastic precinct.

This article will discuss two holy resting-places, the tombs and shrines that were fabricated to house the saints' relics enclosed within them—subsequent to their canonization—and the physical arrangements that accommodated pilgrims' practices at these *loca sancta*. The sacred personages in question are Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Edward, King and Confessor—medieval England's premier saints. As such, these canonized men both symbolize and embody two important strata of society in the Middle Ages—Church and State—and the contentiousness that often ensued between these two entities will lend an additional layer of interpretation to the cults of our hagiographic heroes.[3]

Despite the fact that neither the tombs nor the original shrines of these two prominent Insular saints exist, we still know a great deal about their conjectured and actual appearances from pictorial evidence connected with their cults.[4] Indeed, we know more about the physical aspects of the tomb of Thomas Becket, less so about his feretory. And the exact opposite may be said concerning the tomb and shrine of Edward the Confessor. Nevertheless, the images of these tombs and shrines are some of the most valuable visual documents extant for cultic practices which are known to us primarily from written descriptions throughout the Middle Ages.

Decoration: The Tombs and the Shrines

Stained glass windows in the north and south aisles of Trinity Chapel at the cathedral of Christ Church, Canterbury, contain scenes devoted to miraculous healings that occurred at the site of Becket's tomb (colour pl. 2 and fig. 1).[5] In these images, his sepulchre is represented with a marked degree of consistency: it is a rectangular sarcophagus whose sides are pierced with two large oval openings. We interpret this motif, as will be demonstrated, to be a reliably accurate reflection of the late twelfth-century *locus* to which numerous pilgrims flocked.

In one episode of the stained glass program, that of Ethelreda of Canterbury at the tomb of Thomas Becket, the decrepit woman who

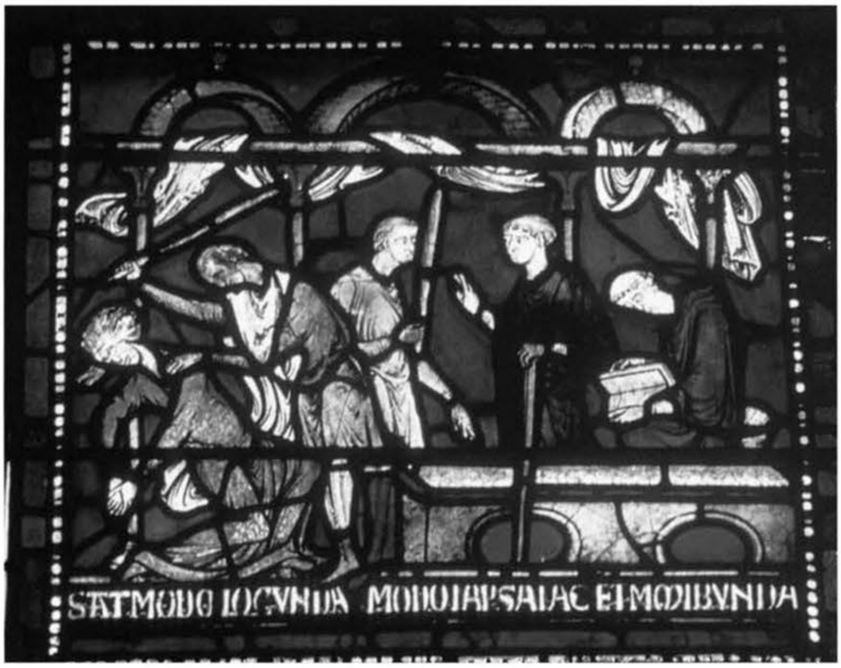


Fig. 1. Matilda of Cologne Swooning at Becket's Tomb, stained glass window, late twelfth century. North aisle, Trinity Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral (photo: Anthony Scibilia/Art Resource, NY)

was afflicted with quartan fever is shown second from right standing in a slightly hunched posture behind the double-apertured sarcophagus. She accepts a potion known as 'Becket's Blood' from a large bowl eagerly offered to her by a monk stationed at the tomb (colour pl. 2).[6] Ethelreda herself is accompanied by a man and a woman, both of whom look on at the event with great expectancy. According to the *Miracula sancti Thomae Cantuariensis*, the fever discoloured her face, but after imbibing the elixir, her natural complexion was restored and she was cured.[7] Indeed, the window depicts her visage with a subtly wan, decidedly lighter tint than that which her companions bear. Also visible in this composition are two objects placed atop the coffin's lid: a lit candle to underscore the sanctity of the place and the events that occurred there, and a small coffer into which pilgrims deposited their coin offerings in thanksgiving for favours or cures requested.

In another window, the blindfolded and swooning figure of a woman, identified as Matilda of Cologne who was brought to the site to be cured of her madness ('[...] *plenam daemonio mulierculam* [...]'), is seen at the far left (fig. 1).[8] She is about to become the unfortunate recipient of a severe blow from a male attendant as he attempts to restrain her with a large stick. Behind the tomb, two additional men brandishing rods engage in a serious discussion, no doubt concerning the mental state of their charge. Here the coffin is displayed once again as having the two prominent openings on its long side. At right, and seemingly unaware of the activities unfolding before him, a monk sits reading from a large codex, presumably a prayer book containing invocations connected with the saint's thaumaturgic powers.

Only in two other windows do we notice alternative designs—designs that reflect a distinctly different site and even a different time, subsequent to the miraculous healings described above, that is, after the relics had been translated from the crypt to their new shrine east of the apse in the 'crown' of the church, and, metaphorically also, the crown of martyrdom, the Corona Chapel. This translation occurred on 7 July 1220 and thus indicates that the earlier holed tomb must have been in existence for about fifty years. There is much speculation as to the appearance of this later feretory—so thoroughly destroyed during the reign of King Henry VIII—by the various scholars of the history of Canterbury and its treasures. William Urry, among others, contended that this second arrangement probably depicts the shrine after the remains of the archbishop had been translated from downstairs to upstairs.[9] In one of these 'alternative design' windows the saint himself magically issues forth—only the upper half of his body has emerged—from the open short end of a house-shaped *châsse* situated atop a delicately conceived arcuated base (fig. 2). He gestures in a manner of direction or speech towards the figure of a man sleeping in a bed below and

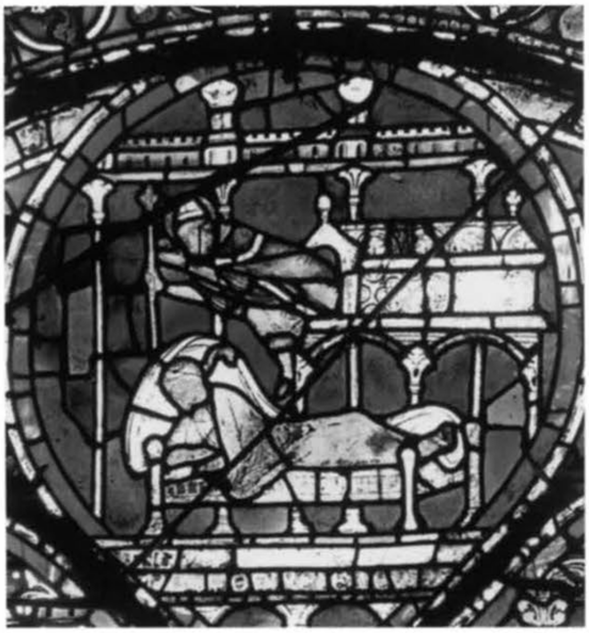


Fig. 2. The Dream of Becket's Chronicler, stained glass window, late twelfth century. North aisle, Trinity Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral (photo: Victoria & Albert Picture Library)

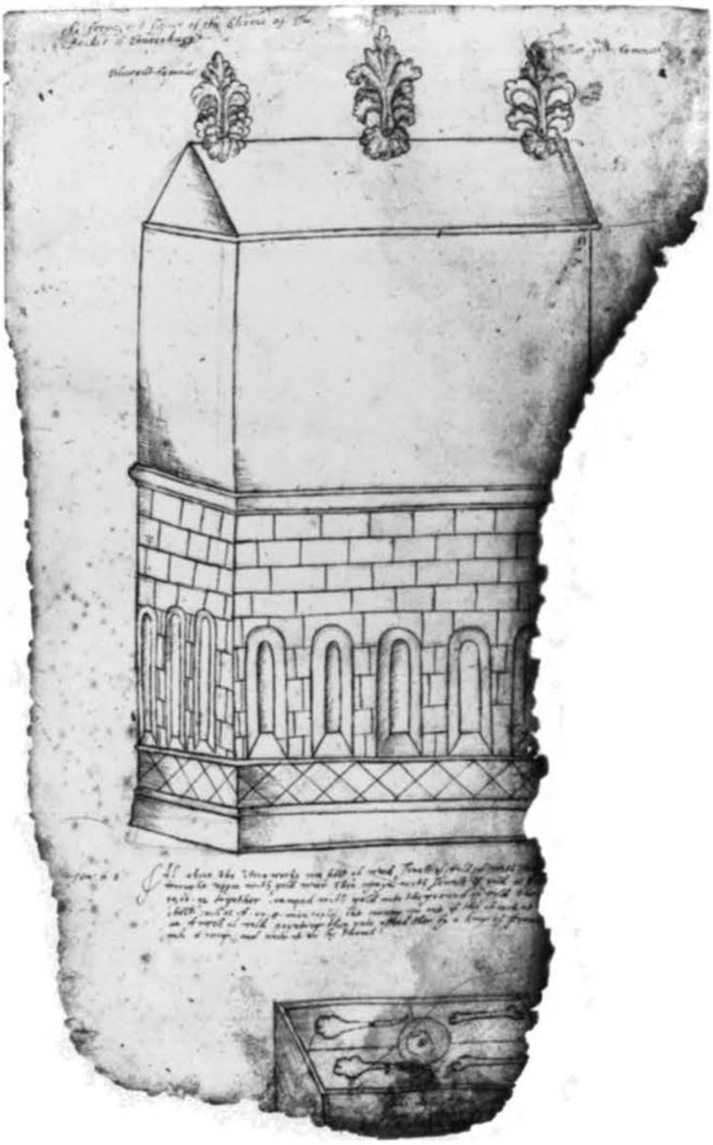


Fig. 3. Drawing of the wooden cover for the feretory of Thomas Becket, before 1538 (London, British Library, Cotton MS Tib. E. viii, fol. 269r) (photo: London, British Library)

to the left of this feretory. The scene has been interpreted as the dream or vision of one of Becket's chief chroniclers, either Benedict of Peterborough or William of Canterbury, in which the saintly archbishop instructed and encouraged his biographer to document the miracles taking place at the tomb.[10] This episode visually records one of only two exceptions to what is otherwise a uniform representation of the Tomb of Becket. Unfortunately, the image of the house-shaped feretory as it appears here is too generic in its form and decoration to be of any great assistance in an attempt to reconstruct its original appearance. Although we can discern quatrefoil motifs on its long side, vegetal designs circumscribed beneath arches on the roof, and a single tall finial at either end, this depiction only hints at what was probably the overall arrangement for the shrine. It reflects nothing of the magnificence that the written descriptions provide. Becket's feretory, designed by Elias of Dereham and Walter of Colchester, was actually embellished with an opulent assortment of gems and jewels, the largest of which was called the Regale of France, donated by the Capetian king Louis VII. A statuette of a golden angel placed nearby pointed to it. Among other gifts that covered the feretory's surface was a golden rosary given by John Brown, an alderman of Canterbury. Approximately five square metres of gold plate sheathed the entire object.[11]

A drawing presumably made before the demolition of 1538 and once thought to be a recording of this shrine exists in the British Library (London, Cotton MS Tib. E. viii, fol. 269r).[12] It shows a rather stark *châsse*, decorated only with *fleurons* on its crested roof, and situated atop a stone base outfitted with a series of arched recesses, undoubtedly serving the same purpose as the large oval openings in the tomb (fig. 3). More recently, it has been suggested that the image reproduced in this manuscript may have actually been the wooden cover—also now lost—which would have been raised on various occasions and lowered over the shrine for protection.[13]

The nearly total uniformity of the representation of Becket's tomb is noteworthy. It indicates, as Caviness and others have confirmed, that the miracle windows of Trinity Chapel or their designs were made within a relatively short period of time without the opportunity for development, embellishment, or metamorphosis of the tomb's image, striving instead for constancy and veracity. An examination of the writings of Becket's chroniclers, William of Canterbury and, in particular, Benedict of Peterborough, partly illuminates the situation for us. The majority of miracle scenes depicted in the stained glass of Trinity Chapel in Canterbury Cathedral are derived from the account of Benedict of Peterborough, prior of Christ Church, Canterbury from 1175–77. This document dates to just shortly before 1175. He mentions the miraculous occurrences at the burial site of Saint Thomas, even furnishing us with the names of those individuals upon whom cures were effected. Moreover, Benedict supplies for us a description of Becket's tomb:

> A wall of large dressed stones was constructed around the marble sarcophagus, held together firmly with cement, iron, and lead, with two windows on either side, through which visitors could put their heads inside and kiss the sarcophagus; and so because a large marble slab was placed on top, there was a hollowed structure between the top of the sarcophagus and the slab providing about a foot of space.[14]

What can be reconstructed from this account is an image that has its exact visual correspondent in the glass of Trinity Chapel: a marble sarcophagus placed inside a stone wall which had been provided with two windows on either side—its long side, no doubt—for a total of four. This outer revetment rose to a height of approximately one foot above the sarcophagus itself.

Although I will argue that there is a cultic significance to the pierced arrangements at Becket's tomb, it was furnished with an exterior sheathing for another reason, that of security.[15] A nobleman by the name of de Broc, excommunicated by Becket, threatened to steal the body and hang it on a gibbet if it was buried with the other archbishops who predeceased him. Thus, the remains of the holy prelate were taken to the crypt, buried in a sarcophagus fortified with the outer structure we have been discussing, and invigilated by guards, probably monks of Canterbury.[16] Once the pilgrimage and thaumaturgic cults were firmly established, however, there was less need for protecting the tomb; nevertheless, the pierced revetment remained in place to accommodate specific cultic practices that occurred there. In fact, although Becket's remains had been translated to the magnificent feretory in the Corona Chapel, pilgrims continued to descend the stairway to the crypt to revere the now empty tomb. Through their act of veneration, it is clear that the pierced sepulchre itself had acquired the status of a relic.[17]

Like Becket, Saint Edward, King and Confessor, was also provided with a pierced tomb and its image appears in a masterwork of Gothic painting (figs 4–6 and colour pl. 3). The mid-thirteenth-century *La estoire de seint Aedward le rei* (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.3.59), a copy of the original, but now lost, manuscript executed for Eleanor of Provence, wife of Henry III, is an illustrated poem on the life of the holy king. Likely produced at Westminster, it contains sixty-four coloured ink drawings executed in a style not dissimilar to that of Matthew Paris, though somewhat more Continental in orientation.[18] These illustrations include not only scenes from the life of the canonized monarch himself, but also various episodes from the reign of his successor, Harold I. In this manuscript, we encounter, in four different miniatures, representations of both the tomb and the shrine of King Edward at Westminster.

The scene depicting the burial of Edward on fol. 29v shows the ceremony attended by a throng of praying, censing ecclesiastics standing on either side as well as behind the sepulchre itself (fig. 4). The shallow, bejewelled, and arcuated sarcophagus rests upon a base of cut stone masonry that contains two large, circular apertures—one at either extreme end of the long side. Three men seeking cures from their ailments have arrived at the holy site already. One has crawled—'on all fours', so to speak—into the opening at the left; amusingly, only his posterior is visible. Another has ensconced himself within the tomb; he is shown with head bowed in prayer in the opening at the right. The third man kneels outside at centre giving thanks to the sainted king who has healed him. In the left foreground, a pair of hand crutches is shown—proof of the cure of a paralytic. A translation of the rubric describes the sequentially close events:

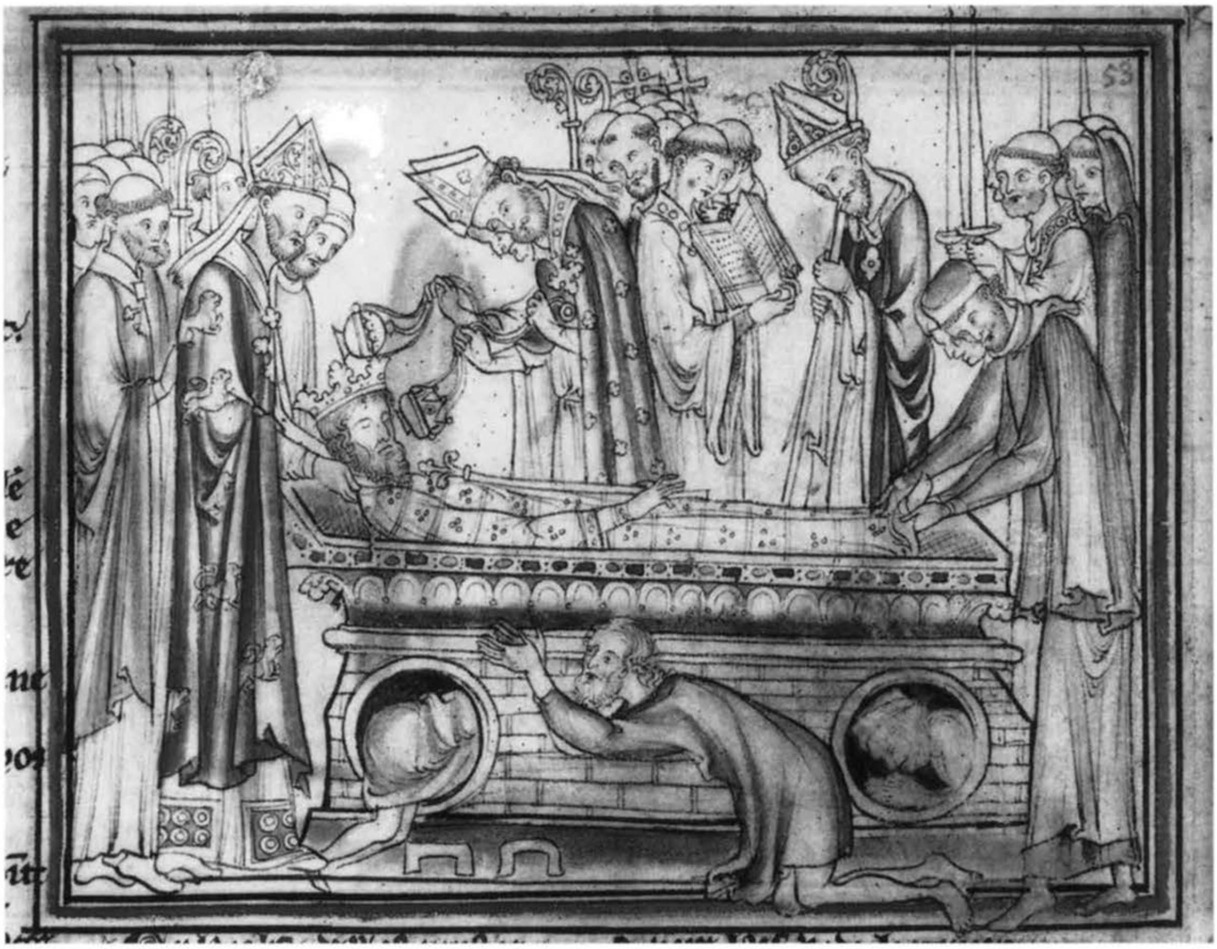


Fig. 4. Simultaneous Occurrences: The Burial of King Edward the Confessor and Seekers of Cures at his Tomb, *La estoire de seint Aedward le rei* (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee. 3.59, fol. 29v), *c.* 1250–60 (photo: by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library)

> In the church of Westminster,
> Which king Edward caused to be restored,
> Is his body buried.
> A deformed man there is cured;
> So God does many cures
> Through Edward who is his loyal servant.[19]

Folio 30r, the Cure of Blind Men at the Shrine of Saint Edward, represents a miraculous event that occurred within a month after the king's death (colour pl. 3). The rubric, though awkwardly translated, describes the illustration:

> His fame cannot be concealed;
> To seven has restored sight
> By prayer and virtue
> Saint Edward at his tomb.
> There is no one who suffers from ills,
> But at Westminster he watches for his health.
> Six blind men there he cured
> With their leader who had one eye.[20]

At the left, a boy with a staff acts as a guide for the seven blind men. Faithful to the legend, the man wearing the broad-brimmed pilgrim's hat standing immediately behind the boy and clutching his shoulder has an open left eye. His other eye, as well as the eyes of the rest of the figures, is closed to denote sightlessness. At centre, before the tomb, the seven men now cured, and hence represented with their eyes open, kneel in a rhythmic row and give audible thanks (all of their lips are parted) before a monk who, standing at a lectern, cranes his neck in an exuberant chant of the *Te deum laudamus*.[21]

The site of the tomb of Saint Edward appears to have undergone pronounced changes from its earlier aspect in the previous folio, including the addition of luxurious decorative embellishment. Flanking the tomb-shrine on either side is a thin colonnette atop which stand statues. At the left is that of Saint John the Evangelist in the guise of a pilgrim, and at right a representation of King Edward offering him a ring. These three-dimensional figures refer to a legend concerning the miraculous appearance of Saint John disguised as a pilgrim begging for alms at Westminster. Edward, moved to compassion, gives him a cherished ring, which later returns to his royal possession via two countrymen after their trip to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and their own encounter with the Evangelist.[22] The placement of these two statues is subtly strategic: Saint John is in proximity to the seven blind seekers, thus reinforcing their roles as pilgrims; and King Edward, not the chanting monk, is the real focus of the cured men's collective prayer of thanksgiving. All of their gazes are directed towards the effigy of their thaumaturgic champion. Meanwhile, the base of the shrine corresponds closely to that depicted in the previous illustration. Punctured into the cut stone masonry at the right is a large round opening into which a figure, once again, crawls; the posterior view of our active pilgrim is reminiscent of what we observed earlier. Through this pictorial detail, the artist is deftly demonstrating a three-dimensional disposition at the holy site—one that accommodated such kinesthetic experiences as crawling through openings. The hole on the left, visible in the miniature on fol. 29v, is now, however, obliterated by the group of kneeling men. The sarcophagus with its decorative band of applied arcuations and cabochons has also been retained from the previous scene. Very prominently displayed atop the coffin, however, is a new addition: a house-shaped *châsse*. This item is embellished with colourful enamel plaques depicting the motif of a *majestas Domini* flanked by genuflecting angels in its upper portion and—as if to echo both the composition and status of these figures—an enthroned king, no doubt Edward himself, flanked by bust-length bishops offering benedictory gestures to him in the lower zone. Elaborately curved and stylized vegetal outgrowths and a *fleuron* topped by a cross complete the silhouette of this object.

Several observations ought to be made at this stage. First, the image of the sepulchre depicted in these two illustrations can hardly be taken for the real tomb of Edward the Confessor as it would have appeared in 1066, the date of his death. For the most part, tombs of the mid-eleventh century are simpler in design and considerably less ostentatious in their appearance.[23] The language of the ornament, especially on the *châsse*, speaks for a later date—one which corresponds much closer to the date of the execution of this manuscript, that is, around the middle of the thirteenth century. Thus, although the miracles represented in the illustrations occurred shortly after the burial of the king—at least according to the *estoire*—details of the scenes have been translated into a Gothic idiom. This is by no means startling; it is a common device in twelfth- and thirteenth-century art, seen quite often even in representations of biblical narratives. Second, neither the rubrics nor the texts of the *estoire* describe the actions of pilgrims or invalids as crawling through holes in the base of the tomb. The method by which the infirm were cured is referred to simply as prayer at the grave site. Third, the sources themselves are silent as to the actual appearance of the eleventh-century tomb, and the disposition of Edward's coffin as depicted in the manuscript only must have been provided, if at all, in a period after his relics were translated and given a more prominent place in Westminster in 1163.[24] The multi-holed shrine base is a later development in the cult of saints and only began to appear in the Latin West during the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[25] It seems clear, therefore, that the artists of the *estoire*—for indeed more than one hand has been discerned—updated the shrine not only as was suitable to current practices, but also to its probable appearance after 1163.[26]

The pierced tomb of Edward the Confessor is represented on two other occasions in this manuscript. In both instances, the arrangements are more simplified than in the previously discussed scenes. Folio 33r illustrates numerous people at the site of the monarch's holy resting-place (fig. 5). The base of the tomb is now shorn of its dressed stone facing, and three large holes occupy the entire height of this lower component. The sarcophagus itself has also been stripped of the jewels and arcuations visible in the earlier illustrations. It is given the more austere appearance of an unadorned saddle-roofed coffin with a trifling amount of decorative arcading applied to its short side. In addition, the elaborate *châsse* and the statues of Saints John the Evangelist and Edward displayed in the earlier illustration have been omitted. The scene depicts the popularity of the *locus*, and the rubrics attest to this fact:

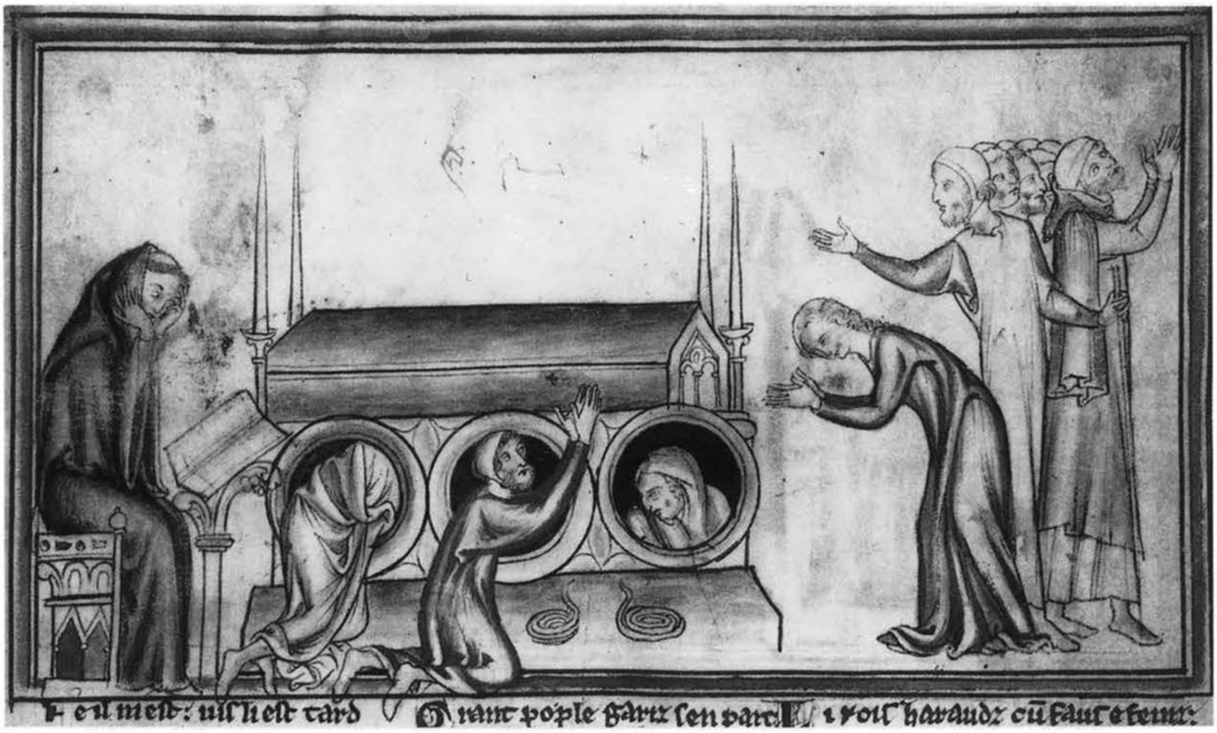


Fig. 5. Pilgrims Praying and Giving Thanks at the Site of Saint Edward's Tomb, *La estoire de seint Aedward le rei* (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee. 3.59, fol. 33r), *c.* 1250–60 (photo: by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library)

A sacristan who had the sight
Of both his two eyes lost,
By Saint Edward who awakes him
And reproves him for sleeping,
Is cured in his eyes, and rings,
As the saint commands, the hours of nones.
Many persons cured depart
From the tomb of the holy king Edward,
Humpbacked, crooked, and paralytic;
The dumb, gouty, and dropsical;
The deformed and foully leprous,
The witless and fevered.
There is no one who renders not thanks,
And who of himself makes not offering.[27]

At left, a monk is seated and reading wide-eyed from a book placed upon a lectern while at right a throng of pilgrims bestows gestures of thanks to the saint and departs in jubilation. In the centre stands the sarcophagus, at the four corners of which lit tapers have been placed. Seekers of cures are represented below in various poses. One crawls through the hole at left; his posterior view has now become a familiar visual device. A second kneels in ecstatic prayer before the middle aperture. A third, whose head and hands are covered, appears in bust length within the base at right. Two neatly formed spiral objects placed on the low platform preceding the base of the tomb indicate a type of offering—trundles, or coils of wax, whose lengths specify measurements for votive candles. I interpret these items as gifts to the church from grateful recipients of the saint's thaumaturgic powers and, therefore, like the hand crutches appearing on fol. 29v, visible proof of miraculous healing effected through the king's relics.[28]

A final miniature in somewhat damaged condition, fol. 36r, is divided into two separate scenes (fig. 6). At left is depicted the opening of Edward's tomb in the year 1102, and the discovery of his incorrupt body. No rubrics are connected with this drawing, but the text supplies the information required to decipher the meaning of this image:

The dress in which it was wrapped
They find entire and with all its colour,
And when the face is exposed,
They find it entire and recognizable.
The head, the hands, the feet they handle
And bend them as in a living body asleep:
Bishop Gunnolf, who is very bold,
Strokes the yellow beard,
Whence he wishes to pluck a hair,
But he cannot draw it from the beard.

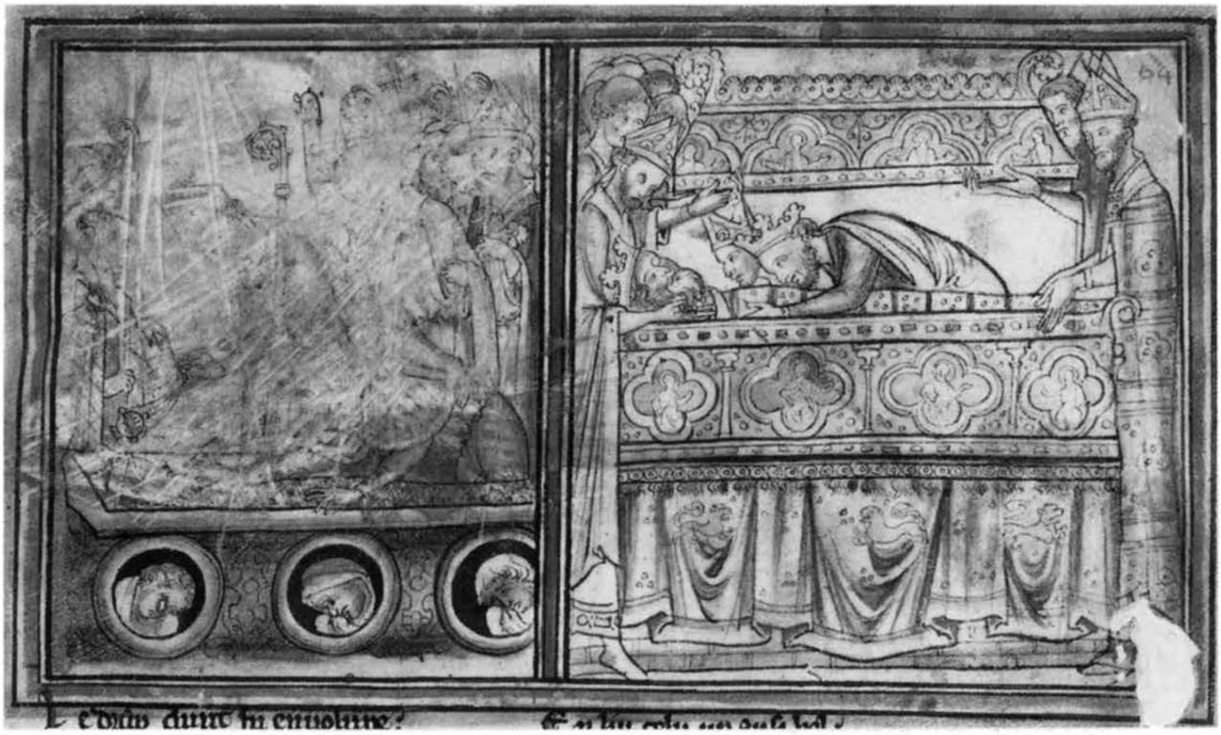


Fig. 6. The Opening of Saint Edward's Tomb and Reverence Paid at the First Translation of his Body, *La estoire de seint Aedward le rei* (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee. 3.59, fol. 36r), *c.* 1250–60 (photo: by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library)

Abbat Gilbert cries out to him,
'Lord bishop, you will not take it away,
A single hair you will not carry off'.
And he answers, 'Abbat, know
I should keep it as a cherished treasure;
I should love it more than fine gold;
But since it is his pleasure
To be entire without losing anything,
Let all his body be entire
Until the day of judgment
Whence he will have a double glory;
He will not that one should take from or vex
him'.[29]

In the upper portion of this scene, a group of prelates, some of whom wear mitres and wield crosiers, is faintly visible due to what appears to be deliberate eradication. These are the bishops and clerics who were invited by Abbot Gilbert of Westminster to witness the opening of the Confessor's tomb in 1102.[30] We can barely discern the figures of Bishop Gundulf of Rochester and Abbot Gilbert in the right foreground. The former is seen hovering over the body and reaching toward the beard of the deceased, while the latter outstretches his right arm to restrain the action of plucking a whisker from the sainted king's beard. The tomb with lid removed appears to be a combination of the sarcophagus proper and its pierced base. The three large round openings set against a dark green vermiculate background are situated immediately below an extremely shallow, light coloured object which gives the impression more of an upper edging for the base than that of a separate and distinct container for the corpse. Gone from this illustration is the humorously familiar 'pilgrim in posterior' motif. Instead, within every aperture of the tomb, one can see the head of a figure represented as if in an attitude of mourning. All of their heads are bent, and their hands are covered and extended towards their eyes. That this scene does not represent an entombment refutes their identification and visual source as earthly mourners, although it has been suggested that they are reminiscent of *pleurants*, grieving figures frequently seen in association with funerary iconography.[31] But can we explain the presence of these heads as part of the language of decorations for the holy dead? Images of heads represented in circular medallions ultimately originate in *imagines clipeatae,* numismatics, cameos, and the like. Even though the first-mentioned of these, that is, the *imagines clipeatae*, were associated with funerary art from the Early Christian period, their visual disposition differs markedly from that of the mourning figures appearing in the apertures of the shrine base in the *estoire's* illustrations. The *imago clipeata* is a portrait of the deceased, either head only or *en buste*; as such, it is usually presented as an expressionless, objective entity.[32]

Heads in roundels were also used as ornamental devices on various twelfth-century monuments such as the tomb of Arnulf, Bishop of Lisieux, and the font from the cloister of Saint-Denis.[33] In both of these cases, however, the motifs derived from classical inspiration such as the *imagines clipeatae* mentioned above. The *pleurant*, on the other hand, only became widely used in northern Europe from the thirteenth century onward and traditionally represented the whole figure.[34] Displayed in such attitudes of mourning on fol. 36r in the *estoire*, those heads, then, may have been yet another motif borrowed by the artist, along with the pierced tomb and ornate *châsse*, from current funerary art, of which Arnulf's tomb is an important but different example. A similar image suggesting a figure in grief does, in fact, occur in the previous scene on fol. 33r in the right aperture; and all are in striking contradistinction to the figure visible in the right aperture on fol. 29v who bows devoutly and has his hands folded in prayer. Yet, in both illustrations, fols 33r and 36r, we cannot deny the explanation that the circular forms outlining these figures represent holes that served specific functions. Moreover, the formal execution of the heads inside these orifices is related to that of the individuals taking part in the activities depicted in the upper part of the illustration. They are thus not meant to simulate sculptural decorations, a quality that contrasts sharply with the figures delineated on the *châsse* in fol. 30r and in the scene juxtaposed with the opening of the tomb on fol. 36r. In these latter instances, the simple, contour line drawing without a trace of the thin delicate wash employed elsewhere clearly suggests forms differentiated from the living and intended, instead, to represent figurative and decorative metalwork or enamel plaques. Therefore, because there is no reason for grief in these particular scenes—that is to say no death, funeral, or burial takes place—the mourning heads in circular frames seem inappropriately quixotic. If they were supposed to represent sculptural decoration, the artists would have made the same formal distinction between real persons and figural work as they did in scenes showing the decorated shrine. These heads, then, must derive from another type of image where they would have appeared appropriate—most likely an Entombment scene.

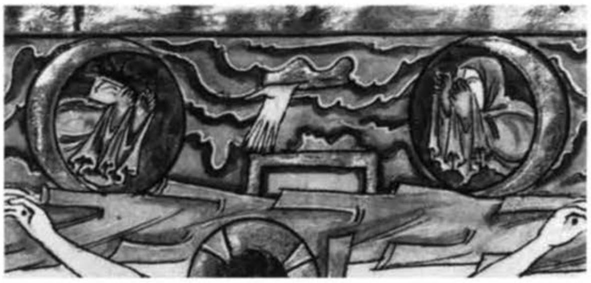


Fig. 7. The Sun and Moon, detail of the Crucifixion of Christ, The Gospel Book of Judith of Flanders (The Weingarten Gospels), *c.* 1050–65 (The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS M. 709, fol. 1v)

The closest visual counterparts for these problematic mourners are images of the personifications *Sol* and *Luna* frequently depicted in roundels with their heads lowered, hands covered, and weeping at the Crucifixion of Christ.[35] One Insular example that depicts these celestial personages may be found in the Gospel Book of Judith of Flanders, also known as the Weingarten Gospels, dated *c.* 1050–65 (New York, The Morgan Library, MS 709, fol. 1v) (fig. 7).[36] And this observation gives rise to the suggestion that the artists may well have had at their disposal a more densely illustrated *vita* of Edward the Confessor wherein unfolded a series of images depicting the death, burial, miracles, and translation of the sainted king. The artists of the earlier *vita* of Edward may have incorporated them as models for figures grieving in an illustration of the king's death or entombment. By the middle of the thirteenth century, their presence in these miracle scenes seems inappropriate, though they were retained for reasons now unclear to us. There may have occurred a conflation of images from an earlier *vita*.

Furthermore, the existence of an earlier illustrated *vita* is suggested by a number of additional details in the *estoire*. For instance, there are, as noted, at least two distinct images for the shrine of the Confessor in this manuscript. Each of them represents a different chronological state in the condition and appearance of the feretory. This, too, indicates the availability of a model, and one that pre-dated the mid-thirteenth-century *estoire.* To complicate matters even more, to the right of this miniature, fol. 36r, there is a representation of the shrine in no way connected with the aforementioned depiction. It is a rectangular coffin on whose long side four large quatrefoils separated by thin colonnettes circumscribe four seated, haloed figures. The cover of this shrine—for indeed it surely gives that appearance more than that of a sarcophagus—is held aloft by two individuals standing at either end. This lid is also very ornate, containing four bust-length, nimbed figures in orant poses, each of whom is framed by a trefoil. The roof is surmounted by a filigree terminal running the entire length and is finished with elaborate scrollwork at the two ends. This feretory may, in fact, be the same as that on fol. 30r but seen from another view. Neither rubrics nor texts describe the scene, but based on biographical material, we are able to identify the subject securely. On 13 October 1163, the first translation of the body of the sainted ruler occurred in the presence of the then-reigning king, Henry II, and the Archbishop of Canterbury who, at that time, was none other than Thomas Becket. A new shrine was made for the event and was opened for the king and others to view the remains before the solemn procession commenced.[37] This second illustration on fol. 36r then represents Henry II, the crowned figure bending over and kissing the incorrupt remains of Edward, while behind him a mitred cleric, whom I interpret to be Thomas Becket, also approaches to kiss the body at the feast of the translation. The shrine rests on a cut stone base that is almost totally concealed by a cloth emblazoned with a motif of heraldic lions. This base is visible just below the hemline of the fabric.

Somewhere between the *vita sancti Aedwardi* of Ailred of Rievaulx, written for the occasion of the first translation in 1163, and the *estoire* of the mid-thirteenth century presently under consideration, another version which included the proceedings of 13 October 1163 must have been written and illustrated. Two leaves bearing six illuminations from a lost *vita Aedwardi* and inserted into an abbreviated Domesday Book (London, Public Record Office, MS E36/284) testify to the existence of an earlier illustrated cycle.[38] Assigned a general date of the thirteenth century, their style only slightly exhibits the more refined manner of the mid-century Courtly Style; it antedates the Cambridge *estoire* by about twenty years. The lost, mid-thirteenth-century *estoire* of Queen Eleanor executed just prior to and on the occasion of the second translation would surely have included visual references to the 1163 translation—essential images in most saints' illustrated *vitae*—which would then explain the added image (fol. 36r) in the surviving copy. In addition, the later manuscripts—both the queen's original and the Cambridge copy—were expanded to include additional illustrations in a more *au courant* mode. Evidence for this is borne out most obviously by the representation of two different types of burial containers. The less adorned holed tomb indicates an earlier arrangement, while the more ornate feretory betrays decoration in the contemporary vocabulary. The scriptorium at Westminster, which had been given the royal commission to execute a new illustrated *vita* in preparation for the forthcoming second translation of King Edward, would then have had at hand information from a previous *vita* to make distinctions between the various stages of the tomb. And this accounts for the variants in the image of the tomb of the Confessor in the mid-thirteenth-century *estoire.* These are 'historical' effects to combine current appearance with imagined recollection, and to suggest the passage of time. The texts never supply information about the appearance of either a tomb or a feretory, yet speak of a burial in 1066 and end with a translation in 1163. What the artists rendered, albeit anachronistically in terms of decorative embellishment and ritualistic practice, are images of tombs based on holed shrines popular in and near the south of England.[39]

The second translation to which we have referred took place on 13 October 1269. The body of the Confessor King was removed to a new *châsse* atop a base which has survived in reconstructed form. This commanding and dazzling substructure is composed of Purbeck marble and Cosmati work executed by an Italian craftsman named Peter the Roman. It is outfitted with three trefoil-headed niches on each of its long sides and one at the shorter end facing east.[40] Continuing the tradition as it was represented in the Cambridge *estoire,* pilgrims would arrive at Edward's shrine and crouch in these openings in order for the *potentia* of the saintly king to permeate miraculously through the feretory and into their diseased bodies, ultimately effecting a cure for their maladies. The two-tiered wooden structure that presently sits atop the base dates from the mid-sixteenth century.[41]

The similarity, particularly in representations of the earlier shrine of Saint Edward at Westminster compared to the original set-up for Becket's tomb in the crypt at Canterbury, is immediately apparent, and reveals the popularity of certain ritualistic practices at saints' tombs (compare figs 1 and 5). It also prompts us to consider the question of 'Church versus State' in relation to these holy burial sites. The canonization of both King Edward in 1161 and Archbishop Thomas in 1173 itself was indicative of the antipodean rivalry which existed between Crown and Cross in England—a phenomenon to which Paul Binski refers as 'the canonization of opposition'—and the similar dispositions of their shrines strikes an additional note of competition in their appeal to pilgrims as popular destinations.[42] This rivalry can be distilled succinctly to a fundamental, ideologically oriented and quarrelsome tension that erupted frequently between Church and State in the Middle Ages, here embodied in the cults of these two saints.[43] Unlike the nearly spontaneous rise of the cult of Saint Thomas, that of Saint Edward developed more slowly. Historical circumstances indeed played a major role in this regard. The sensationalism surrounding the murder of the archbishop and the almost instantaneous thaumaturgic miracles that took place at his tomb made his cult immediately appealing. Indeed, the Church had an investment in promoting devotion to a saint who had been martyred defending the rights of Rome over those of his king. A longer process was involved in the canonization of Edward. In fact, his cult did not really pick up much momentum until the reign of Henry III in the 1220s to 30s and was fueled by the king himself—'crown promoting Crown', as it were.[44]

Is it indeed even possible to conceive of a so-called 'winner' in this arena of holy hagiographic hegemony? If any victor may be declared, it would most likely be Becket. His was the 'cult of the people'; Edward's remained bound within the more privileged, royal domain.[45] Interestingly enough, and perhaps because of this, the miracle scenes in the *estoire* are cast in a populous atmosphere of commonly dressed pilgrims performing intense physical action—some of the rare instances wherein these practices are visually documented—as if both to validate through their representation the royal canonization and to identify his *locus sanctus* as the destination of many. The simultaneous occurrences of the burial of the saint and miracles taking place directly below the entombment that appear on fol. 29v suggest this calculated contrivance. By way of contrast, the miracles displayed in the Becket windows assume a more contemplative, indeed even a sacerdotal aura as if to reinforce the sanctity of the slain, and now very popular, archbishop. Nowhere in the entire programme do we encounter the image of a crawling pilgrim as we do in the *estoire,* despite numerous recorded references to this sort of activity in Benedict of Peterborough's chronicle. And, finally, to emphasize further the distinction by which the images of the two saints are offered to the spectator, let us bear in mind how the media themselves affected the operation of their hagiographic reputation: on the one hand, publicly accessible stained glass windows, and on the other, a private experience viewing an illustrated manuscript. These diversities serve to underscore the popular versus the elite aspects which characterized Becket's and Edward's cults respectively.

Accommodation: Pierced Shrines and Devotional Practice

As we have learned from reading Benedict of Peterborough's description of Becket's tomb, the holes pierced into both sides of the revetment provided accessibility for pilgrims to the actual sarcophagus contained within and below it. We are informed in his chronicles, especially in the proceedings of specific miracles, that pilgrims thrust their heads into the apertures so that they might touch or kiss the inner receptacle containing the remains of the martyred archbishop in acts of devotion or with expectations of miraculous healing. We also learn that the more energetically inclined seekers of cures went even further, and some of the incidents containing their stories lend an air of high comedy to Benedict's *Miracula*! In the account of the blind priest, William of London, we find that his sight was restored in two steps: one eye by means of an eyewash of Becket's blood (*'oculo lavans'*), and the second when he inserted his head into the tomb's opening (*'fenetrae caput imposuit'*). In another instance, that of Matilda of Flanders, we discover, to some amusement, that the woman, despite her girth (*'grandis et* *corpulenta mulier'*), was able to insert her head and shoulders into an aperture to kiss the sarcophagus.[46] In yet another passage, a more hilarious anecdote is related concerning a dim-witted, physically large pilgrim by the name of Elward Selling who actually forced his entire body through one of the openings, twisted himself around so that his head was situated at Becket's feet and vice versa, and remained stuck in the space between the inner coffin and the outer box until he was finally able to extricate himself![47] Despite the contrast between the serious and the comical episodes which Benedict recorded with plain frankness, they all share a similar, important element. Through their performative actions of kneeling down, thrusting their heads into openings, and kissing or touching the sarcophagus, the devout underwent, at this sacred place, an experience characterized as nothing less than synaesthetic, that is, involving one or more of the five senses.[48]

Less often illustrated or discussed is another function of pierced tombs—conduits for penitence and submission to the saint. For example, a *fenestra* on the side of Becket's tomb was the opening through which King Henry II inserted his head during his pilgrimage to atone for his partial responsibility in the archbishop's death:

> Thence he was conducted to the crypt where he knelt again, and with groans and tears kissed the tomb and remained long in prayer. At this stage of solemnity Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London—ancient opponent and rival of Becket—addressed the monks and bystanders, announcing to them the King's penitence for having by his rash words unwittingly occasioned the perpetration of a crime of which he himself was innocent, and his intention of restoring the rights and property of the church, and bestowing forty marks yearly on the monastery to keep lamps burning constantly at the martyr's tomb. The King ratified all that the bishop had said, requested absolution, and received a kiss of reconciliation from the prior. He knelt again at the tomb, removed the rough cloak which had been thrown over his shoulders, but still retained the woolen shirt to hide the haircloth, which was visible to near observation, next his skin, placed his head and shoulders in the tomb, and there received five strokes from each bishop and abbot who was present [...] and three from each of eighty monks.[49]

Additionally, based on the pictorial evidence in the *estoire* and as already discussed, we know that Edward's shrine was similarly provided with apertures, though no known instances of physical penance are recorded there. We must bear in mind, however, that this arrangement is not exclusive to the tombs of the two English saints we have thus far considered. It is, in fact, part of a more widespread phenomenon in the cult of the holy dead, particularly in the Latin West, whose origins may be traced back in time to an Early Christian form, the *fenestella confessionis*—literally the 'window of witness'—found in a number of saints' tombs in medieval Europe. One notable example from the Early Christian period is that of Saint Peter in Rome whose setting and means of access were recorded by Gregory of Tours:

> This tomb is placed below the altar. [...] But whoso wishes to pray, for him the doors that give access are unbolted, and he enters the precinct over the tomb, and a small window is opened, and placing his head within he asks for whatever he requires.[50]

The *fenestella confessionis* provided a synaesthetic means of communicating with the earthly remains of the holy dead. This strategically placed aperture allowed the devout to poke their heads inside it in order to see and kiss the sarcophagus which contained relics, to touch it with their hands, or even to touch it with a piece of cloth so as to obtain a secondary relic, a kind of sacred souvenir.[51] Such was the situation at the tomb of the protomartyr, Saint Stephen. We learn from Saint Augustine of Hippo that speech was restored to a mute man by means of a cloth applied to his mouth, after the material had been passed through the *fenestella* and made contact with Stephen's coffin.[52] If, for some reason, the tomb was not easily within reach—as was the case with the tomb of Saint Peter—the *fenestella* would at least provide vicarious contact through visual means.

Even in England in the early Middle Ages, we learn that this accommodation was made for pilgrims ever eager to access relics and to attain proximity with saints' tombs. In his *History of the English Church and People*, the Venerable Bede furnishes us with a description of the now lost shrine of Saint Chad, Bishop of Mercia (d. 672) attesting to the existence of a fenestrated tomb and the cultic practices that took place in connection with it:

> Chad's burial place is covered by a wooden tomb made in the form of a little house with an aperture in the wall through which those who visit it out of devotion may insert their hand and take out some of the dust. They mix this in water and give it to sick men and beasts to drink, by which means their ailment is quickly relieved and they are restored to health.[53]

Here is a case where the *fenestella* functioned not only as a means of gaining intimate closeness to holy relics but also as a way of obtaining a sacred souvenir in the form of a salient ingredient in order to concoct an elixir. Apparently, both humans and animals alike were able to benefit from the healing powers of Saint Chad's 'dust'.

The employment of apertures in tombs of saints continued throughout the Middle Ages in the West; and the synaesthetic experience that involved the combined actions of crawling, touching, kissing, and thrusting on the part of the pilgrim included both a physical ordeal of sorts and an unforgettable proximity to the holy dead.[54] By attaining such extreme closeness to the *praesentia* of saints one would not only absorb the healing virtues which emanated from their relics, but also would share in the benefit of their eternal glory—a destiny which awaited the faithful at the end of their mortal existence.

Concept: Cross, Crown, and Christomimesis

It is widely known that Christomimetic parallels abound in certain aspects of saints' cults, and the holy dead under discussion in this article are no exception to this phenomenon. Although pictorial and biographical evidence bears out this fact, as we shall discuss briefly, the tombs and shrines themselves may likewise be introduced into the argument, especially since the arrangement of the tomb of Christ in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem was itself outfitted with apertures for access.[55]

As indicated earlier, Becket's pierced tomb was furnished with an exterior sheathing for reasons of security; so was the pierced *sepulcrum Domini* in Jerusalem.[56] But there may, in fact, be an even closer ideological and symbolic relationship between the representations of the Jerusalem and Canterbury sepulchres; this becomes apparent in the Christological references existing in the cycle of *miracula* in the Trinity Chapel glass. The altar-like tomb as a liturgical object complete with lit candles has been commented upon by Caviness as has the Eucharistic significance of the nostrum composed of Becket's blood.[57] Both of these details are evident in one of the examples we have already discussed, that of Ethelreda of Canterbury at the Tomb of Becket (colour pl. 2).[58] Moreover, the general composition of many miracle scenes reflects a clear reference to New Testament iconography. Although their content may not conform to that of a Christological cycle, the formal disposition of these scenes would at least reveal that, as a basis, the designers of the miracle windows at Canterbury depended upon images most likely appropriated from a *vita Christi*.[59] Caviness, in fact, interprets Becket as a type of resurrected Christ in the Chronicler's Dream of Saint Thomas (fig. 2)—the sole difference being that, in this case, the saint emerges from his house-shrine to address the sleeping man at left.[60] Even John of Salisbury in his *Vita sanctae Thomae* associated the death of the archbishop with that of Christ.[61] This itself is nothing radically new. Similarities between illustrated *vitae sancti* and Christological cycles have been observed previously.[62] What makes Becket a special case is the political circumstances which caused his death and the uses to which his martyrdom and subsequent miracles were put to advance the causes of the Church. The more Christ-like the associations—and here we would include the appearance of the original multi-holed tomb of the archbishop—the more honour would be bestowed upon his memory at the expense of the reputation of the monarchy.

The notion of imitation and emulation of Christ presented in our discussion of the cult of Thomas Becket can likewise be applied to the case of Edward the Confessor, but with different implications. For England, the dual nature of Christ, *regnum et sacerdotum*, found expression in the cults of these two saints.[63] The concept of Edward the earthly king has its counterpart in the concept of Christ, King of Heaven. The tomb of the canonized King of England was located in the capital city of his realm, as the tomb of Christ was in the heart of the Christian world. As a king, Edward was dispenser of the laws of his domain just as Christ was dispenser of the laws of his Church through his vicars on earth. During the Confessor's lifetime, according to his biographers, cures and miracles were attributed to him, often through his touch; among others, the cure of a scrofulous woman and that of a blind man are documented.[64] Admittedly, these accounts were assembled to augment his saintly status, but they nonetheless find parallels in Christ's life, for Christ also effected cures through touching.[65] Moreover, throughout his life, King Edward maintained close ties to Rome and to the pope, the vicar of Christ. He even maintained a special devotion to Saint Peter, Christ's first successor and the patron saint of Westminster Abbey, the refurbishing of which Edward both funded and supervised.[66] Further evidence strengthens the argument. During the elaboration of his shrine for the second translation, Henry III had earth brought back from the Holy Land to build up the *tumulus*; likewise for the occasion, various relics of Christ were deposited at Westminster, specifically, a vial containing the Holy Blood, a stone bearing an impression of Christ's footprint, and the girdle of his blessed mother, Mary.[67] The Cambridge *estoire*, besides, not only shows the burial and first translation of Edward as compositionally dependent upon an Entombment of Christ (figs 4 and 6), but actually speaks of the Confessor, in the rubrics describing a miracle, as the vehicle through which the Lord works.[68] In addition, these miniatures, fols 29v and 33r, show the body of the king incorrupt as it was reported to have been. Again a correspondence can be drawn. In the Eucharist, the presence of the incorrupt flesh and blood of Christ is understood under the species of bread and wine. And now, if we support the idea that the mourning figures inserted into the *fenestrae* of Edward's shrine base in several of the miniatures ultimately derive from images of the weeping *Sol* and *Luna* in scenes of Christ's Crucifixion, then we are faced with yet another instance of Christomimetic association. Even the legend of Saint John and Edward's ring, mentioned in conjunction with fol. 30r, contains a reference to Jerusalem, site of the death and resurrection of Christ. Finally, the representation of the sainted monarch's shrine, particularly as it appears in the Cambridge *estoire*, has an iconographic parallel in those twelfth- and thirteenth-century images of the *sepulcrum Domini* furnished with three holes, just as the monument existed in medieval Jerusalem, itself so popular a destination for pilgrims—many of whom undoubtedly hailed from England: the devout, the penitential, and the militaristic, the latter of whom were armed as Crusaders.[69]

Decoration, Accommodation, and Synaesthesia

Commemorating the holy dead was an essential component of medieval faith, and the various rituals that were employed and enacted at *loca sancta*—prayers, meditation, relic veneration, pilgrimages, obtaining souvenirs, and those site-specific, sensory (that is, kinesthetic and synaesthetic) experiences that were able to be accommodated through the arrangement at pierced tombs and shrines—engaged the believer, whether actively or passively, in a most immediate way. These ceremonies and practices, thereby, enlivened the relationship between the living and the dead.

For the living, motives for their pilgrimage to a saint's tomb or shrine in the Middle Ages, generally speaking, were either penitential, thaumaturgic, or devotional; and all three are relevant to a pierced resting-place. The openings afforded proof and protection of the relic, witness and accommodation for pilgrims, attention and decoration to the tomb or shrine itself, and intimate, synaesthetic, and spiritual communication between the living and the dead. For the dead, the visual decorations and physical accommodations that the living were able to realize at their holy burial sites meant a constant perpetuation of their sacred memory.[70] In such a reciprocal relationship, it would seem *beneficia* would be experienced by all—an enjoyment that began with the earliest, if sometimes wantonly exuberant, manifestations of the cult of the holy dead, which Peter Brown so insightfully documents in the Prolegomenon to this volume. For our examples—the Cross and the Crown in England—that enjoyment culminated in a well-orchestrated, if more controlled, synaesthetic experience impelled by the intimate proximity and special access which only a pierced tomb or shrine was able to provide.

NOTES

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Much of the information in this article derives from my doctoral dissertation, '*Sepulcrum Domini*: The Iconography of the Holed Tomb of Christ in Romanesque and Gothic Art' (University of Toronto, 1982), with references to more recent scholarship added as appropriate.

1. For the ideas of *praesentia* and *potentia* in reference to saints and their relics, see Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 86–127.

2. For a contextual study of saints' burial places in relation to the architecture which housed them, including their evolution from a crypt setting to their placement within shrines located behind the high altar, see John Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West, c. 300–c. 1200* (Oxford: Oxford Uiversity Press, 2000).

3. For the most recent biography of Saint Thomas Becket see Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986); for that of Saint Edward the Confessor, see idem, *Edward the Confessor* (London: Methuen, 1970). A more focused study dealing with Becket's demise may be found in William Urry, *Thomas Becket: His Last Days*, ed. by Peter Rowe (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1999).

4. On the tomb and shrine of Becket, see Ben Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998), p. 44; Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), pp. 78–79; John Butler, *The Quest for Becket's Bones* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. ix, 17, 25, 27, 31; Lamia, *Sepulcrum Domini*, pp. 382–99; Madeline H. Caviness, *The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 33–34, 68–69, 146; Nicola Coldstream, 'English Decorated Shrine Bases', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 129 (1976), 15–34 (pp. 28–29); William Urry, 'Some Notes on the Two Resting Places of St Thomas Becket at Canterbury', in *Thomas Becket. Actes du colloque international de Sédières. 19–24 août, 1973* (Paris: Éditions Beauchesne, 1975), pp. 195–209; Bernard Rackham, *The Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral* (London: Lund Humphries, 1949), pp. 21–22, 91, 111; Arthur P. Stanley, *Historical Memorials of Canterbury* (London: John Murray, 1895), pp. 229–34, 299–302. For that of Edward, see Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, pp. 37, n. 20, 44; Binski, *Medieval Death*, pp. 21, 34, 78–9; idem, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200–1400* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 59, 90–98; Lamia, *Sepulcrum Domini*, pp. 400–17; Coldstream, 'English Decorated Shrine Bases', pp. 26–28; George Henderson, 'Studies in English Manuscript Illumination', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 30 (1967), 71–137 (pp. 84–85); J. G. O'Neilly and Lawrence E. Tanner, 'The Shrine of St Edward the Confessor', *Archaeologia*, 100 (1966), 129–54.

5. For the Becket windows at Canterbury, see Caviness, *The Early Stained Glass*, *passim*; Rackham, *The Ancient Glass*, pp. 16–17; Coldstream, 'English Decorated Shrine Bases', p. 16; and Tancred Borenius, *St Thomas Becket in Art* (London: Methuen, 1932), p. 43. For a synopsis of the categories of Becket's miracles, see Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, rev. edn (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1987), pp. 89–109; and Raymonde Foreville, 'Les *Miraculie S. Thomae Cantuariensis*', in *Actes du 97e Congrès National des Société Savantes, Nantes, 1972. Section de philologie et d'histoire jusqu'à 1610* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1979), pp. 443–68.

6. 'Becket's Blood', an admixture of the saint's actual blood diluted with water, and its dispensation to pilgrims for thaumaturgic purposes is discussed in Caviness, *The Early Stained Glass*, p. 149; Rackham, *The Ancient Glass*, p. 86; and Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, p. 265.

7. For the account of the miracle of Ethelreda of Canterbury, see Benedict of Peterborough, *Miracula sancti Thomae Cantuariensis*, lib. II, cap. xxii, in James C. Robertson, *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury* (London: John Murray, 1876), II, 54.

8. For the account of the cure of Matilda of Cologne, see ibid., lib. IV, cap. xxxvii, p. 208.

9. Urry, 'Some Notes', pp. 200–01.

10. Rackham, *The Ancient Glass*, p. 91. On dream imagery in general in medieval art, see Carolyn M. Carty, 'Dreams in Early Medieval Art' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1991). For her more recent work including additional bibliography on this subject, see eadem, 'Dream Images, *memoria*, and the Heribert Shrine', in *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, ed. by Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo with Carol Stamatis Pendergast (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 227–47.

11. Urry, 'Some Notes', p. 203; and Stanley, *Historical Memorials*, pp. 233–34. For an artist's conjectured rendering of this shrine, see Butler, *The Quest*, p. 26.

12. See Stanley, *Historical Memorials*, p. 229. Caviness, *The Early Stained Glass*, pp. 33–34, also mentions this drawing.

13. This opinion was originally proposed by Stanley, *Historical Memorials*, p. 301, and later reiterated by Urry, 'Some Notes', p. 203; Coldstream, 'English Decorated Shrine Bases', p. 16; and Caviness, *The Early Stained Glass*, p. 33.

14. 'Erectus est autem circa sarcophagum marmoreum paries de lapidibus magnis sectis, caemento et ferro et plumbo firmissime consolidatis, duas in utroque laterum habens fenestras, quibus advenientes capitibus immissis ad osculum sarcophagi pervenire valerent, superposita nihilominus tabula grandi marmorea; eratque structura concava inter sarcophagi summitatem et tabulam superpositam, paene pedalem habens distantiam'. Benedict of Peterborough, *Miracula*, lib. II, cap. xxix, p. 81; my translation.

15. Urry, 'Some Notes', p. 196.

16. See Stanley, *Historical Memorials*, p. 290; Donald J. Hall, *English Medieval Pilgrimage* (London: Routledge, 1965), p. 149; and Christina Hole, *English Shrines and Sanctuaries* (London: Batsford, 1954), p. 131.

17. See Crook, *The Architectural Setting*, p. 16. Also see Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (1977; repr. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), p. 30. Finucane also discusses the miracles and cult of Becket; see ibid., pp. 122–26.

18. *La estoire de seint Aedward le rei* (Oxford: The Roxburghe Club, 1920), a facsimile of the manuscript with an introduction by M. R. James; and *Lives of Edward the Con-*

fessor, ed. by Henry Richard Luard (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858), which contains a translation of the Old French text. This text derives mostly from a previous *vita* written in Latin by Ailred of Rievaulx and composed in 1163; see Ailred of Rievaulx, *Vita s. Edwardi*, in *Patrologia Latina*, 195, cols 737–90. He, in turn, took much of his information from a *vita* written in 1138 by Osbert de Clare; see Marc Bloch, 'La vie de S. Edward le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 41 (1923), 5–131. *La estoire de seint Aedward le rei* is now available on the web at <www.lib.cam.ac.uk/MSS/Ee.3.59> with notes by Paul Binski. For the manuscript tradition of the various *vitae* of Edward the Confessor, see Barlow, *Edward*, *passim*; idem, *The Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster* (London: Nelson, 1962); and R. W. Southern, 'The First Life of Edward the Confessor', *English Historical Review*, 58 (1943), 385–400. For art historical scholarship on the Old French *estoire* in particular, see Paul Binski, 'Reflections on *La estoire de Seint Aedward le rei*: Hagiography and Kingship in Thirteenth-Century England', *Journal of Medieval History*, 16 (1990), 333–50; Kathryn Y. Wallace, *La estoire de seint Aedward le rei* (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1983); Peter Cornelius Claussen, 'Goldschmiede des Mittelalters', *Zeitschrift des deutschen Verein für Kunstwissenschaft*, 32 (1978), 46–86 (pp. 63–73); *Art and the Courts*, (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1972), pp. 90–91; Richard Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (1958; repr. London: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 174, 222; and R. Freyham, 'Joachism and the English Apocalypse', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 18 (1955), 211–44 (pp. 237–42). It might be useful to mention here that no direct iconographic relationship exists between the *estoire* and its much more famous predecessor, the Bayeux Tapestry. Although it includes some episodes featuring Edward, the embroidered work is not considered a *vita* of the sainted monarch.

19. Luard, *Lives*, p. 174. The deformed man may be identified as Ralf, a Norman who had been maintained by royal arms; see Barlow, *Edward*, p. 262.

20. Luard, *Lives*, p. 174; cf., Barlow, *Edward*, p. 262.

21. The indication of the miracle of restored sight employing the same pictorial device is discussed elsewhere in this volume. See Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras, 'Imagery and Interactivity: Ritual Transaction at the Saint's Tomb'.

22. See Luard, *Lives*, pp. 276–77; and Barlow, *Edward*, p. 273.

23. For examples of eleventh-century tombs and their embellishments, see Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1992); and Stephen Lamia, 'Tomb Sculpture', in *Encyclopedia of Sculpture* ed. by Antonia Boström (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, forthcoming).

24. It has recently been suggested that the remains of Edward were actually exhumed from the earth, placed into a silver gilt feretory, and positioned, most probably, behind the high altar. See Crook, *The Architectural Setting*, p. 216.

25. For a study of the phenomenon of saints' tombs with apertures, see Lamia, *Sepulcrum Domini*, pp. 338–427; more recently idem, 'Souvenir, Synaesthesia, and the *Sepulcrum Domini*', in *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, pp. 19–41. Also see Crook, *The Architectural Setting*, pp. 258–67, who focuses his study on English and French monuments of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

26. See Binski, 'Reflections', p. 335.

27. Luard, *Lives*, p. 176.

28. See Ward, *Miracles*, pp. 94–95.

29. Luard, *Lives*, p. 310. As is common in the Middle Ages, variations in spellings abounded, hence, Gunnolf for Gundulf, Abbat for Abbot, and the like.

30. Barlow, *Edward*, pp. 268–69.

31. Claussen, 'Goldschmiede des Mittelalters', pp. 63–73. Also see *Les Pleurants dans l'art du moyen-âge* (Dijon: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1971), though admittedly the examples in this exhibition catalogue postdate our discussion.

32. *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*, ed. by Kurt Weitzmann, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979), p. 676.

33. For the tomb of Bishop Arnulf of Lisieux, see Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 48 and fig. 181; and Jean Adhémar, *Influences antiques dans l'art du moyen âge français* (London: s.n., 1939; repr. Paris: Édition du C.T.H.S., 1996), p. 249. For the heads on the font formerly in the cloister of Saint-Denis see Willibald Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France, 1140–1270* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1972), pp. 420–21 and illus. 41; also see Adhémar, *Influences antiques*, pp. 265–66.

34. See, for example, the tomb of Louis de France (d. 1260) at Saint-Denis, among others; Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 62 and fig. 246. Also see *Les Pleurants*, *passim;* and Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo, 'Lament for a Lost Queen: The Sarcophagus of Doña Blanca in Nájera', in *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, pp. 43–79 (originally published in *Art Bulletin*, 78.2 (1996), 311–33, wherein she discusses, among other ideas, that singular and pathetic figure of grief, Sancho III, King of Castilla, inconsolably lamenting the loss of his beloved Queen Blanca in childbirth.

35. Bust-length figures of the weeping Sun and Moon occur from about the ninth century onward in scattered regions of the Latin West. Some examples to note include the following: the front cover of the Lindau Gospels of *c.* 870, reproduced in James Snyder, *Medieval Art: Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, 4th–14th Century* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1989), fig. 270; an ivory made in Tournai *c.* 900—part of the so-called Nicasius diptych illustrated in Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, trans. by Janet Seligman (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1972), II, fig. 367; an ivory plaque made in Trier between 983–91 and attached to the Codex Aureus from Echternach (ibid., fig. 378); the portable altar of Eilbertus of Cologne of *c.* 1130–40 illustrated in Hans Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art*, 2nd edn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), pl. 106, no. 241. On the iconography of the Sun and Moon in general, see *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. by Wolfgang Braunfels (Rome: Herder, 1968–76), IV, cols 178–80. For another discussion of solar and lunar images in this volume see the article 'A Shrine in its Setting: San Vicente in Ávila' by Daniel Rico.

36. See Michelle P. Brown, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1991), p. 77; C. R. Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art: A New Perspective* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982), p. 56; Elzbieta Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900–1066* (London: Harvey Miller, 1976), pp. 108–09.

37. Barlow, *Edward*, p. 283.

38. Ibid., pls 14–16. The illuminations consist of the following vignettes: King Edward accusing Earl Godwin of the murder of the aethling, Alfred; Godwin preparing to under-

go the ordeal; Edward's vision of the drowning of King Svein in Denmark; Edward's vision of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus; Edward and Earl Leofric at Mass in Westminster seeing Jesus in the flesh of the Eucharist; Edward recovering from a pilgrim the ring which he had given to a beggar who was Saint John in disguise. This latter episode is also represented in the *estoire*, though it has been cleverly converted into statuary. See colour pl. 3.

39. Besides two of England's major saints, relics of a number of the less famous were also kept in holed shrines. Herein is a brief selection. The parish church of Whitchurch Canonicorum in Dorset contains in the north transept the original feretory, dated *c.* 1220, of its patron saint, Candida. This altar-tomb, which displays three oval openings slightly pointed at the top and bottom, houses a lead casket which bears an inscription identifying the contents as the relics of this local saint. In another instance, a stone base pierced with three squashed circular openings in the north aisle of Salisbury Cathedral once supported a sarcophagus with the remains of Saint Osmund. These ovoid holes seem to have been divided at one time; traces of upper and lower portions of vertical elements, perhaps colonnettes, are evident in the interstices. The shape of these apertures is reminiscent of those on the tomb of Becket. Osmund and his legacy were more famous in his own day and in the following three or four centuries after his death than in the present. Reportedly a relative of William the Conqueror and Bishop of Old Sarum, he is chiefly remembered as the author of the *Consuetudinarium* or *Sarum Use*, a compilation of various forms of rituals employed in both English and Continental churches. Osmund's writings were influential and eventually became incorporated into English church service. He died in 1099 and was buried at Old Sarum, but in 1226 his remains were translated to their later resting-place at Salisbury. Although Osmund was not officially canonized until 1456, his tomb became the site where several miracles had occurred. In one instance, it was reported that a suffering person placed his head and hands *'in quodam foramine eiusdem tumbae'* in order to effect a cure. As a final example, the relics of the patron saint of Saint Alban's were buried in a *châsse* placed atop a richly carved Purbeck marble feretory dated *c.* 1302–08. At the base of this shrine are four quatrefoil panels, the end two of which are pierced for crippled pilgrims to insert their diseased limbs in the hope of obtaining a healing. In the upper portion of this *locus sanctus*, three large arches embellished with gables served a similar purpose. See Lamia, *Sepulcrum Domini*, p. 417–20, and nn. 139–46, for additional bibliographic information. For more recent discussion on pierced tombs in England, see Crook, *The Architectural Setting*, pp. 262–67.

40. For this shrine of Edward the Confessor, see Stanley, *Historical Memorials*, pp. 127–28; J. Charles Wall, *Shrines of British Saints* (London: Methuen, 1905), pp. 223–32; Lawrence E. Tanner, *The History and Treasures of Westminster* (London: Pitkin, 1953); O'Neilly and Tanner, 'The Shrine'; Coldstream, 'English Decorated Shrine Bases', pp. 26–32; and Claussen, 'Goldschmiede des Mittelalters', pp. 63–73. For an illustration of this arrangement, see O'Neilly and Tanner, 'The Shrine', pl. 54.

41. O'Neilly and Tanner, 'The Shrine', p. 132, in their thorough analysis of the shrine date it to 1556–59, during the abbacy of Feckenham.

42. Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 4. Barlow, *Edward*, p. 284, acknowledges that a hagiographic rivalry existed between the archbishop and the king in their own lifetimes, citing specifically Becket's strident efforts at the Council of Tours in 1163 to urge the canonization of Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury, as if to counter Henry II's sainted predecessor Edward. In this way, Becket would also be able to retain a holy antecedent in his arsenal of the reverent. Regarding the king's participation in the quest for Edward's canonization and his letter to Pope Alexander III to that aim, see Barlow, *Edward*, pp. 310–11.

43. The friction that erupted frequently between Church and State was both common and widespread. One need only recall the friendship between Henry II and Thomas Becket that deteriorated because of fundamental differences in political versus ecclesiastic thinking. For additional examples of this struggle between Church and State discussed in this volume, see the articles by Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras and Leslie Bussis Tait.

44. For the efforts leading up to the eventual canonization of Edward the Confessor in 1161, see Barlow, *Edward*, pp. 269–74; and Emma Mason, *Westminster Abbey and Its People, c. 1050–c. 1216* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1996), pp. 27, 102, 139, 265. On the cult of Edward, see Barlow, *Edward*, pp. 264, 266, 272; and Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 6, 52–53. It seems as though earlier written efforts to promote the cult of Edward, specifically Osbert de Clare's *Vita*, were futile. However, two years after the king's canonization, Ailred of Rievaulx rewrote Osbert's version, and this may have aided the effort. See Wallace, *La estoire*, p. xi.

45. On Becket as champion of the *vulgus*—the common people—see Janet Backhouse and Christopher de Hamel, *The Becket Leaves* (London: The British Library, 1988), p. 6; for the elitist aspect of Edward's cult, see Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 53.

46. For the account of William of London, see Benedict of Peterborough, *Miracula*, lib. II, cap. xxxii, p. 83; for that of Matilda of Flanders, ibid., lib. II, cap. xxx, pp. 81–82.

47. See the account of Elward Selling, in Benedict of Peterborough, *Miracula*, lib. II, cap. xxxi, p. 82: ('[...] staturae grandis et [...] mentis agebatur insania [...] totum corpus impegit [...] caput ad martyris pedes, et pedes ad martyris caput convertit').

48. For further discussion on the nature of synaesthesia and its relationship to the holy dead, see Lamia, 'Souvenir, Synaesthesia, and the *Sepulcrum Domini*', *passim*.

49. Stanley, *Historical Memorials*, p. 120. This account is corroborated by Wall, *Shrines of British Saints*, pp. 155–56; and Hall, *English Mediaeval Pilgrimage*, pp. 151–52.

50. As cited in Jocelyn Toynbee and J. Ward Perkins, *The Shrine of St Peter and the Vatican Excavations* (London: Longmans Green, 1956), pp. 212–13. In addition, see the definition of *fenestella* in Fernand Cabrol and Henri Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (Paris: Letouzey et Âne, 1907–53), V, pt 1, cols 1355–57. For an illustration of the reconstruction of the *aedicula* over Saint Peter's tomb, complete with its *fenestella*, see Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965), fig. 2.

51. We know this to be the case with the tomb of Saint Peter; see Toynbee and Perkins, *The Shrine of St Peter*, p. 213.

52. Augustine of Hippo, *De Stephani martyris detectione, translatione, et miraculis*, in *Patrologia Latina*, 41, cols 805–54 (840).

53. Bede, *A History of the English Church and People*, ed. by B. and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), bk. IV, c. 3, p. 212. See also Wall, *Shrines of British Saints*, p. 97.

54. For additional examples of saints' shrines outfitted with openings for accessibility, see Lamia, *Sepulcrum Domini*, pp. 344–421, as well as the essays by Francesca Español and Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras in this volume.

55. For the history of the pierced shrine of Christ and expressions of its cult, including the spread of its image in the visual arts of the Latin West during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Lamia, *Sepulcrum Domini*, pp. 87–337. Crook recently has acknowledged the importance of the pierced tomb of Christ as an archetype for all later examples; see, *The Architectural Setting*, pp. 255–56.

56. In the year 1009 al-Hakim, the Fatimid ruler, dispatched two sons of the governor of Ramla together with a band of soldiers to Jerusalem, where they proceeded methodically to raze a number of Christian churches and monasteries, among which was *al-Qumama*, the Arabic name for the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. See Lamia, *Sepulcrum Domini*, p. 87.

57. Caviness, *The Early Stained Glass*, pp. 149–50.

58. A selection of other instances wherein the lit candles upon the tomb and the altar-like aspect of the tomb itself appear include the following miracle windows: the Healing of William of London (illustrated in Rackham, *The Ancient Glass*, fig. 40c), the Healing of Petronilla of Polesworth (illustrated in ibid., fig. 37a), Juliana of Rochester at the Tomb (illustrated in Caviness, *The Early Stained Glass*, fig. 207), a Woman Praying at the Tomb (illustrated in Rackham, *The Ancient Glass*, colour pl. XII), the Cure of Roger of Valognes (ibid., colour pl. XII), and the Cure of the Son of the Earl of Clare (ibid., fig. 47a). The parallel between the administration of Becket's blood as a cure and the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist is most obvious in the scene of William of London. The blind man, himself a priest, holds a chalice and stands behind the tomb of Becket which has two lit candles placed on its lid. He is flanked by monks who, although they pour and mix the potion, can nonetheless be viewed as assistants or deacons in the ritual.

59. A specific study of the iconographic sources for each particular miracle scene would be most interesting but is, unfortunately, beyond the scope of this article.

60. Caviness, *The Early Stained Glass*, p. 150.

61. John of Salisbury, *Vita sanctae Thomae*, in Robertson, *Materials for the History*, II, 316–19.

62. Francis Wormald, 'Some Illustrated Manuscripts of the Lives of the Saints', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 35 (1952–53), 248–66.

63. These ideas are developed more fully and applied to the offices of both king and bishop in Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies* (1957; repr. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997) pp. 47–49, 56–57.

64. For Edward's miracles, see, among others, Hall, *English*, p. 172; and Edward A. Freeman, *The History of the Norman Conquest of England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1877), II, Appendix B.

65. For the miracles of Christ effected by touching, see, among others, Matthew 8. 1–4, the healing of a leper; and Matthew 10. 27–31, Christ touches two blind men.

66. Freeman, *The History*, p. 509; Hall, *English*, pp. 170–72.

67. Stanley, *Historical Memorials*, p. 128; Hall, *English*, pp. 175, 178; Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 141–43. See the essay by Leanne Gilbertson in this volume for a discussion of girdles in relation to childbearing and the cult of Saint Margaret.

68. See note19 above and the rubric included in my text. For additional comments relating illustrated *vitae* of saints to Christological iconography, see Wormald, 'Some Illustrated Manuscripts', *passim*, and more recently Barbara Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 33–34, 37, 43, 49–50, 69.

69. For the numerous examples of images of the pierced tomb of Christ, see Lamia, *Sepulcrum Domini*, pp. 184–337; and ibid., p. 174, for a reference to the Anglo-Saxon pilgrim Saewulf who set sail, *c.* 1102–03, from the harbour town of Monopoli located on Italy's southeast coast. I cannot imagine he was the sole itinerant to travel from the British Isles to Jerusalem to visit, among other monuments, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. There were, after all, numerous contacts between *Outremer* and England, especially from the late twelfth century and into the early thirteenth. In particular, a contingent of 'armed pilgrims' was led to the Holy Land by Richard Coeur de Lion, chivalrous son of Henry II, in the Third Crusade (1187–92). For the frequent contacts which England maintained with the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in this time frame (late twelfth to early thirteenth centuries), see Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, 2nd edn, trans. by John Gillingham (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 104, 137, 139, 143, 145–46, 148–49, 222. There is even record of English artistic activity and practice in the production of icons at that hub of aesthetic zealotry, the monastery of Saint Catherine on Mt Sinai; see ibid., p. 194.

70. Lamia, 'Souvenir, Synaesthesia, and the *Sepulcrum Domini*', pp. 24–26, 29.

A Shrine in its Setting: San Vicente de Ávila

DANIEL RICO CAMPS

The church of San Vicente in Ávila was constructed between 1125 and 1200, or slightly later, on a steep hillside, with a drop of almost eleven metres, and over a Late Antique martyrium. The Romanesque builders dealt with the sharp escarpment by erecting the church over a simple crypt in which they preserved some venerable archaeological remains of the martyrium. These include a sort of well, situated at the foot of the central bay, just below the high altar, in which fragments of an ancient marble tomb have been found—probably the Early Christian tomb of Saint Vincent, patron of the church, and a wall of natural rock in the south aisle bearing the obvious signs of a large arcosolium excavated into it—perhaps the one which housed the double tomb of the saint's sisters, Sabina and Cristeta. As a church built upon earlier sacred structures, San Vicente of Ávila was conceived as a genuinely monumental reliquary. An unmistakable iconographic sign of this symbolical meaning of San Vicente's fabric is a tomb installed in the south transept and designed in the image of the basilica itself. Both in form and placement, a reciprocal relationship exists between the shrine and its house, the building proper (figs 1–4).

The literature dedicated to the tomb of San Vicente of Ávila is not particularly copious, consisting mainly of brief and repetitive references in surveys and a handful of very fine observations.[1] Such scarcity is both astonishing and disquieting because of the quality and uniqueness of the monument and because of the myriad questions it poses. From the spectrum of possible subjects to explore, I have elected two topics for the present essay. First, I shall analyze the generating principle of the tomb's iconography: the driving force of its meaning and expressiveness. Next, I shall review the transformations undergone by the original sepulchre and by the Romanesque shrine of Saint Vincent's sisters, an original element within the church and one whose existence had fallen into startling oblivion.

The Ever-expanding Shrine within a Shrine

The tomb of San Vicente is a freestanding structure raised on columns and designed as a two-aisled basilica. Its sculptural work is of a notable quality and is organized—so to say—into three iconographic areas. The façade and apse of the micro-church, that is, its east and west faces, display an Epiphany and Theophany respectively (figs 1, 2). Secondly, the supporting arcade is decorated with figures of the apostles over the corner capitals, and with six smaller reliefs of clerical and secular figures in the spandrels. Finally, the life of Saint Vincent and his sisters is narrated around the central vessel, in ten scenes that are read counter-clockwise (figs 3, 4).

Essentially, the story of the three martyrs of Ávila does not differ from those of many contemporary saints: it relates a harsh sentence for refusing to sacrifice to pagan idols, and a tragic flight and persecution that ends with the arrest of the Christian heroes and their cruel execution. Often, the martyr's *Passio* concludes with some kind of miracle *post mortem* or with a later *inventio*. In the case of the martyrs of Ávila,

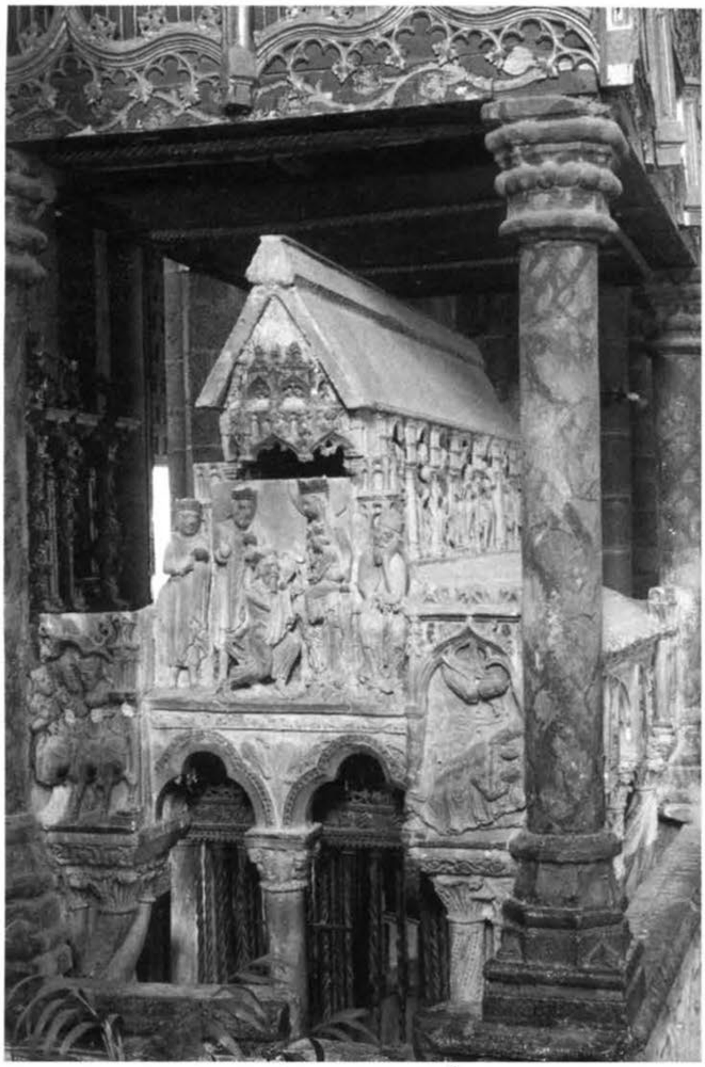


Fig. 1. Shrine of San Vicente in Ávila, east side, Epiphany

the last episode of their story had a very special significance for the clergy of San Vicente and for the symbolic meaning of the church—to such an extent that its narration occupies almost the entire eastern half of the south frieze along the shrine's nave (figs 4, 7). These two vignettes refer to a portentous event that occurred to the exposed bodies of Vincent, Sabina, and Cristeta just after their martyrdom. The *Passio* says that, because the corpses of the martyrs were left unburied by the bailiffs, God sent a serpent to guard them. Soon after, a Jew passed by, and, drawn by curiosity, came near the martyrs' bodies. He was seized by the serpent, which coiled itself around his neck and held him motionless for an hour. Suddenly, *'Deo inspirante'*, the Jew went into a trance and begged Christ for aid; at once, the serpent freed him and slithered away. After regaining consciousness, the Jew hastened to receive baptism so that he could then place the bodies of the saints into new sarcophagi. He then constructed over them a marvellously decorated basilica ('novis sarcofagis sanctorum corpora recondens, baselicam desuper miro opere decoratam construxit').[2]

This image, the last of the narrative cycle that develops around the central vessel of the sepulchre, is charged with visual significance. While the other vignettes are set under trefoils or depressed arches (figs 3, 4), that of the Jew sealing the sarcophagi of the martyrs is depicted beneath three round arches. This composition may be read as a church interior complete with a nave and two aisles, or as a view into triple apses. The architectural surround of this scene undoubtedly alludes to the ancient martyrium, but it also refers to the actual cenotaph and basilica, both of which have a nave, two side aisles, and a twin-towered façade.[3] Within this systematic construction, in the miniature basilica of the Jew, as with the tomb, the west façade received a treatment distinct from that of the east. In the Jew's basilica (fig. 7), at the west side and only there, the sculptors substituted two columns with turrets instead of the single column with a belvedere, a motif consistently used to separate scenes. On the cenotaph itself (figs 2-4), the pair of towers at the west face were raised above the roof, in contrast to its eastern pendant.[4] It is clear that the purpose, in both cases, is to evoke subtly, but with cardinal precision, the real basilica, whose west façade shares an additional element with that of the shrine: set between their respective towers is an image of Christ in Majesty.[5]

Clearly, what we have before us is an artistic device, a 'picture within a picture', which was extremely popular in Baroque art and not isolated in the Romanesque. In Ávila, this device has the special attraction of multiples: the 'picture within a picture' is further duplicated, the progressive and cumulative concatenation of as many as three visually similar basilicas, contained one within the other, in dialogue, reverberating one from the other, absorbing, all the while expanding their significance.[6] From the vignette's *baselica desuper [novis sarcofagis] miro opere decorata*, we progress to a tomb in the form of a church that not only evokes, but resembles the real basilica that contains the Romanesque sepulchre and the ancient martyrium. As a microedifice, the cenotaph projects outward the image of a church itself conceived as a macrosepulchre. Meanwhile, *inward*, its anachronic transmutation of the setting and vesture of the story about the foundation of the church, capsize the present into the past and vice versa—the year 307 spilling into the last third of the twelfth century. Such a premeditated and assiduous solution, capable of making the entire structure speak as if with a single voice, must be applauded. The contrivance worked with such forceful efficacy that, until only 150 years ago, documents and chronicles described San Vicente as being an entirely Early Christian structure 'with the exception of a few repairs [the Gothic additions] that King Saint Fernando III ordered'.[7] The church itself was regarded as an immense reliquary until 1529, the year in which the prohibition against burial in the church interior was finally lifted, three centuries after the old interdiction from the Council of Braga had been discarded in the rest of Ávila, and in the entire Peninsula for that matter.[8] And even then, one could only be buried in the nave, beyond the iron choir-screen ('fuera de las rejas, en el cuerpo de la iglesia').

The tomb is a precious example of the plays on perspective characteristic of much of medieval art. It is an art that cannot be unbound from its context, one that grows and enriches beyond its physical boundaries. It signifies by its proportions that it forms part of a whole, by means of sympathy or empathy with its neighbouring elements. The medieval artwork is not an object of independent identity, closed and self-contained, but is comprised of the object and its presentation, its *mise en scène*. We could say that it is a topographic object.[9] In this sense, to decipher the meaning of the cenotaph of Saint Vincent necessitates mapping out the monument and its surround. We have already noted that its form and orientation were determined by the general structure of the church, and we shall verify that the arrangement of the martyrs' *memoria* into two monuments was conceived to reflect the disposition of their original burials in the crypt. But there is yet a further and very significant topographic dimension in the iconography of the shrine. I refer to the *Puerta de San Vicente*, a gate in the city wall situated about sixty metres to the west of the church (fig. 6).

As discussed above, the two turrets of the western face of the cenotaph simulate those of the narthex of the church. This may be confirmed by regarding them in light of the shrine's basilical design (fig. 2). The turrets' identity, however, is magically altered when considered in relation to the story of the saints narrated on the north and south flanks of the cenotaph. Within the narrative, the towers cease to be those of the basilica; they are transformed into the turrets of the 'Gate of Saint Vincent', and from there, *pars pro toto*, into the city of Ávila itself.[10] The sculptor could not have expressed the concept with greater refinement, both in the choice and in the conception of the contiguous scenes of the north and south sides respectively. On the first (fig. 8), he recalls the arrival of the martyrs on horseback to Ávila after they fled Talavera; on the second (fig. 4), he evokes the moments in which, captive and cruelly stripped of their clothing, they were taken out of the city in the direction of the execution ground ('extra portam educentes'—specifies the *Passio*, 9—'in locum, qui nunc Vestigia vocatur'). In both cases, the artist conceived the setting of these scenes as a lateral projection of

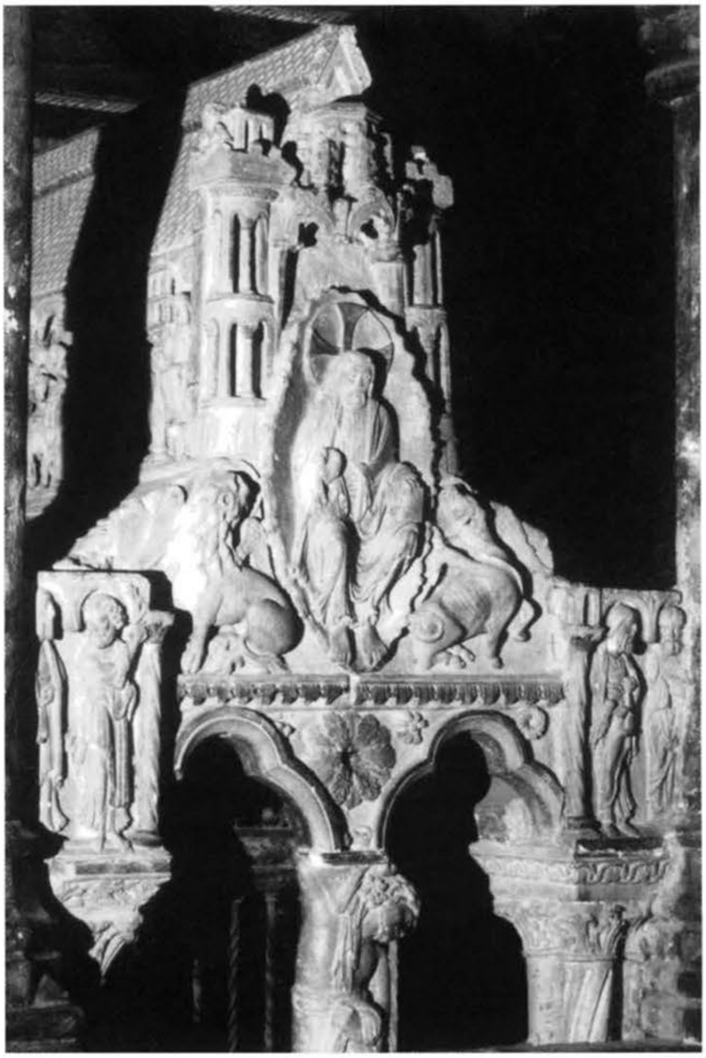


Fig. 2. Shrine, west side, Christ in Majesty

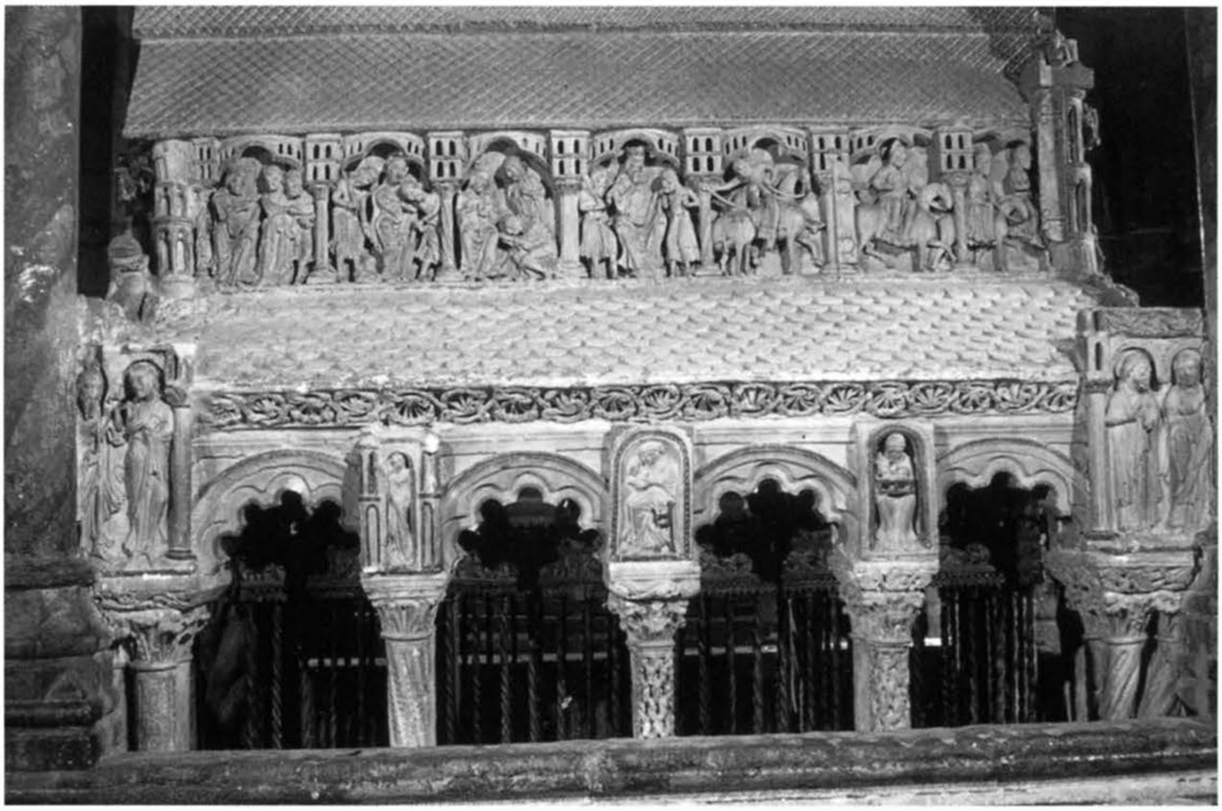


Fig. 3. Shrine, north side, the Persecution and Flight of Saints Vincent, Sabina, and Cristeta

the gate between the turrets by depicting doors on either side of each vignette.

In the microedifice of the tomb, the two portals of San Vicente, that in the city wall and that of the church, meld into a single entity—an allegory for the city. There is nothing ambiguous or uncertain about this conflation. It has, on the contrary, a calculated versatility that manifests the popular saying, 'a city is nothing more than its saints' or, what amounts to the same thing, its *monumentum,* as in the adage *Ávila, santos y cantos* ('Ávila, saints and stones'). Until the much later invention of the relics of San Segundo, the protection of the Extremaduran city was completely in the hands of Saint Vincent and his sisters, armour and ornament of Ávila, shared shelter of the Ávila citizenry.[11] Indeed, there were many instances wherein ritual alliance promoted urban cohesion through special hagiographic impetus, as for example the ineludible reunion near the saints' tombs by the *mesnadas del concejo* (knightly council) to hear mass before setting out to battle; or the participation of the entire urban community on the major festival of its saint in the annual procession in service of God and his martyrs and 'in honour of the city of Ávila' (*en [o]ndra de la cibdad de Ávila*).[12] With the iconographic multivalence of its turrets, the cenotaph embodied the profound feeling of communion that the people of Ávila had with their patron saints. And this was achieved, furthermore, by associating it with a pair of emblems from the urban landscape, namely, the *Puerta de San Vicente* and the west work of the church that already had an interrelationship in other realms. It is not simply that the city gate borrowed its appellation from the basilica, or that the church portico was constructed in the image of the gate's watch-tower: the church towers were expressly conceived and constructed as an extramural extension of the city defences.[13] Furthermore, both structures, porch and gate, were until 1582 the principal settings for the eminently urban, unique, and solemn procession of Palm Sunday, in which the church and city were transformed for a day into the holy city of Jerusalem.[14]

The overwhelming concordance that the shrine established between the church and city is even more charged than has so far been indicated. The versatility of the shrine's west towers can be understood by assuming two different and independent points of view, related to two discursive genres that are apparently opposed:

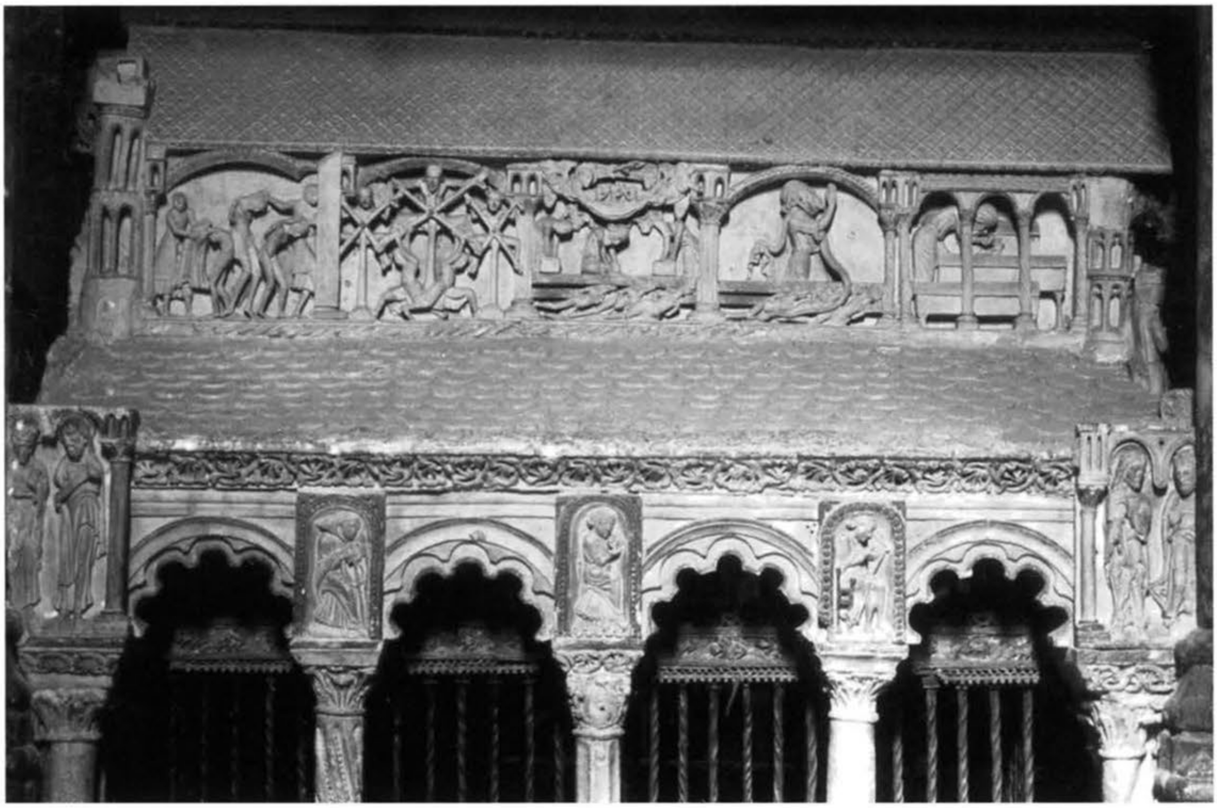


Fig. 4. Shrine, south side, the Martyrdom and Burial of the Saints

the *narrative* perspective of the vignettes of the main vessel, which impels us to regard the shrine's towers in the light of those of the city wall, and the *synthetic* and basilical focus offered by the tomb's west façade, wherein the image of the *majestas Domini* between the towers appears as an image of the church west work. I suggest that, in addition, a passage back and forth between the church and city exists that is even more direct and fluid—circular and in consequence cyclical—that surpasses or suppresses the distinction between synthetic and narrative orations, conjugating in time and in the most intimate manner imaginable the emblem (or history) of the basilica and the history (or emblem) of the city. That passage is the circumambulation of the cenotaph in the footsteps of the saints, of seeing and hearing the story of their martyrdom in the sequence in which it is narrated on the central vessel, beginning on the north side, proceeding east to west, and continuing on the south, west to east. In both the coming and going, that is to say, at the west and east faces (with a Theophany and Epiphany respectively: figs 2, 1), the narrative course is neither lost nor temporarily suspended, but rather clarified, magnified, and enriched. Furthermore, on completing the first circumambulation, one realizes in astonishment that what is at first sight a rectangular, longitudinal structure—the basilical tomb—in essence represents the imagery in a circular reading—itself cyclical by nature. It is as if the basilica form had taken on that centre of gravity exclusive to the centralized plan distinctive of martyrial architecture.[15]

The *gesta* of Saint Vincent and his sisters is staged in the following manner. The Gospel, or north side, begins with the image of the despotic Dacian in Elbora (figs 3, 5), *repletus indignatione*, sentencing the saint for refusing to sacrifice to Jupiter, and with the miracle of the footprint impressed onto stone. Next comes the scene in which Vincent's sisters visit him in jail to persuade him to flee. The sequence closes with the most dramatic moments of their escape: Dacian ordering their persecution and the three saints arriving in Ávila. The frieze on the Epistle side, the south (fig. 4), begins with three scenes prominently recreating their cruel and sadistic execution: the bailiffs stripping the trio of their clothing and taking them out of the city through its gate, breaking their bones on the cross-shaped rack, and finishing off the job by

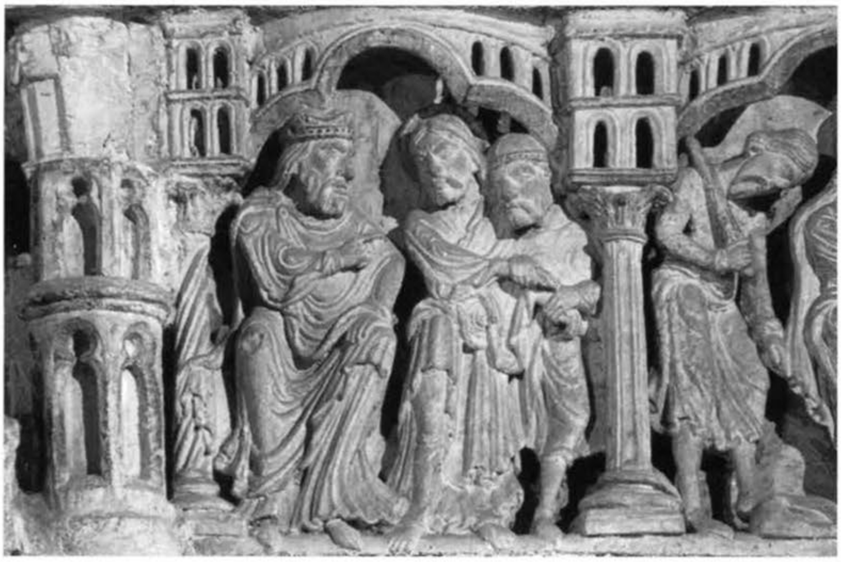


Fig. 5. Shrine, central vessel, north side, Dacian Sentencing Saint Vincent

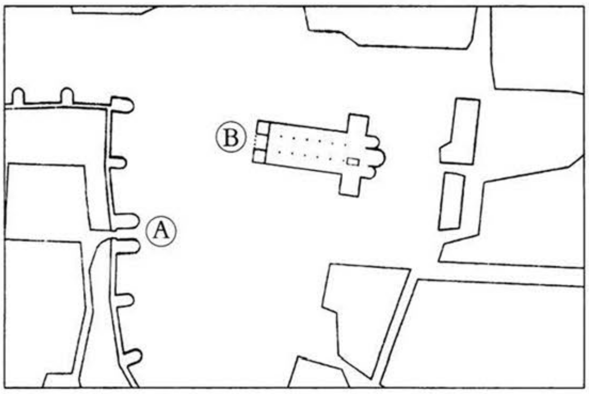


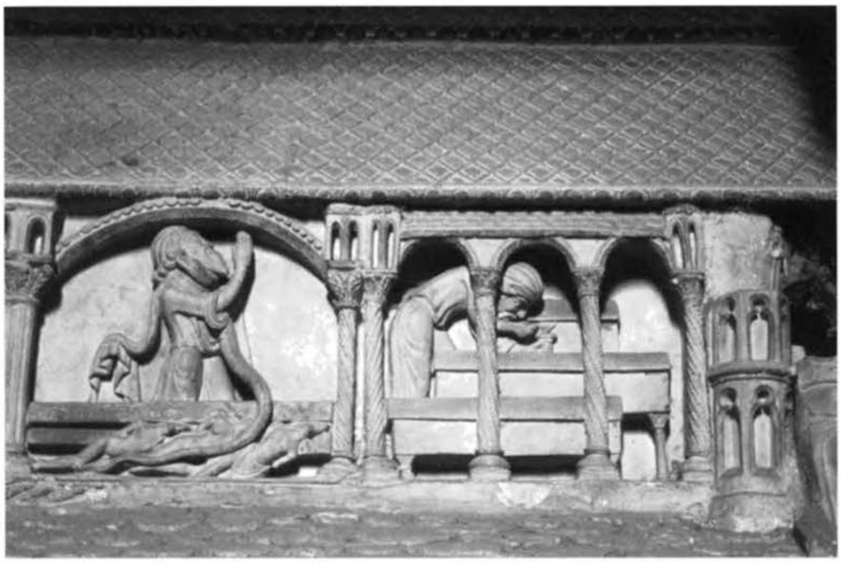
Fig. 6. Map of Ávila, northeast area, showing *Puerta de San Vicente* (A) and church of San Vicente(B)

smashing their heads between wooden beams. The scene simultaneously represents the martyrs' triumph over death with the elevation of their souls to heaven. The conversion of the curious Jew as a result of the serpent's threat and the foundation of the martyrium culminate the cycle.

As discussed earlier, the placement and orientation of certain subjects on the cenotaph are not arbitrary. The towers of Ávila rise at the west end because the *Puerta de San Vicente* is found, in fact, a few metres to the west of the basilica. Beyond topographic fidelity, however, there must also be a deliberate infusion of directional symbolism. The vile portrait of the *'impiissimum Datianum'* and the nefarious history of persecution against the saints are laid out on the dark and gelid side of the north ('the north [*Aquilo*] represents the severity of persecution', Hrabanus Maurus would note).[16] And the sunny side of the meridian was reserved to illustrate the valour and victory of martyrdom and the perpetuity of the lesson it presented ('the south is the meeting of martyrs', added Hrabanus Maurus).[17] I would not dare to suggest such a conscious choice of orientation if not for the fact that the moral contrast between north and south was expressed very directly at San Vicente in at least two other sites: in the decoration of the church exterior and in the iconography of the west façade.[18] As may be supposed, the carefully calibrated cenotaph also mirrors this contrast, with images of a corrupt world, badly governed and *disoriented*, predestined to perish, on the dark side toward the sunset, while toward the sunrise and in the light, images of the Christian triumph over injustice are revealed. The tropological sense of the saints' story and its arrangement in the sepulchre are diaphanous, and they coincide completely with the invitation engraved on the north wall of the cathedral of Vaison-la-Romaine: 'I beseech you, brothers, conquer the region of the north [wind], frequenting the cloister, because thus you will come to the south'.[19]

Neither the Theophany on the west nor the Epiphany on the east disrupts the hagiographic account. These scenes ought to be understood as being on the margin, or better, beyond the story. On the one hand, the two Christological images were selected in relation to the shrine's basilical design (as we have seen concerning the west face, and we shall see in regard to the Epiphany); on the other hand, they have an independent and fundamental meaning, expressing the two manifestations of the one

Fig. 7. Shrine, central vessel, south side, Episode of the Converted Jew



God—*secundum divinitatem* and *secundum humanitatem*— the Alpha and Omega of human activity, and the beginning and end of the cenotaph. However, the compass of the hagiographic cycle imposes yet a third *tempo* upon the monument, and certainly the two visions of the omnipresent Lord also have part in it. In my view, they are inscribed within the dynamic framework of the story of the saints in a manner beyond the generic. In addition to justifying the Christian victory of the martyrs over the pagan Dacian, the specific purpose of both images is to project to the city and to the world, *urbi et orbi,* the history of these saints and their basilica.

Urbi—to the city—is projected from the west face (fig. 2). As we pass from north to south engaged with the historic time of the vignettes, we associate the towers of the tomb with those of the city. But this is now a transformed city. Might it not be that the Christ revealed between the towers—*intramuros*—and the submission at his feet of the atlante is a clever synthesis of the idols of Aquilon fallen by the grace of the martyrdom on the meridian, and its repercussions for Christianity in Ávila?[20] On the west face of the cenotaph, once again, the city is identified with its saints, inasmuch as the Kingdom of God descended upon it when they entered Ávila. Between the north and south towers there is a slight difference of detail which, in light of the present discussion, seems likely to be significant and even tends to confirm my reading of the monument. The watchman who, from Christ's back, observes the arrival of the saints from the septentrional battlements (fig. 8) has disappeared from the meridional tower (figs 2, 4). Can this be nothing more than a caprice of the sculptor? His striated bonnet in the style of an Old Testament priest identifies this sentinel as the curious Jew, who 'receives' the saints from the high point of a tower (the city), still Hebrew and Gentile, and disappears from the opposite one, now Christian. The defeated

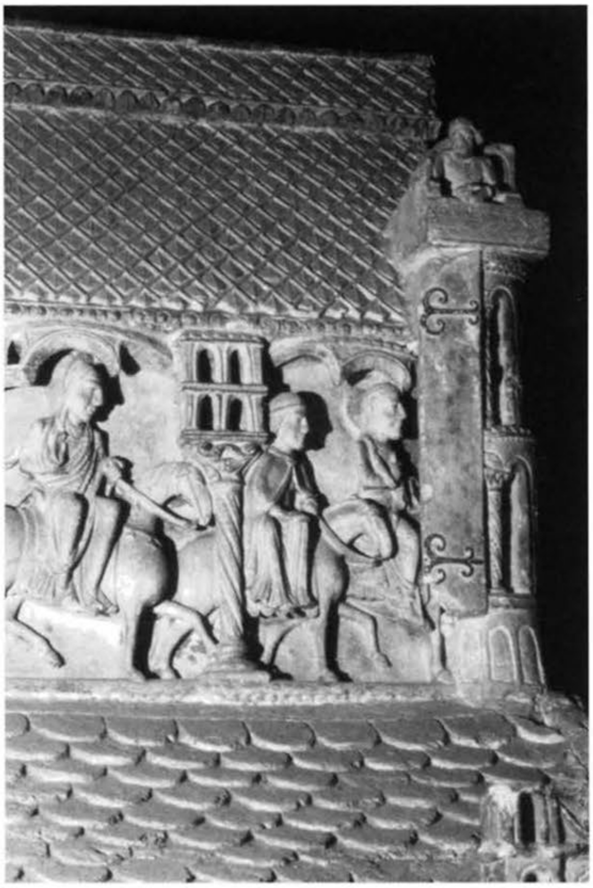


Fig. 8. Shrine of San Vicente, central vessel, north side, the Three Saints' Arrival in Ávila

atlante signifies the ruin of the idols whom Saint Vincent refused to revere on the north side of the cenotaph. The empty tower at the beginning of the south side suggests the abolition of Mosaic law, replaced by the New Law, in Ávila, through the sacrifice of the martyrs (whose flowing bodies are oriented toward the sunrise) and the subsequent conversion of the Jew who founded the basilica. In fact, those who were expelled from Ávila in the first frame on this side are the persecutors of the three siblings. The Jew, on the other hand, now baptized Christian ('iam christianus [...] per fontis uterum renatus'; *Passio,* 12), concludes the story in the final frame beneath the warmth of the recently consecrated church, metaphor and mirror of the rejuvenated city.[21]

Et orbi—to the world—is projected from the head of the cenotaph (fig. 1). The Magi in Adoration are ambassadors of the world, recognized since the time of Saint Gregory Nazianzenus and Saint Augustine as *primitiae vocatio gentium* and precursors of the *Ecclesia universalis* and of the City of God on Earth.[22] The representation of the Epiphany on the east face of the cenotaph is fully appropriate. Besides being, among other things, a festival of light, the scene entwines itself into the hagiographic cycle, bringing a universal meaning to local history: from the Jew as custodian of the martyrs to Joseph as custodian of Christ; from the conversion of a single Jew to that of 'all the nations' of Psalm 71. 11 (incarnate in the Magi, according to Tertullian).[23] And finally, it raises the foundation of the basilica from local to that of *universa Ecclesia gentium*, something manifest as well in the microedifice with its twelve supports and corner plaques with the twelve apostles, an echo of Saint Paul (Eph. 2. 20).

Within the framework of the Christian 'figural' thought system, so inclined to employ analogy as an iconographic technique, the choice of a trinitarian group such as the Magi goes hand in glove with a monument dedicated to three saints, a brother and two sisters, who form a sort of trinity.[24] The narrative *amplificatio* of the Epiphany on the two adjacent plaques develops thus: the Magi, 'three brothers' according to the apocryphal Armenian Gospel of the Infancy of Christ, seek Jesus travelling from the southern side, the same path that led the martyrs to the Kingdom of Heaven.[25] Meanwhile, an angel on the opposite side warns them that they should not return to Herod (Matthew 2. 12), recalled by the figure of Dacian, around the corner, enthroned on the Aquilonian frieze (fig. 5).[26] The circumambulation around the cenotaph is completed in the same terms with which it began, as an invitation to go around a second time, now thinking in a more universal mode, situating the story of the saints of Ávila within the divine plan. Vincents refusal to revere Jupiter culminates with the Adoration of Christ the King by all the nations; the flight of the martyrs is compared to that of the Magi. The beginning and the end of the hagiographical cycle is the image of the newly born Christ, that is, God revealed in human time, a point of convergence in human and sacred history, a singular and unique event that nourished the universalism characteristic of Christian historiography.[27] The personal destiny of the saints of Ávila fully coincides with human destiny and its two progenitors: the Hebrew, personified by the converted Jew, and the pagan, the Magi. This is the lesson of the shrine, in which the theophanies of the eastern and western ends establish the rhythm for the local chronicle with the purpose of presenting it within the horizon of universal history, in image and resemblance, *exemplum* and testimony of Scripture, the one and only truth.

It is probable that the doctrinal and typological logic of the Epiphany in the east resides in another aspect as well. Keeping in mind the basilical form of the tomb, one might ask the following question: if the west face is a miniature version of the west façade of the church, what theme may be best developed at the east end, the apsidal face of the cenotaph, to link it with the apse of the church? The image of the Gift of the Magi fulfills this purpose clearly, because of the rich association of the scene with the Eucharist, both as prototype for the sacramental oblation and example of eucharistic devotion. Furthermore, it is a biblical archetype for the Offertory of the Mass, an exhortation to offering by the faithful.[28] Apart from the markedly ritualistic air of the processional rendering of the gifts, in the form of Eucharistic chalices, it is symptomatic that the Magi are situated halfway between the altar of the south apse and the high altar. This must have been a conscious choice, for such could have been the real itinerary of the chalice and paten from the sacristy, usually in a secondary apse, to the high altar. The sacristy, as well, was where oblations such as the tithes or donations prescribed for

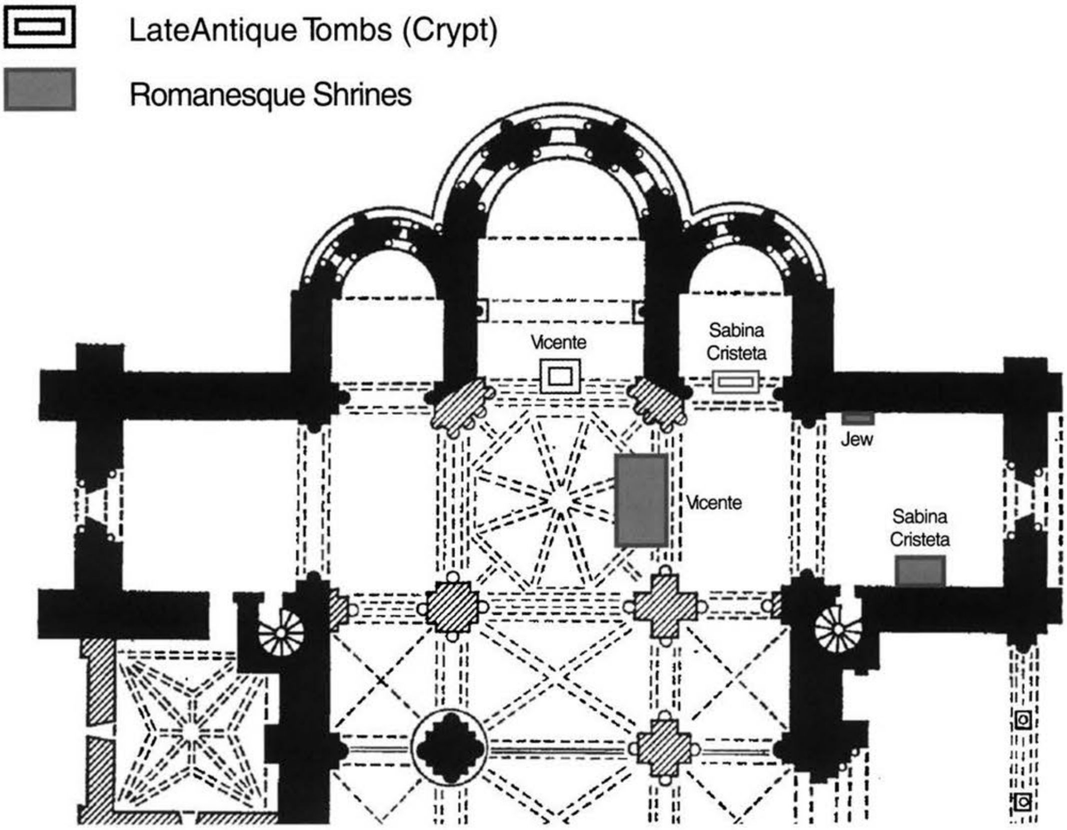


Fig. 9. Church of San Vicente, plan of the choir with the disposition of the Romanesque shrines and of the tomb vestiges in the crypt below

the feast day of the patron saint were deposited.[29] Both the east chapel and the south transept arm of San Vicente reveal that at some point in their history they must have had a Eucharistic function. From the late Middle Ages on (at the very least) in the south chapel there was a panel painting of the Mass of Saint Gregory ('una tabla pintada de la piedad y devoción de la misa de Sant Gregorio').[30] And much later, in 1617, 'an altar with its consecrated stone, and a retable with gilded twisted columns was built on the contiguous wall of the transept, in which there was a small painted monstrance with the Saviour on the door, and this was where communion was given to the faithful in this church during Holy Week'.[31] One can only wonder how ancient that custom must have been.

The Various Fortunes of a Pair of Tombs

In so far as structure and composition are concerned, the shrine that we see today hardly differs from its twelfth-century state. Although certain irregularities may be perceived, their character and presence *un peu partout* suggest that they should be ascribed to the *modus operandi* of a Romanesque atelier, and not to any subsequent remodelling of the cenotaph. For example, figural plaques on the corners cover the ends of the arcade, part of the frieze that runs its length, and the mouldings of the spandrels, as if they had been set into place *a posteriori*. The ample area of the imposts on which they rest, however, clearly indicates that they were part of the original plan.[32] In fact, the entire monument exhibits a curious contrast between what might be described as sculptural imprecision and tectonic exactitude. Other examples of this phenomenon are the many coarse joints visible on the exterior compared with the cohesive unity of the very same pieces on the interior, or the dizzying variety of irregularly sized columns compared with the perfect structural levelling of the colonnade (figs 3, 4).[33]

Other indisputable modifications, of a different sort, are clearly visible: on the eastern and western faces, a Gothic sculptor repaired some damaged figures and added two canopies (figs 1, 2).[34] While the untalented restorer betrays himself, it is difficult to date his work. Most likely, it is contemporary with a reconstruction during the last third of the thirteenth century, after the late Romanesque lantern tower and piers collapsed. Damage to the cenotaph would have been inevitable, since it is located in the threshold of the south transept arm, just below the southeast pier in which the collapse originated (fig. 9).[35] Another possibility, proposed by Gómez-Moreno, is that the rather dry repairs were made at the same time as the unfortunate baldachin set on stone columns, which binds the sepulchre so tightly that part of its corner ornamentation is damaged (fig. 1).[36]

The history of this baldachin is well documented. The baldachin was built between 1468–70 to give permanent form to 'a linen canopy of three colours, blue, red, and yellow in thirds, sewn in the same manner as knights' tents' (*un pabellón de lienzo nuevo de tres colores, azul y colorado y amarillo por tercios, y cosido en la manera y forma que se facen las tiendas de los caballeros*) that had been commissioned on 6 July 1468 to a Jew, Isaac Farós, and had been installed over the cenotaph to commemorate a prodigious event that occurred in 1465.[37] In that year, the Bishop of Ávila, Martín de Vilches, ordered an inspection of the tomb to find out whether the body of Saint Vincent was still inside. The marvel in question took place after a block of granite ('una losa muy grande de piedra berroqueña') was withdrawn from the tomb's interior. Then the bishop put his hand into the opening to discover the source of a mysterious vapour that had begun to waft out. When he removed his hand, it was trembling and covered with so much blood that his fingerprints were marked 'on a wood panel that must have served as the door for the tomb itself, on it is painted an image of the Apostle Paul [...] as can still be seen today within the sepulchre, in the vaults, suspended from iron bars, and where it is venerated by the people'.[38] Whether or not we believe in miracles, the fact is that the Pauline image still survives, now in the Museum of Ávila Cathedral (fig. 10), and that part of the interior of the tomb is painted red, right at the renowned 'opening for oath-taking' (*agujero de las juras*) that, according to popular legend, could cure illness and expose liars.

The idea of painting the inner recess of the monument in order to commemorate the miracle of blood for posterity must have simmered in people's minds between 15 March 1466—the day on which the box of anonymous offerings to Saint Vincent and his sisters was opened in order to deliver its contents to another Jew,

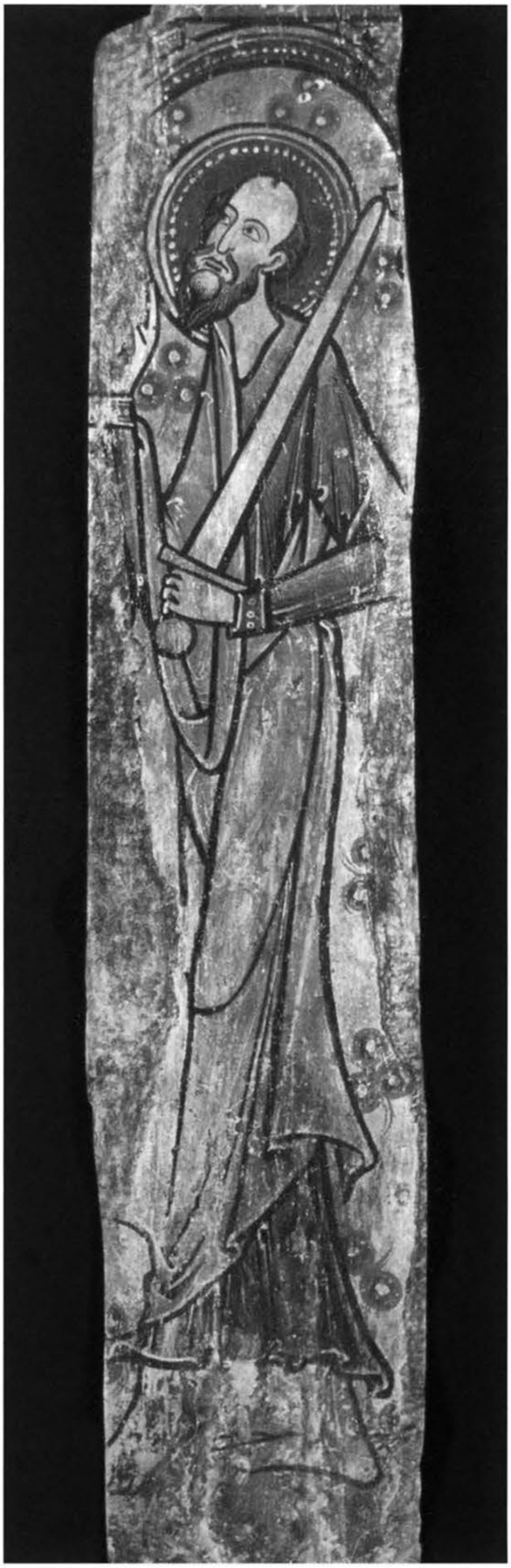


Fig. 10. Saint Paul, wood panel. Museum of Ávila Cathedral

Mosé Denón, for making gold leaf—until 17 June of the same year, when that very person received twelve florins to restore the deteriorated gilding of the sepulchre.[39] The panel representing Paul is thought to be contemporary with the cenotaph's sculpture, of Burgundian derivation, and possibly part of the original ensemble.[40] This is asserted in a 1470 document, in which the author, with authentic archaeological curiosity, attempts to demonstrate that 'the panel was one of the doors for the old [Romanesque] tomb because of iron hinges and handles with which the door could be opened, and because the very old and rather dry image of Saint Paul was painted on the exterior, a normal subject whenever there are two doors for a sacred object, the other being the Apostle Peter'.[41] The coherence of this ancient hypothesis is admirable. Nothing remains of the supposed hinges, perhaps because the panel has been cut down at the sides, but the iconographic scheme to which the anonymous author refers is, indeed, predictable on medieval coffers and reliquary caskets.[42] Taking it one step further, one could say that the pose of Saint Paul directs the spectator's attention toward a possible central composition depicting a theophanic vision, that is, needless to say, the *majestas Domini* on the west face of the tomb.[43]

It is hardly possible to improve a hypothesis as suggestive yet risky as this one. The 1470 description asserts that, because of the miracle, the bishop and nobles of Ávila gave the order to remove the old adornment of this holy tomb, taking all the wood to be used as relics and reserving only the one panel, that of Saint Paul, for the church.[44] Another chronicle, dated 1609, which echoes the earlier one, suggests that the Romanesque tomb was entirely 'covered with carved wood and painted panels' (*cubierto de labrados maderos y pintadas tablas*), that is to say, that each arch, and they number twelve, may have enclosed the figure of an apostle.[45] This attractive notion is contradicted, however, by many details. First, the surviving panel's measurements, 24 cm compared with openings of 35–40 cm in the cenotaph arcade, do not match.[46] Second, there are absolutely no indications of any hinges in the arcade. Last, but not least, the group of apostles, if that is what was represented in wood, was virtually duplicated by the figural plaques at the corners; as suggested earlier, these had been planned at the outset.[47]

Of course, the image of the shrine with all its arches filled with painted panels is not the sole reconstruction conceivable from the slight evidence we have. Far more suggestive is another hypothesis recently suggested to me by Francesca Español: the wooden panels could have formed a kind of movable screen or upright frame which surrounded the tomb and which was moved or opened only on special occasions, generating thus an atmosphere of solemnity and aura of revelation. This was, in fact, a medieval custom that is well documented in many other places.[48] And we should not omit the fact that the fifteenth-century embellishment of the shrine involved making an iron grille. For the moment, I will leave the hypothesis open.

There is yet another topic that needs to be covered, possibly much more than the previous one. I refer to the story of the construction and subsequent dismantling of the shrine of Saint Vincent's sisters, a little known episode in the artistic history of the martyrs' basilica. As the early restorers of San Vicente have shown, there were originally two cenotaphs, not just one: that of Vincent, the martyr of Talavera (or Évora), which is the one we see today; and that nearby of his sisters Sabina and Cristeta, a much simpler structure which, surprisingly, has been overlooked by most scholars.[49]

My own account is a mere *dilatatio* of what was accomplished a century ago by Enrique María Repullés. What do we know about its original placement? The Ávila chronicler Luis Áriz made it very clear when he described the three sarcophagi of the Estrada family, set onto the south façade of the transept and located 'behind Santa Sabina and Cristeta' (*a las espaldas de santa Sabina y Christeta*).[50] In other words, the cenotaph of the virgin saints was placed in the south transept, attached, as we shall see, to its west wall (fig. 9). If Repullés momentarily doubted this, it was because, as he knew instinctively, the monument must have been taken down when that of San Pedro del Barco was enlarged in 1610, coming to occupy half of the south wall of the transept.[51] The *memoria* of Sabina and Cristeta was then moved to the first bay of the south aisle, to become the Baroque monument in place today with the painted effigies of the holy sisters on either side of the altar, an iron grille enamelled in green gold in front, and at the pinnacle, a beautiful Christ Child, two angels in high relief, and two large gilded

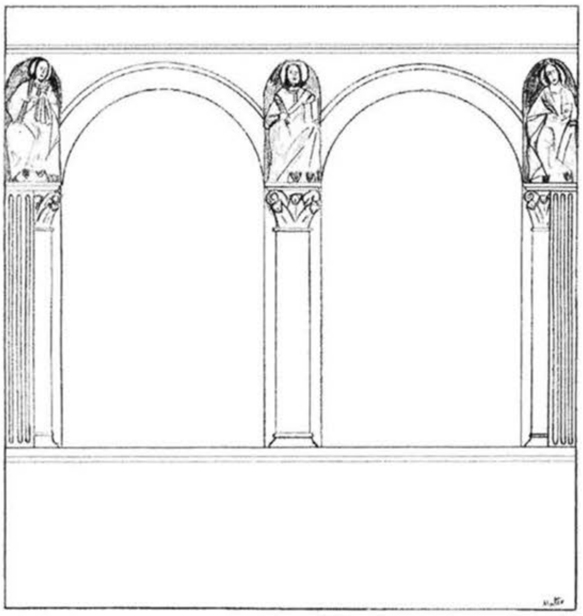


Fig. 11. Reconstruction of the Romanesque shrine of Sabina and Cristeta

painted pyramids.[52] The documentation eloquently offers a narrow chronological range between the last mention of the monument in its original location in 1607, date of publication of the *Historia* by Áriz, and the first reference to the new altar in 1610.[53]

But how can we determine when the older cenotaph was produced, at the end of the twelfth century, jointly with that of Saint Vincent? Or in the time of the baldachin, in 1468–70? The earliest texts I have seen that mention it all post-date the late fifteenth-century restoration.[54] The exception is an indirect allusion of 1470: on one of the columns of the baldachin, a parchment inscription in a Gothic hand, announces 'the Martyrdom, sepulchre, and holy body of Saint Vincent of Ávila' (*Martirio y sepulcro y cuerpo santo de san Vicente de Ávila*), in the singular, with no mention of his sisters. The most definitive information may be found, however, in a paragraph partially copied by Repullés, the source of which is an unpublished manuscript of San Vicente written between 1612 and 1621. The architect-restorer attributed it to Fernández Valencia and provides a brief but substantial description of the object of our inquiry: 'the other sepulchre in which the holy virgins Sabina and Cristeta are buried, in its own way is no less beautiful and grand than that of their brother Vincent; its design, however, is different because it is attached to the wall at the entrance to the transept like a vessel or sarcophagus, with entablature and lid which rest on three fluted half-columns from which spring two plaster semi-circles joining at the centre, carefully worked and painted; above were placed reliefs with the images of the saints and their brother Vincent'.[55]

This competent and exact description, which is irreproachably laconic, puts forth three very solid reasons for accepting a Romanesque date for the *monumentum* in question. In the first place, it describes a type of structure not untypical of Castilian funerary art during the last third of the twelfth century, similar to the tomb in the church of La Magdalena in Zamora.[56] It also includes a detail completely characteristic of the late Romanesque style of San Vicente and of Burgundy: fluted columns. Finally—and most convincing, as I see it—it invokes three images *'de medio relieve'* which, fortunately, have survived, inasmuch as they can be identified with the three stone effigies covered with a layer of plaster several centimetres thick, and which are displayed behind (*a las espaldas*) the Estrada tombs, close to, if not in the exact place, where the lost cenotaph stood (pl. 4).[57] Their attribution to the sepulchre is undeniable, as is their authorship and approximate date. They have survived decontextualized, which explains why some authors conjectured without any evidence that their original location was at the high altar.[58] Their fabrication may be attributed to the same atelier that produced the surviving cenotaph and the rest of the late Romanesque sculpture of the church, just as Repullés supposed and has been recently confirmed thanks to tests performed in the knee area of each figure.[59] Furthermore, the reliefs are about 50 cm wide, which matches the imposts of the corner plaques on the sepulchre of Saint Vincent, and they are similar in concept to the smaller pieces that decorate the spandrels of its arcade (figs 3, 4).[60] Their original placement on the monument of his sisters must have been very similar (fig. 11).[61]

The rediscovery of the missing tomb is interesting in itself, and more so because it allows us to relocate the three magnificent reliefs about which there had been nothing more than speculation. This is especially important because with it a primordial vector of the hagiographic programme of San Vicente is recovered as well. Located side by side in the south transept arm, the two cenotaphs reproduced, in the plan of the church, the Late Antique funerary arrangement of the crypt, of which a few indications survive. As already noted, the archaeological remains of the early martyrium are fragmentary, but not so much so as to invalidate the thesis, conscientiously provided by Rodríguez Almeida, about the former arrangement of the martyrs' *memoria* in two monuments or places: the marble tomb of Vincent, at the foot of the central bay of the crypt, and the double tomb of Sabina and Cristeta excavated into the western wall of the south bay (fig. 9).[62] The disposition of the shrines in the church above matched that of the tomb vestiges below, with only a slight displacement to the right for the obvious reasons of clarity and liturgical compatibility (in order to not obstruct the crossing of the church). The south transept, thus, was conceived as a means of representing the south half of the crypt in the ground plan of the upper church itself. Such an act of *elevatio* in the cult of saints was frequent in medieval churches and would have been understood and staged at the end of the twelfth century as an authentic *translatio*, whether or not a true translation had taken place. It should be recalled that the relics of these martyrs were no longer located in Ávila after 1062, when they were divided among Arlanza, León, and Palencia.[63]

The new display of the sacred tombs was completed by adding a third one, indicated by two fifteenth-century inscriptions, the more complete of which reads as follows: 'In this floor-tomb is the Jew who, by the grace of God, converted to Christianity and built this church of San Vicente in Ávila in the year 307'.[64] Rodríguez Almeida suggests that the burial to which the inscription refers may have been identified with the anthropomorphic tomb of stone slabs from the time of the repopulation of Ávila, and which remains open on the highest part of the rocky hill of the crypt.[65] The epigraph itself seems to be contemporary with the linen canopy and gilding of Vincent's cenotaph, the two works—as we have seen—that were executed by Jewish artists in a city where a good part of their community worked in the textile industry, although it was not exclusive to them, and where it seems unlikely that the beaters of gold were not, in general, Christians.[66] It is possible that the epitaph is a purposeful *aggiornamento* of an older one of the twelfth century. In fact, as Vila observed, only the Jew was accorded the honour and glory of being represented as promoter of Vincent's church, in an image that was consciously located on the south face of the sepulchre of the martyr—a visual *titulus* or mirror of the history of the *monumenta* within the contiguous space and, in the end, of the entire building.[67]

NOTES

I am indebted to Stephen Lamia and Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo for many stimulating suggestions. I am also grateful to Elizabeth for performing the trying job of translating my ungrateful Spanish. ADA is the abbreviation of Archivo Diocesano de Ávila. In all of my transcriptions, I modernize the phonological system and transcribe the copulative as *y*.

1. The following is a selected bibliography on the topic; unless otherwise indicated, short references in the rest of the article are to this list: Andrés Hernández Callejo, *Memoria histórico-descriptiva sobre la basílica de los santos mártires Vicente, Sabina y Cristeta en la ciudad de Ávila* (Madrid, 1849), pp. 23–24; Enrique María Repullés, *La basílica de los santos mártires Vicente, Sabina y Cristeta en Ávila* (Madrid, 1894; repr. Ávila: Consejo de Fábrica de San Vicente, 1997), pp. 38–39, 84–94; Werner Goldschmidt, 'El sepulcro de San Vicente, en Ávila', *Archivo español de arte y arqueología*, 35 (1936), 161–70; José M. Pita Andrade, *Escultura románica en Castilla. Los maestros de Oviedo y Ávila* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1955), pp. 20–25, 38-40; Emilio Rodríguez Almeida, 'La primitiva memoria martirial de los santos Vicente, Sabina y Cristeta (Ávila: España)', in *Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Christiana* (Ravenna, 1962), 781–97, (p. 797); idem, *Ávila romana* (Ávila: Caja General de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad de Ávila, 1980), pp. 49–54; Pilar León Tello, *Judíos de Ávila* (Ávila, 1963), p. 15; Pilar Silva, 'Nuevos datos para la biografía de Sansón Florentino', *Archivo español de arte*, 44 (1971), 155–63, (p. 160); Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo monumental de la provincia de Ávila* (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1983), I, 145–46; Eduardo Ruiz Ayúcar, *Sepulcros artísticos de Ávila* (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1985), pp. 33–52, 242–44; Serafín Moralejo, 'Artistas, patronos y público en el arte del Camino de Santiago', *Compostellanum*, 30 (1985), 395–430 (pp. 409–10); Margarita Vila Da Vila, 'La iconografía de San Vicente y sus hermanas en el arte medieval', in *Matrimonio, familia y parentesco en Galicia* (Santiago: Tórculo Edicións, 1988), pp. 255–68; eadem, 'Leyenda y realidad del patronazgo regio en la arquitectura medieval abulense de los siglos XII y XIII', in *Patronos promotores, mecenas y clientes, VII Congreso Español de Historia del Arte, Murcia, 1988* (Murcia, 1992), pp. 101–10 (106–10); Ramón Otero Túñez y Ramón Yzquierdo Perrín, *El coro del Maestro Mateo* (La Coruña: Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, 1990), pp. 122–24; Félix de las Heras, *La iglesia de San Vicente de Ávila,* 2nd expanded edn (Ávila: Fundación Sánchez Albornoz, 1991), pp. 51–74, 114–25; Cándido M. Ajo González, *Historia de Ávila y de toda su tierra, de sus hombres y sus instituciones, por toda su geografía provincial y diocesana* (Salamanca: C.E.I.A., 1994), XII, 836–38, 960–61; and Félix A. Ferrer García, 'El santo y la serpiente: leyenda y realidad en el cenotafio de los mártires Vicente, Sabina y Cristeta de Ávila', *Cuadernos Abulenses*, 29 (2000), 11–59.

2. *Passio Vincentii, Sabinae et Christetae*, 12, in *Pasionario Hispánico*, ed. by Ángel Fábrega (Madrid and Barcelona: C.S.I.C., 1955), II, 363. For a recent edition accompanied by a Spanish translation, see Pilar Riesco Chueca, *Pasionario hispánico* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1995), pp. 214–25. The picturesque episode of the Jew that closes the text (chapters 11–12) is an addition, datable *c.* 681, to an original *Passio* that can be no earlier than the seventh century and whose textual relationship to the other *Actas* is a subject far from resolved; see Fábrega, *Pasionario*, I, esp. pp. 68–72, 164–67, 258–59; Baudouin de Gaiffier, 'Sub Daciano praeside. Études sur quelques passions espagnoles', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 72 (1954), 378–96; Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, 'Correciones y conjeturas al Pasionario Hispánico', *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos*, 63 (1957), 453–65, (pp. 455–56); idem, 'Anotaciones para una cronología del Pasionario Hispánico', in *Miscelánea Férotin* (Barcelona: Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia, 1965), 515–28, (pp. 524–26); Carmen García Rodríguez, *El culto a los santos en la España romana y visigoda* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1966), pp. 75–76, 218–284; Pedro Castillo Maldonado, *Los mártires hispanorromanos y su culto en la Hispania de la Antigüedad Tardía* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1999), pp. 406–08, 425–26.

3. Vila had already noted this in 'Leyenda y realidad', n. 46.

4. Although the towers on this side are now incomplete, their original height can be determined by the proportions of their stories, much less svelte than those on the west, and by the closed cornice of the roof, perforated on the opposite side.

5. I refer to the Christ of the trumeau; see Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo*, II, fig. 252.

6. The mausoleum of Saint Lazarus in Autun was also conceived as an echo of its architectural surround, albeit in a different manner; see Neil Stratford, 'Le Mausolée de Saint Lazare d'Autun', in *Le Tombeau de Saint Lazare et la sculpture romane à Autun après Gislebertus (Ville d'Autun–Musée Rolin, 8 juin–15 septembre 1985),* introd. by Matthieu Pinette and Roland Recht (Autun: Imprimerie Pelux, 1985), pp. 39–41 (esp. p. 16).

7. 'Salvo en algunos reparos que mandó hacer el Rey D. Fernando el Santo'; see Margarita Vila, 'Acerca de la cronología del románico abulense: crítica de las fuentes documentales y literarias', in *Jubilatio. Homenaje de la facultad de geografía e historia a los Profs. D. Manuel Lucas Álvarez y D. Ángel González* (Santiago: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1987), II, 561–70.

8. Bartolomé Fernández Valencia, *Historia de San Vicente y Grandezas de Ávila* (1676), ed. by T. Sobrino, Fuentes históricas abulenses, 13 (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1992), pp. 203–04, 261. For the right to burial in the interior of a church, see José Orlandis, 'Sobre la elección de sepultura en la España medieval', *Anuario de historia del derecho español*, 20 (1950), 5–49 (pp. 22–24); and Isidro G. Bango, 'El espacio para enterramientos privilegiados en la arquitectura medieval española', *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid*, 4 (1992), 93–132 (pp. 94, 106–14).

9. For various examples of this category of medieval art, see Herbert L. Kessler, 'On the State of Medieval Art History', *The Art Bulletin*, 70.2 (1988), 166–87 (pp. 175–77); Willibald Sauerländer, 'Romanesque Sculpture in its Architectural Context', in *The Romanesque Frieze and its Spectator*, ed. by D. Cahn (London: Harvey Miller, 1992), pp. 17–43; Francisco Rico, 'Entre el códice y el libro', in *Libro del caballero Zifar. Códice de Paris*, ed. by Francisco Rico (Madrid: Moleiro Editorial, 1996), pp. 245–58; a version of this article, which is less pertinent to my suggestion, may be found in *Romance Philology*, 51 (1997), 151–69.

10. In the sense that a city, as defined by Alfonso el Sabio, is any place which is enclosed by walls (*Partida VII*, XXXIII, VI); see Julio Valdeón Baruque, 'Reflexiones sobre las murallas urbanas de la Castilla medieval', in *La ciudad y sus mural-*

las, ed. by Cesare de Seta and Jacques Le Goff (Madrid: Cátedra, 1991), pp. 67–87.

11. For the saint as factor in social conscience and urban cohesion, see G. Fasoli, 'La coscienza civica nelle *laudes ciuitatum*', in *La coscienza cittadina nei comuni italiani del Duocento, 11–14 ottobre 1970*, Convegni del Centro di Studi sulla Spiritualità Medievali, 11 (Todi, 1972), pp. 455–67; Paolo Golinelli, *Città e culto dei santi nel medioevo italiano* (Bologna: Editrice CLUEB, 1991), esp. pp. 15–32; Charles Picard, 'Conscience urbaine et culte des saints. De Milan sous Liutprand à Verone sous Pepin I^er d'Italie', in *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés IV–XII siècles. Actes du Colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris, 2–5 mai 1979* (Paris, 1981), pp. 9–44. On San Segundo, see Antonio de Cianca, *Historia de la vida, invención, milagros y traslación de San Segundo, primer obispo de Ávila* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1595), facs. edn by Jesús Arribas (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1993); and recently María Cátedra, *Un santo para una ciudad* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1997).

12. Tomás Sobrino, *Documentos de antiguos Cabildos, Cofradías y Hermandades abulenses*, Fuentes históricas abulenses, 4 (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1988), p. 50; Ángel Barrios, *Documentación medieval de la Catedral de Ávila* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1981), p. 85, doc. 95. See also Fernández Valencia, *Historia y Grandezas*, pp. 242–43.

13. Daniel Rico Camps, '*Clerici vero habeant mores militum*. Notas en torno al primer proyecto de San Vicente de Ávila', in *La cabecera de la Catedral calceatense y el Tardorrománico hispano. Actas del simposio en Santo Domingo de la Calzada, 29 al 31 de enero de 1998* (Santo Domingo de la Calzada: Cabildo de la S.M.I., 2000), pp. 419–49.

14. Both Fernández Valencia, *Historia y Grandezas*, and the chronicle *Notables* (see below, note 18) affirm that for more than 600 years, until 1582, on Palm Sunday in the sumptuous portico of the church a solemn act used to be performed ('en el suntuoso pórtico de este santo templo se hacía una solemne función que se continuó por más de seiscientos años'). It consisted of a procession from the cathedral to San Vicente. Upon arriving at its portal, where an altar had been erected, the walls adorned with tapestries, and 'benches set upstairs' (in the narthex tribune) for the cathedral canons and clergy, downstairs for the people, Tierce was said, then the Gospel was sung, and they would preach from a pulpit in the middle of the portal ('en llegando a su portal, adonde estaba hecho un altar y entapizadas las paredes y puestos bancos en la parte de arriba para el cabildo y clero y en la parte de abajo otros para el pueblo, se decía Tercia y luego se cantaba el evangelio y se predicaba en un púlpito que estaba en medio del portal'). After that, they would go to the homonym portal at the entrance to the city, which would be closed ('que estaba cerrada'), and would enact the ceremony *Atollite portas*, with the cantors divided into two choirs, one at the walls and the other in the plaza ('divididos los cantores en dos coros, unos en las murallas y otros en el coso'); Fernández Valencia, *Historia y Grandezas*, pp. 238–39. Even though the note is relatively late, the origin of the festival could easily go back to the twelfth century for at least two reasons. (1) The suggestion by the chroniclers of its antiquity, whether or not exaggerated, and to its suppression in 1582 indicates that this was a medieval tradition. In fact, the Palm Sunday procession was adopted in Spain very early; see R. E. Messenger, 'Medieval Processional Hymns before 1100', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 80 (1949), 377ff. (2) In national liturgies as well as in the Roman rite, the ritual was celebrated *ad ostium ecclesie*, in the atrium or galilee, and frequently used angelic voices singing from some elevated site such as a tower or tribune; for examples, see Isidro G. Bango, 'La vieja liturgia hispana y la interpretación funcional del templo prerrománico', in *VII Semana de Estudios Medievales. Nájera, 29 julio–2 agosto, 1996* (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1997), pp. 61–210 (p. 69); Patrick Demouy, 'Les *Pueri chori* de Notre-Dame de Reims. Contribution à l'histoire des clergeons au Moyen Age', in *Le Clerc séculier au Moyen Âge. XXII^e Congrès de la S.H.M.E.S. Amiens, juin 1991* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1993), pp. 135–49 (esp. p. 138); Margot Fassler, 'Liturgy and Sacred History in the Twelfth-Century Tympana at Chartres', *The Art Bulletin*, 75.3 (1993), 499–520 (p. 500 and n. 14); Carol Heitz, 'Architecture et liturgie processionnelle à l'époque préromane', *Revue de l'art*, 24 (1974), 30–47 (p. 38).

15. One cannot recall often enough the magisterial work by André Grabar, *Martyrium. Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chretien antique* (Paris: Collège de France, 1943–46).

16. 'Aquilo est austeritas persecutionis'; in *Patrologia Latina*, 112, col. 860.

17. 'Auster, coetus martyrum'; ibid., col. 869.

18. An examination of the exterior sculpture of the windows and lateral portals, and especially of the respective cornices of the nave, reveals that the figural decoration on the south is luxuriant compared with the severity of that on the north (where the original state is still visible at the eastern bay and at the fourth buttress). It is certainly not mere happenstance that the south façade of the church was more opulently decorated than the north. It is significant, for example, that Ávila tradition attributes the initiative for repairs done *c.* 1317, to the buttresses and arcades of the 'north wind' side (*la nave del cierzo*), to the proposal and counsel of a man from Segovia, possessed by the devil (*'un endemoniado en Segovia'*); see the chronicle 'Notables desta Insigne Parrochia de S. Vicente de Ávila, Dignos de Gran Memoria', *Libro Becerro de todas las dotaciones y aniversarios ... de San Vicente*, ADA, núm. 20A, sign. 141/1/2, fol. 554v., from which I transcribed the oldest passages in my 'San Vicente de Ávila en el siglo XII (estructuras, imágenes, funciones)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, 1998), pp. 428–33. It is true that the decorated side of the building is that which faces the city and through which people entered the church daily. But it is no less certain that the depreciatory treatment of the shadowy side, *ad aquilonem*, even at the purely constructive level, could rationalize lesser expense with its symbolic import; see, for example, Raymond Oursel, *La arquitectura románica* (Madrid: Ediciones Encuentro, 1987), pp. 330–31. The same thinking explains the situation of penitential portals on the north, as at Autun and Compostela; see Otto K. Werckmeister, 'The Lintel Fragment Reproducing Eve from Saint-Lazare, Autun', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 35 (1972), 1–30 (n. 109); Serafín Moralejo, 'La imagen arquitectónica de la Catedral de Santiago de Compostela', in *Il pellegrinaggio a Santiago de Compostela e la letteratura jacopea. Perugia, 23–24–25 settembre 1983* (Perugia, 1985), 37–61 (pp. 60–61). The polarity is manifested once again in the church of San Vicente in an iconographic motif of the west side of the church. The sun and moon are represented in the funerary chapels that flank the narthex, below the towers, in a manner that is truly architectonic: two hollows, one circular, the other crescent-shaped, open in the upper wall contiguous with the respective towers. They are disposed differently from the way they are customarily arranged in Crucifixions and Depositions, with the sun on the spectator's left and the moon on the right. At San Vicente the solar circle is found on the sunny meridional chapel, while the

lunar crescent is on the dark side of Aquilon; see Rico Camps, 'San Vicente de Ávila', pp. 389–94, and figs 408–10.

19. 'Obsecro vos fratres aquilonis vincite partes / Sectantes claustrum quia sic venietis ad austrum'; Calvin B. Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church. Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 1998), p. 290; see also *Corpus des inscriptions de la France médiévale, 13: Gard, Lozère, Vaucluse*, ed. by Edmond-René Labande (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1988), pp. 199–200, with a brief but informative gloss about the symbolism of both winds in the Bible and patristic commentary.

20. It goes without saying that the humiliated, conquered atlante is inseparable from the majestic image of Christ above. This conforms with an iconographic scheme for the triumphal court well known in Romanesque art; see, for example, Ruth Bartal, 'Le Programme iconographique du portail occidental de Sainte-Marie d'Oloron et son contexte historique', *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 18 (1987) 95–113 (pp. 102–05); Joaquín Yarza, 'El obispo Pelayo de Oviedo y el *Liber Testamentorum*', *Actum Luce*, 18 (1989), 62–81 (pp. 72–73). The association of the atlante with the idols repudiated by Saint Vincent is inescapable here, as a result of the specific meaning that any polysemic motif obtains when found in an unequivocal context, and also because of the classicism (paganism) so carefully achieved in this particular case.

21. The mere presence of the Jew in the northwest tower —a detail added by the sculptor, which was not contained in the original text of the *Passio*—charges the version of the tomb with a certain proselytism, especially if one accepts that his absence from the other tower has iconographic value. It appears relevant that, in 1334, the council of Ávila obliged the Hebrew community to observe the feast days of the church of San Vicente; see José Belmonte, *Judíos e Inquisición en Ávila* (Ávila: Caja de Ahorros de Ávila, 1989), p. 59.

22. Hugo Kehrer, *Die heiligen drei Könige in Literatur und Kunst* (Leipzig: n.p., 1908–09), I, 34; Marie-Louise Thérel, *Le Triomphe de la Vierge-Église* (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1984), pp. 92–93.

23. Winifred Sturdevant, *The 'Misterio de los Reyes Magos'. Its Position in the Development of the Mediaeval Legend of the Three Kings* (Baltimore, MD, and Paris: The Johns Hopkins Press and Les Presses Universitaires, 1927), p. 12.

24. In a similar vein is the inclusion of a trinitarian Chrismon, an Aragonese device rare in Castilla, on the keystone of the south portal, surrounded by reliefs of the saints; see Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila románica: Talleres escultóricos de Filiación Hispano-Languedociana* (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), pp. 425–28, fig. 295, for the Chrismon, and pp. 327–36, for an attractive hypothesis about the original disposition of the reliefs, first presented by her in 'La iconografía de San Vicente'. The trinitarian symbolism was one of the reasons that led the Patristic Fathers to choose three as the number of the Magi, left undetermined by Matthew; Sturdevant, *The Misterio de los Reyes Magos*, p. 16; Manuel Alvar, *Libro de la infancia y muerte de Jesús (libre dels tres reys d'orient)* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1965), p. 72. The association of Vicente, Sabina, and Cristeta with the Trinity already occurs in the oldest hymn to them;.see Clemens Blume, *Analecta hymnica Medii Aevi* (Leipzig, 1897), pp. 256–57; published subsequently (New York and London, 1961); and in the *Passio* itself; see Fábrega, *Pasionario*, I, p. 167; García Rodríguez, *El culto a los santos*, p. 282. For 'figural' thinking, see Erich Auerbach, 'Figura' (1944), in *Mímesis. La representación de la realidad en la literatura occidental* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1950), esp. pp. 75–78, 150–53, 523; reprinted in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature* (New York: Meridian Books, 1959), pp. 11–76.

25. Edmundo González-Blanco, *Los evangelios apócrifos* (Madrid: Librería Bergua, 1934), II, 124.

26. Otero and Yzquierdo, *El coro del Maestro Mateo*, correctly interpreted the thematic order of the east face of the shrine as a visualization of the two diverging paths that Ambrose discusses in his commentary on the episode of the Magi, a bifurcation already represented on some Early Christian sarcophagi; Marie-Louise Thérel, *Les symboles de l' 'Ecclesia' dans la création iconographique de l'art du IIe au VIe siècle* (Rome, 1973), pp. 111–14. Similar expressions of opposition equidistant from an Epiphany, in this and other senses, are not unusual in Spanish medieval art. See the pair of stars in the scene located in the apse of Santa María de Tahull, with a bright star for the Three Kings and a dark one for Herod; Joaquín Yarza, 'Un Cycle de fresques romanes dans la paroisse de Santa María de Taüll', *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 40 (1990), 121–40 (p. 124). For a later example, see the two architectural styles—Romanesque, sombre and old-fashioned, like the Old Testament; Gothic, luminous and delicately modern like the New Testament—in a panel painting of the Adoration of the Magi in Cervera de Pisuerga attributed to Juan de Flandes; Ignace Vandevivere, *Juan de Flandes. Brugge, Memlingmuseum, Sint-Janshospitaal, 1 octobre–11 novembre 1985; Louvain-la-Neuve, Musée universitaire, 16 novembre–22 décembre 1985* (Bruges, n.d.), 33–49 (pp. 33–36).

27. R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press and Galaxy Book, 1956), pp. 46–56; José Antonio Maravall, *Antiguos y modernos* (Madrid: Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1966), esp. pp. 157–61; Marie-Dominque Chenu, *La Théologie au douzième siècle*, Études de philosophie médiévale, 45 (Paris: J. Vrin, 1957), pp. 62–89; Francisco Rico, *Alfonso el Sabio y la 'General estoria'*, 2nd edn (Barcelona: Ariel, 1984), pp. 15–35, 67–84.

28. Ursula Nilgen, 'The Epiphany and the Eucharist: On the Interpretation of Eucharistic Motifs in Medieval Epiphany Scenes', *The Art Bulletin*, 49 (1967), pp. 311–16; Rab Hatfield, *Botticelli's 'Uffizi Adoration'. A Study in Pictorial Content* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), pp. 33–67 (pp. 35–48). Two examples of the assimilation of the offerings of the Magi with those of the faithful may be found in media as didactic as public sculpture: the dramatic enactments of the Offertory from which the *Ordo Stellae* was derived; Ilene H. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 54–58; and some sermons for the feast day of Epiphany in which the story of the Magi and their allegorical interpretation is used to encourage offerings in imitation of them; Michel Zink, *La Prédication en langue romane avant 1300* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1976), p. 224. In the apse of San Vicente itself, another antetype for the Eucharist, the Sacrifice of Abraham, appears on a capital on the *axial* window. The same sculptors in the neighbouring church of San Pedro decorated the south wall of the *Epístola* (see the note below) of the presbytery with the offering and sacrifice of Abel, the *figura* mentioned in the Canon of the Mass along with Abraham and Melchisedec, and *exemplum ad imitandum* of the fulfilment of obligatory tithes due the church, frequently promoted within the frame of the Offertory; see Josef A. Jungmann, *El sacrificio de la misa. Tratado histórico-litúrgico*, (Madrid: BAC, 1951), II, §§ 308–12; Manuel Antonio Castiñeiras, 'Cycles de la Genèse et calendriers dans l'art

roman hispanique. À propos du portail de l'église de Beleña de Sorbe (Guadalajara)', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 38 (1995), 307–17; idem, *El calendario medieval hispano* (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1996), pp. 239–45. For the Ávila capitals, see Vila, *Ávila románica*, pp. 178–90, and figs 33, 36, and 41; and Rico Camps, '*Clerici vero habeant*', p. 447, and fig. 25.

29. For the deposition of offerings of any sort on the lateral *altaria* before the beginning of a service, and the reception of the bread and wine by the priest *ad cornu epistole*, see Francisco de Berlendis, *De oblationibus ad altare* (Venice, 1743), esp. pp. 362–63; and Jungmann, *El sacrificio de la misa*, II, esp. §§ 1–22. Exactly which spaces served as sacristy and treasury in Spanish Romanesque churches that did not have areas destined exclusively for this function, that is, most cathedrals and parish churches, is a topic that has barely been studied, in contrast to the literature identifying *sacraria, donaria, preparatoria*, etc. in Late Antique and pre-Romanesque architecture; Richard Krautheimer, 'The Transept in the Early Christian Basilica', in *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art* (London: University of London Press, 1971), pp. 59–68; Robert F. Taft, *The Great Entrance. A History of the Transfer of Gifts and Other Pre-anaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Studi Orientali, 1978); Cristina Godoy, *Arqueología y liturgia. Iglesias hispánicas (siglos IV al VIII)* (Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 1995), pp. 88–103; and Isidro G. Bango, 'La vieja liturgia hispana y la interpretación funcional del templo prerrománico', in *VII Semana de Estudios Medievales. Nájera, 29 julio–2 agosto, 1996* (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1997), pp. 61–210 (pp. 82–116). See the preliminary suggestion, which will surely result in further study, in the thesis of the tireless Eduardo Carrero Santamaría, 'Las construcciones de los cabildos catedralicios en los antiguos reinos de León i Galicia durante la Edad Media' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1998), I, 181–88, 213–27.

30. *Libro de cuentas e inventarios*, 1493–1545 (ADA, no. 21, sign. 141/1/2, fols 41v, 78v).

31. 'Un altar de piedra con su ara, y retablo de columnas torneadas todo dorado [...] que tiene en el medio una custodia pequeña pintado un Salvador en la puerta donde se da la comunión la Semana Santa a los feligreses desta Iglesia'; according to the *Inventario del año de 1682* (ADA, no. 29A), fol. 2. The description of the altarpiece continues thus: 'encima Nuestra Señora de la Asunción con seis Ángeles, y a los lados los Santos Mártires S. Crispín y Crispiniano todo de talla entera y dorado y pintado muy bien, que es el altar de la cofradía y hermandad de los zapateros' (founded in 1609). This must be the altarpiece representing the brother saints from Soissons that was completed in 1617, according to the *libros de fábrica* exhumed by José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, 'Las restauraciones de San Vicente de Ávila en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX', introduction to the facsimile edition of Repullés, *La basílica*, (Ávila, 1997) p. xxii, n. 18.

32. Between the exterior face of the arcade and the perimeter of the abacus, a surface between 10 and 11 cm wide was left on which to rest the reliefs.

33. The bases, shafts, capitals, and imposts all vary in size and scale, but the springing and apex of each column is always the same. In my judgment, this 'disorder' results from two factors: the reuse of older material (although only in one case is it truly Antique, a column that is probably marble, on the south side), and the taste for *operosa varietate* so characteristic of Romanesque art, as lucidly described by Meyer Schapiro, 'On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art' (1947), reprinted in *Romanesque Art. Selected Papers* (New York: Braziller, 1977), pp. 1–25.

34. See especially the face of Christ and the upper half of the Dream of the Magi. These repairs had already been noted by Repullés, *La basílica*, p. 89; Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo*, I, 146; Goldschmidt, 'El sepulcro', p. 167; and Pita Andrade, *Los maestros de Oviedo y Ávila*, pp. 21, 40.

35. The affected piers are clearly indicated in the schematic plan of Luis-María Lojendio and Abundio Rodríguez, *Castille Romane* (La Pierre-qui-vire: Zodiaque, 1966), II, 276. The first notice about the poor condition of the church appears in a letter written by Alfonso X to the Ávila council in 1279, confirming a donation granted years before, for the repair of the church of San Vicente: 'para la labor de la Iglesia [...] que cuando yo fui en Ávila [...] fallela mal parada en muchas desmaneras'; see de las Heras, *La iglesia de San Vicente*, p. 108. The structure must have threatened ruin before 1273, when Alfonso X spent time in Ávila; Evelyn S. Procter, *Curia and Cortes in León and Castille, 1072–1295* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 134–35, 151, 161, 185; and perhaps shortly after 1270, when the Bishop of Ávila, Fray Domingo Suárez, assigned ten *maravedíes* annually to the chapter to march in the procession of the feast day of Saint Vincent, which consisted in going from the church of San Salvador to that of San Vicente and remaining there until the end of Mass ('desde la elguesia [*sic*] de Sant Salvador fasta la elguesia de Sant Vicent [...y estarse en ella] fasta el fin de la misa'); Barrios, *Documentación medieval*, p. 85, no. 95. If the building were at that time in such a poor state (*'para se caer'*), one might imagine it propped up with supports from the apse up to the second bay of the nave, and from that time, with Masses and other liturgical activities temporarily suspended. The document, however, may be interpreted in just the opposite sense, that the bishop was promoting a celebration whose decline parallelled that of the building. What is known for certain is that the reconstruction lasted until 1302 because of economic difficulties; Vila, 'Leyenda y realidad', pp. 107–09; and eadem, 'Acerca de la cronología', esp. pp. 567–70. For a detailed analysis of the collapse and subsequent restoration, see Pedro Feduchi, *Estudio técnico de San Vicente de Ávila* (unpublished study, Archivo de la Dirección General de Patrimonio y Promoción Cultural de la Consejería de Cultura y Bienestar Social de la Junta de Castilla y León, 1993), pp. 100–01, 117–18; and Rico Camps, 'San Vicente de Ávila', 1998, pp. 53–54, 120–35.

36. Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo*, I, 146.

37. For the contract of the linen canopy, see León Tello, *Judíos de Ávila* (partial text); Ruiz Ayúcar, *Sepulcros artísticos de Ávila*; Silva, 'Nuevos datos'; and Ajo, *Historia de Ávila*; and Belmonte, *Judíos e Inquisición*, p. 95. It provides a *terminus post quem* for the baldachin, documented by 1470; see below, note 41.

38. 'En una tabla que debía servir de puerta en el mismo sepulcro, en que está pintada una imagen del apóstol san Pablo[...] como se ve hasta el día de hoy dentro del mismo sepulcro en la cornija de sus bóvedas, sustentada en barras o listas de hierro, adonde es venerada de la devoción del pueblo'; Fernández Valencia, *Historia y Grandezas*, p. 229. For the portentous event, see Luis Áriz, *Historia de las Grandezas de la ciudad de Ávila* (Alcalá de Henares, Luis Martinez Grande, 1607), Primera Parte, fols 32r–32v (facsimile edn, Tomás Sobrino Chomón (Ávila, 1978), pp. 65–66); *Catálogo de los obispos de Ávila* (1665), Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 18343, fol. 42v.; and 'Notables desta Insigne Parrochia', fol. 555.

39. See Ruiz Ayúcar, *Sepulcros artísticos*, p. 38; and Ajo, *Historia de Ávila*, XII, 837, 960–61. On 26 July 1465, the same Mosé Denón, or Dono, beater of gold, was contracted to make the gold and silver necessary for the work of a well-known painter, Sansón Florentino (ibid., p. 836), who acted as judge for the contract of the canvas awning executed by Isaac Farós (see above, note 37), one year after completing an altarpiece for the church of Jaraíces; Silva, 'Datos para la biografía', p. 160. Jaraíces is a village in the district of Arévalo, where, notably, the church of San Vicente possessed land, houses, and vineyards since 1253; Fernández Valencia, *Historia y Grandezas*, p. 260. The work to embellish the cenotaph during the later 1460s (gilding, pavilion, and baldachin) was initiated in the very same year in which the miracle took place by making an iron grid for protecting the sepulchre, conserved today on its interior; Ajo, *Historia de Ávila*, XII, 960. Some years later, a full restoration campaign was undertaken in the church itself. This included the construction of the sacristy between 1477–79, according to an inscription, and the contract with the Master of Ávila for an altarpiece; Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo*, I, 146. Even the high altar was remodelled and consecrated on 20 October 1499 by Bishop Carrillo de Albornoz, who 'had the reliquary arc within removed and filled with plaster like the altar ('fizo quitar el ara que estaba inclusa en él y fenchirlo de yeso igualmente con el altar'); *Quaderno y becerro de las casas y heredamientos . . .*, ADA, no. 20, sign. 141/1/2, fol. 20. The baldachin was painted and gilded again by Bishop Martín de Bonilla, 1656–62; *Catálogo de los obispos de Ávila*, fol. 102.

40. I know of nothing in Castilian-Leonese art of the second half of the twelfth century that resembles the style of the panel representing Saint Paul (with its elegance, grace, slender figure, and serenity) as much as the late Romanesque sculpture of San Vicente; see María Elena Gómez-Moreno, *Mil joyas del arte español* (Barcelona: Instituto Gallach, 1947), I, 162. Pictorial parallels must have existed, but they either have not survived or are unknown, so any concrete stylistic relationship has to depend upon foreign miniature and monumental painting, and, to a lesser degree, that of Catalonia—something that had already been intuited by Walter William Spencer Cook and José Gudiol Ricart, *Pintura e imaginería románicas*, Ars hispaniae, 6 (Madrid: Editorial Plus-Ultra, 1950), p. 267, and fig. 258. For a more recent overview of Spanish painting, see Joan Sureda, *La pintura románica en España* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1985); Joaquín Yarza, 'La miniatura en Galicia, León y Castilla en tiempos de maestro Mateo', in *Actas del Simposio Internacional sobre 'O Portico da Gloria e a Arte do seu Tempo'. Santiago de Compostela, 1988* (La Coruña: Xunta de Galicia, Consellería de Cultura e Xuventude, Dirección Xeral de Cultura, 1991), pp. 319–35. Most striking is that the well-crafted figure, with stylistic elements such as the elongated canon of proportions, participates in the pictorial vanguard of the second half of the twelfth century; on this basis a date in the third quarter of the thirteenth century, proposed by Luis A. Grau, seems inadmissable; *Pintura románica en Castilla y León* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1996), p. 210. On its reverse, the panel bears 'incised or sunken foliage over a plaster base covered by silver leaf or tin'; *El arte románico. Exposición organizada por el Gobierno español bajo los auspicios del Consejo de Europa. Catálogo* (Barcelona and Santiago de Compostela, 1961), p. 496, no. 1694. This coincides with the ornament of the fifteenth-century baldachin.

41. 'Una de las puertas del sepulcro antiguo [románico] por estar en ella dos goznes de hierro con sus asillas en que se revolvía la puerta y por tener como tiene por la parte de fuera pintada la imagen del señor San Pablo, de antiquísima y tosca labor, que es la imagen ordinaria que en cualquier cosa sagrada se suele pintar cuando hay dos puertas, poniendo en la otra la del apóstol San Pedro'; the text was published by F. de las Heras, *La iglesia de San Vicente*, p. 115, as a 'crónica [?] de 1470' that he consulted in the Parish Archive of San Vicente (now integrated into the ADA), but without providing any reference by which to trace the source. The text has the further interest of being the first known mention of the recently constructed baldachin, when the author affirms that the panel was set 'with great care on the interior of the adornment [the canopy] with which the sepulchre had been re-edified at that time' (con mucha guarda como está y se ve dentro del adorno con que entonces reedificaron este sepulcro). Seventeenth-century inventories and chroniclers reiterate the hypothesis of the door and provide more information about its career as a relic. For example, the *Inventario del año de 1682* (ADA, no. 29A), fols 14v–15, tells us that 'Within the tomb of holy Vincent is a panel which was formerly a half-door, where the mark of the hand of Bishop Martin de Vilches was impressed after he tried to excavate the sepulchre; today it is the object of great devotion, covered with deep red taffeta and a piece of printed leather' (En el sepulcro de Sr. S. Vicente está una tabla que era media puerta del Antiguo donde dejó señalada la mano el ilustrísimo Señor D. Martín de Vilches Obispo, cuando intentó cavar el sepulcro; está hoy en mucha veneración, cubierta con un tafetán encarnado y un pedazo de guadamacil). As late as 1849 it could be seen suspended from the arcade on the interior of the cenotaph by the first restorer of the church, Hernández Callejo (*Memoria histórico-descriptiva*, p. 24).

42. Among numerous examples, see Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, *Émaux méridionaux. Catalogue intérnational de l'oeuvre de Limoges*, I: *L'Époque romane* (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1987), figs 158, 514, 647, 649, 654, 657–58, 660–61; *L'Oeuvre de Limoges. Emaux limousines du Moyen Age* exh. cat. (Paris and New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995), cat. nos 10, 27, 29, 71, 115, 166.

43. Grau, *Pintura románica*, p. 210.

44. 'El obispo y los nobles de la ciudad de Ávila dieron orden de quitar de este santo Sepulcro el adorno antiguo, llevando toda la madera de él para reliquia, reservando la Iglesia sola esta tabla'; see above, note 41.

45. The 1609 text was published by de las Heras, *La iglesia de San Vicente*, in the same manner as that of 1470, indicating only that it was found in a bundle of papers in the archive of San Vicente.

46. As indicated above, however, the panel has been cut down.

47. Unless one supposes that the supporting elements of the cenotaph—the socle and its colonnade—were devised (as they were, in fact, constructed) independently of the superstructure. That being so, the artists would obviously have had to wait for the other, but without having a clear plan at the outset of what the form and iconography were going to be. The panels of apostles could have been painted or begun during a first phase of work later modified when the upper part was undertaken. This is highly speculative, even taking into consideration that improvisation and probabilities often played a fundamental part in the creative dynamic of Romanesque art, a subject worthy of further investigation.

48. See, for example, Ben J. Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998), pp. 92–99.

49. Hernández Callejo, *Memoria histórico-descriptiva*, p. 23, and especially Repullés, *La basílica*, pp. 39, 90–91. He is echoed by Rodríguez Almeida, 'La primitiva memoria martirial', p. 797; and de las Heras, *La iglesia de San Vicente*, pp. 60–61, 116, unlike Gómez-Moreno, Goldschmidt, Ruiz Ayúcar, or Vila Da Vila.

50. Sobrino Chomón, *Historia de las Grandezas de la ciudad de Ávila*, p. 400.

51. De las Heras, *La iglesia de San Vicente*, fig. on p. 87. San Pedro del Barco is a local saint buried, according to legend, in the transept of San Vicente in the twelfth century and venerated there since 1302 at the latest, the date in which he appears in documents for the first time. For the well-documented inspection and reconstruction of his tomb in 1610, see ibid., pp. 92–94, 130–35; and Fernández Valencia, *Historia y Grandezas*, pp. 218–22.

52. 'Con las efigies de las santas hermanas pintadas a los dos lados de su altar, [una] reja de hierro esmaltada de oro verde [delante, y por remate] un niño hermosísimo vestido de peregrino en su caja, dos Ángeles de media talla y dos pirámides grandes doradas y dadas de pintura'; see a notice of 1610, in de las Heras, *La iglesia de San Vicente*, pp. 60–61, 116; an inventory from the episcopate of José Argáez, 1645–1654: *Libro de inventarios*, ADA, no. 29, sign. 141/1/3, fol. 59v; and the *Inventario de alaxas y bienes de la Iglesia de San Vicente* of 1682, ADA, no. 29A, fols 2v, 15.

53. The notice of 1610 (above, note 52) indicates that nothing remained of the older form of the sepulchre ('no queda del sepulcro antiguo formación alguna').

54. The *auto de visita* of the Bishop of Morocco in 1495, according to the summary, not necessarily literal, by Fernández Valencia, *Historia y Grandezas*, pp. 216, 241; *Estatutos para el cura y beneficiados de la parroquia de San Vicente* of 1549, ed. by Tomás Sobrino, *Documentos de antiguos Cabildos, Cofradías y Hermandades abulenses*, Fuentes históricas abulenses, 4 (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1988), pp. 291–305 (p. 303); *Apuntamientos sobre algunas ceremonias* of Ávila Cathedral *c.* 1575, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección Clero, Cód. 468B, fol. 94v.; and Antonio de Cianca, *Historia de la vida, invención, milagros y traslación San Segundo, primer obispo de Ávila* (Madrid, 1595), fols 40v–41v (subsequent edition by Jesús Arribas, Fuentes históricas abulenses, 15 (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1993), pp. 85–86).

55. 'El otro sepulcro en que están las sanctas vírgenes Sabina y Christeta, que en su manera no es menos vistoso y grande que el de su hermano Viçente, aunque de diferente traza, porque está arrimado a la pared de la entrada del cruçero a manera de vaso o lucillo, con sus antepechos y cubiertas, que asientan tres medias columnas estriadas, de las cuales salen dos medios arcos de yeso, que en medio se rematan y unen, labrados de menuda labor de oro y colores, y sobrepuestas de medio relieve las imágenes de las Santas y de su hermano San Vicente'. Repullés, *La Basílica*, p. 39, copied the last part of this text without specifying its source and ascribing it (I think without any evidence) to the cleric of San Vicente don Bartolomé Fernández Valencia. In fact, the description appears in any anonymous manuscript entitled *Título de la ynsigne parrochia de Sant Viçente de Ávila, reliquias y cuerpos sanctos que ay en ella*, which was written only a few years after the original cenotaph was dismantled, or even some time before, if we take as an *ante quem* the inventory of 1645–1654 cited above in n. 52 instead of the 1610 document (which I have been unable to see in the original). The manuscript is preserved in the Archivo Parroquial de San Vicente, Ávila, and shortly will be published by Félix A. Ferrer García. I thank him for the identification and transcription of such an important text.

56. The only significant difference between its structure and that of the sepulchre of the virgin saints is the use of full instead of half-columns. In the case of the Ávilan monument they must have been addosed to the piers, pilasters, or partitions which divided the double-vesseled tomb in the manner of the burials *ad sanctas* embedded into the exterior walls of the south transept: the triple tomb of the Estradas and the double arcosolium of the Muñoz y Salazar family; see Ruiz Ayúcar, *Sepulcros artísticos de Ávila*, fig. on p. 43. For the Zamoran tomb, see Margarita Ruiz Maldonado, 'Dos obras maestras del románico de transición: la portada del Obispo y el sepulcro de la Magdalena', *Studia Zamorensia. Anejos 1. Arte medieval en Zamora* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1988), pp. 33–59 (esp. pp. 39–47).

57. At the beginning of the twentieth century, and from at least 1703–10, they were located in the south apse; Repullés, *La basílica*, p. 92; Gutiérrez Robledo, 'Las restauraciones', p. xxi.

58. Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo*, I, p. 145; de las Heras, *La iglesia de San Vicente*, p. 26; and, oddly enough, Repullés, *La basílica*, pp. 92–93, who initially imagined them in *'el ábside principal'* and who supposed that their placement over the tomb where Fernández Valencia saw them was carried out when the apse was covered by a Gothic altarpiece.

59. The style of the original drapery that is visible (characterized by vertical and parallel striations conceived in the same manner as the fluting of a pilaster, a cascade of U-shaped curved folds, and the flow of smoothly undulating drapery over the knees) coincides particularly well with the drapery of the angel and Virgin of the Annunciation at the south portal and the Christ of the trumeau at the west portal; Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo*, II, figs 252, 262. The tested areas suggest that the state of conservation of the figures beneath the layer of plaster must be magnificent, and it would probably be worthwhile removing the rest of the plaster, which is likely contemporary with the baldachin placed over the cenotaph of Saint Vincent. The three reliefs were painted in carnadine at the beginning of the eighteenth century according to records of 1703–10, when work was done in the chapel of San Francisco de Paula (the south apse); see Gutiérrez Robledo, 'Las restauraciones', p. xxi.

60. See *O Portico da Gloria e o seu tempo. Catálogo da exposición conmemorativa do VIII centenario da colocación dos dintéis do Pórtico de Gloria da Catedral de Compostela. Santiago de Compostela, 1988* (La Coruña: Xunta de Galicia, 1988), p. 78, nos 98, 99.

61. The logic of using the tomb of Saint Vincent as a model for the hypothetical reconstruction of that of his sisters is, in my view, the most solid argument for interpreting the only vague and imprecise phrase in the words attributed to Fernández Valencia. The participle *'sobrepuestas'* referring to the images does not correspond well with *'antepechos y cubiertas'* whereas it does with *'las tres medias columnas estriadas, de las cuales salen dos medios arcos'*. Interpreting the word in the sense of placing one thing over another, that is, over columns, also makes more sense than does 'attached' in the manner of statue columns, an interpretation that contradicts the form of the reliefs and their completely smooth back surfaces.

62. Rodríguez Almeida, 'La primitiva memoria martirial'.

63. For the translation of a saint's tomb *ad altiorem locum*, see Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, pp. 18–19; John Crook, *The*

Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West, c. 300–c. 1200 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 160. Even today the struggle to return the relics to Ávila continues. The confidence that they would be returned, especially from Arlanza, is probably the key reason for the construction of the Romanesque sepulchres. Whether they eventually fulfilled this function or remained mere cenotaphs, true or feigned (*pio falso*), is a subject which I am presently investigating. For the moment, see the suggestion of Vila, 'Leyenda y realidad', p. 107; and of Francesca Español in her article in this volume, note 57.

64. 'En esta sepultura del suelo está el judío que por milagro de Dios se tornó cristiano e hizo esta iglesia de San Vicente de Ávila. Año CCC VII'.

65. Rodríguez Almeida, 'La primitiva memoria martirial', p. 796, and fig. 13; idem, *Ávila romana*, p. 51.

66. Ángel Barrios, *Estructuras agrarias y de poder en Castilla. El ejemplo de Ávila (1085–1320)* (Salamanca and Ávila: Universidad de Salamanca and Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1983 and 1984), II, 63–70, 179–81; and José Belmonte, *Judíos e Inquisición*, pp. 93–97; *La ciudad de Ávila. Estudio histórico*, 2nd edn (Ávila: Caja de Ahorros de Ávila, 1987), pp. 193–94.

67. Vila, 'Leyenda y realidad', p. 110.

Caput sancti regis Ladislai: The Reliquary Bust of Saint Ladislas and Holy Kingship in Late Medieval Hungary

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In the year 1345, during a fierce battle with the invading Tatars on the eastern border of the Kingdom of Hungary, the Hungarian army was led to victory through the miraculous intervention of Saint Ladislas, a sainted eleventh-century monarch of the Árpád dynasty.[1] The saint's protective actions were carried out by the relic of his head. According to an account recorded in the chronicle of an unknown Franciscan friar of the late fifteenth century, during the battle the head of Saint Ladislas disappeared from its shrine in the cathedral of Nagyvárad.[2] Some time later it reappeared, covered in perspiration, as though it had undergone a great exertion. Captured Tatars claimed to have been vanquished by a giant knight, mounted on a powerful steed, wearing a golden crown, and wielding a great battle-axe.[3] Above him appeared a majestic lady, wearing a golden crown, radiant with heavenly light. By this account, it was understood that Saint Ladislas, accompanied by the Virgin Mary, had personally saved Hungary from the invading Tatars. This underscores one of the most noteworthy aspects of the cult of Saint Ladislas in late Medieval Hungary—his role as *athleta patriae*—the sainted king who protects his land and people.[4] It is noteworthy that this account relates the salvation of Hungary to the direct intervention of the relic of Saint Ladislas's head. This miracle account highlights the role of the relic in localizing the ongoing presence of the saint at his shrine, from which he can sally forth at any time to save his people and his country. The tale of the saint's head participating in the defeat of the Tatars may reflect the custom of carrying relics into battle.[5] In omitting this detail of relic-portage, the narrative presents the event in a more dramatic, miraculous light. The presence of the relic on the battlefield is described as effected by the saint himself. By casting this practice in a miraculous mould, the account accentuates the saint's active role in the protection of his realm. Through this miracle, the saint-king asserted his role as national patron, and demonstrated the *praesentia* and *potentia* of his relics at the core of his cult.

Just as the account of the 1345 miracle presents the head of Saint Ladislas as the most important and active relic of the saint, his principal cult image is the sumptuous reliquary bust that was created not long thereafter to contain it (colour pl. 6 and fig. 1).[6] However, the reliquary bust functions even more forcefully to assert the continuing presence of the saint via the relic of his head. Like the miracle story, the reliquary bust makes visible and tangible the accepted truths of the relic cult by providing the saint with a surrogate visage through which his ongoing presence is fully conveyed. While the miracle account establishes the efficacy of the relics, the reliquary bust provides visual proof of the physicality of this presence, through which miracles are performed. Here, at the centre of his cult, Saint Ladislas was most present, manifest in his reliquary image.

Reliquary busts proliferated in the later medieval period due to the effective and dynamic way in which they were able to present the significance of the relics that they contained.[7] This is partly due to the complex intermingling of their multiple functions, the most basic of

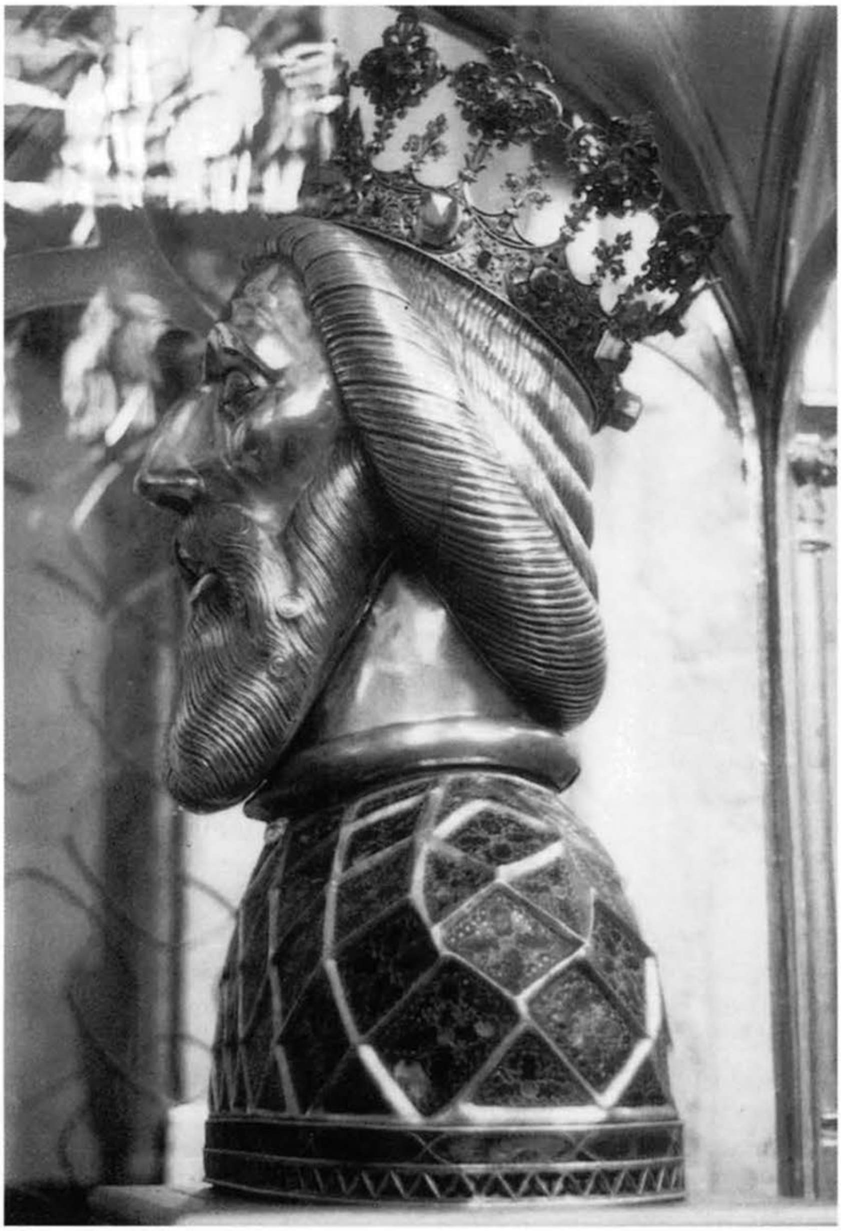

Fig. 1. Reliquary bust of Saint Ladislas, profile, between 1357–78, silver, partially gilded, enamel. Györ Cathedral (photo: authors)

which is that of container. But reliquary images do more than simply contain the relics; they serve to assert the real presence of the saints within. This dynamic role as visible authenticator of presence is the most powerful function of the reliquary bust, and it is this authentication that has the greatest impact on the interaction between the saint, reliquary bust, and devotees. The reliquary bust was often conflated with the very relics it contained.[8] Such perceptual association between the container and the contained is related to one of the fundamental premises of the relic cult itself, that of *pars pro toto*, the part implies the whole.[9] Each relic, therefore, embodies the complete presence of the saint. The reliquary image fleshes out this presence, making it palpable, visually real. As the saint is truly present, the visage that is offered by the reliquary image could be likened to an epidermal layer above the bones. Thus relic and reliquary image fuse into one complete person, as skin and bone make up the physiognomy of the individual. The practice of displaying the relics within the reliquary bust fostered, even encouraged this fusion in the popular mind. Beholding a reliquary and being told that what was visible was the relic itself, could stimulate an epiphany of the shimmering presence of the saint's heavenly body made tangible on earth. The reliquary bust provides the eyes, ears, and mouth through which a dialogue between a saint and devotee becomes feasible.

This facilitated interaction is a principal factor in the process of conflating reliquary image, relic, and the corporeal presence of the saint.[10]

The reliquary bust of Saint Ladislas has traditionally been dated to the early fifteenth century on the basis of a charter of King Sigismund, dated 19 October 1406, which describes a voracious fire that damaged the cathedral of Nagyvárad several years earlier.[11] According to this account, the church was largely destroyed, but the relic of the saint's head was miraculously spared. It is recorded that the conflagration melted the reliquary, but left the relic itself unscathed. Many scholars have accepted this tale at face value and thereby date the reliquary bust to *c.* 1400, as a replacement for the earlier bust melted in the fire.[12] Noting the strong stylistic affinities between the reliquary bust and late fourteenth-century sculpture in Hungary, some have suggested that the alleged replacement reliquary replicated the appearance of the earlier bust, presumably dating from the fourteenth century.[13] While this explanation offers a neat resolution to the apparent discrepancy between the reliquary's style and the dating suggested by the charter, it does not take into account the broader context of the cult of Saint Ladislas, its political significance in late medieval Hungary, and the use of miracle accounts to assert the saint's patronage of the changing dynasties of Hungarian kingship. Upon examination of this larger context, another scenario comes to light: that the reliquary as it appears today is in fact a work of the third quarter of the fourteenth century, and that the charter of 1406 is a false account, constructed for reasons of political self-legitimization.[14]

According to Vincze Bunyitay's analysis of the excavations of the cathedral of Nagyvárad, the text of the charter exaggerates the fire's destruction, which appears to have been minimal.[15] Gyula László has suggested that the charter of Sigismund was intended to attest to the miraculous preservation of the relic, and thus the story of the melting reliquary was invented to underscore this miraculous survival.[16] A similar miracle is recorded on 7 April 1443 when one of the towers of the cathedral fell. The relic of Saint Ladislas (presumably within the reliquary bust) was on the altar at the time, but was spared destruction by a floating stone which hovered above it and deflected the falling debris.[17] If we examine these two miracle accounts together, a pattern emerges in which the head of Saint Ladislas is actively involved in the preservation of itself as well as the Kingdom of Hungary.[18] Thus, these accounts can be seen as serving the political purpose of acknowledging the saint's ongoing role in the protection of the Hungarian state and its king. The commingling of Ladislas's cult with Hungarian kingship provides a key for reinterpreting the 1406 account of the fire at Nagyvárad Cathedral not at face value as a historical record of the destruction of the fourteenth-century reliquary bust, but as a politically motivated story fashioned to assert the saint's legitimization of the reign of King Sigismund of Hungary.

In order to understand the significance of this claim, it will be necessary to examine the cult of Saint Ladislas and its political resonance in late medieval Hungary. King Ladislas I, of the Árpád dynasty, ruled Hungary from 1077–95.[19] Among his major achievements were the definitive consolidation of the Hungarian kingdom after a lapse into disorder, a systematization of the judicial system, and the abetment of the onslaughts of the invading Cumani and Pecenegi peoples. These accomplishments established Ladislas as a just ruler and protector of the Kingdom of Hungary—aspects that figure prominently in his cult. In 1083, at Ladislas's request, the first Hungarian saints were canonized, including Bishop Gelért, the Árpád king Stephen, and his son Emeric. By establishing himself as the patron of the cult of Saint Stephen—the first Christian king of Hungary—Ladislas effectively presented himself as Stephen's rightful heir, definitively helping to eliminate his rival, Solomon. Not only did Ladislas establish a line of Árpád dynastic saints, he provided the model of aligning oneself to the cult of Holy Kings as a method for providing religious support for royal power—a model that would later be actively followed with regard to the cult of Saint Ladislas.

Another important step in establishing Ladislas's role as national patron was his financing the construction of the cathedral of Nagyvárad between 1087 and 1090. In dedicating the church to the Virgin Mary—benefactor of Hungary—Ladislas positioned himself as the servant of the Virgin and patron of the kingdom. According to legend, Saint Stephen had pledged the kingdom to the Virgin; thus, in dedicating the cathedral at Nagyvárad to her, Ladislas further aligned himself with his sainted predecessor. It is noteworthy in this context to recall the 1345 miracle in which Saint Ladislas appeared with the Virgin Mary to save their kingdom from the Tatars. The link between the cults of Saint Ladislas and the Virgin as national protectors is forged through their mutual ties to the cathedral of Nagyvárad, built by Ladislas in honour of the Virgin, and possessing the relics of this *athleta patriae*.

On 29 July 1095 Ladislas was buried in this cathedral, which would rapidly become the centre of his cult.[20] He was canonized in 1192 during the reign of Béla III, adding yet another saint to the ruling house of Árpád. The cult of Saint Ladislas expanded exponentially over the succeeding two centuries to the point of eclipsing the cults of the other dynastic saints of the House of Árpád. By the second half of the fourteenth century, Saint Ladislas enjoyed standing as the principal hero of the flowering chivalric culture in Hungary.[21] This stature as national hero and protector, while rooted in the events of his reign and lifetime and bolstered by tales of miraculous post-mortem exploits such as the 1345 victory over the Tatars, was primarily fostered by later rulers as a means of self-legitimization. It was, in fact, the new Angevin rulers of Hungary who focused tremendous energy on Ladislas's cult during the fourteenth century.

With the death of King Andrew III in 1301, the House of Árpád was effectively no longer the ruling house of the kingdom. After a brief interregnum, Charles Robert of Anjou was crowned in 1310, initiating a century of powerful governance by the House of Anjou. Charles Robert acceded the Hungarian throne partly on the basis of his lineage which connected him to the great line of sainted Árpád kings. His mother, Mary of Hungary, was of Árpád lineage. On his father's side, Charles Robert was related to Saint Louis IX of France and Saint Louis of Toulouse. Charles Robert used this pedigree to assert his right to rule Hungary.[22] Through the Angevins, the House of Árpád could be said to live on. Thus began the Angevin policy of self-legitimization through stressing their ties to the great tradition of sainted Hungarian kings, presenting themselves as rightly reinstating the line of Hungarian kingship.[23]

This policy, begun by Charles Robert, was greatly expanded under his son, Louis I (known as Nagylajos, Louis the Great), who ruled from 1342–83.[24] After his coronation in the cathedral of Székesfehérvár—the site of the relics of Saint Stephen, the first Christian king of Hungary—Louis the Great travelled to Nagyvárad to venerate the relics of Saint Ladislas, the great protector of the Hungarian kingdom.[25] This ritualized coronation-pilgrimage encapsulated the rise and continuity of the Christian Kingdom of Hungary under the leadership and protection of its holy kings both temporally and geographically. In venerating these two holy predecessors, the newly crowned Louis the Great drew connections across time—linking himself to the great line of sainted kings of Hungary—positioning himself in alignment with this sacral tradition. The continuity was underscored by the fact that in performing this ritual pilgrimage, the new monarch traveled great distances—a rite that manifested his active role in protecting all Hungarian lands. Like Saint Ladislas, Louis the Great would secure the borders. The coronation-pilgrimage to Nagyvárad was orchestrated to reinforce this connection. Thus, from the very outset of his reign, Louis the Great aligned himself with his saintly predecessor whose cult was centred at Nagyvárad.

Under Louis the Great the cathedral of Nagyvárad, founded by Saint Ladislas, was rebuilt. This act both honoured the saint's relics and further legitimized the Angevin king by asserting his link to his illustrious forebear. Louis the Great fashioned his political image on the model of Saint Ladislas—the reconstruction of the cathedral of Nagyvárad serving as an analogy to the reconstruction of the Kingdom of Hungary. In 1352 Louis the Great repeated his pilgrimage to Nagyvárad, donating a silver crown to the shrine of Saint Ladislas in thanks for the saint's facilitation of his recovery from a battle injury.[26] In all these actions, Louis the Great stressed his connection to the saintly king, the *athleta patriae*. It was during the reign of Louis the Great that Saint Ladislas was purported to have saved Hungary from the invading Tatars. Thus, the king's donations, pilgrimages, and ritual veneration worked with that miraculous account to forge a link between the present king and the saintly benefactor of the realm. At this time the image of Saint Ladislas began to appear on the reverse of Hungarian gold coins (fig. 2).[27] Not coincidentally, he is depicted as a great warrior king, holding the battle-axe that he wielded against the Tatars in 1345.

In 1357, Elizabeth, the Queen Mother, made a pilgrimage to Cologne and Aachen. There she venerated the relics of those great models of

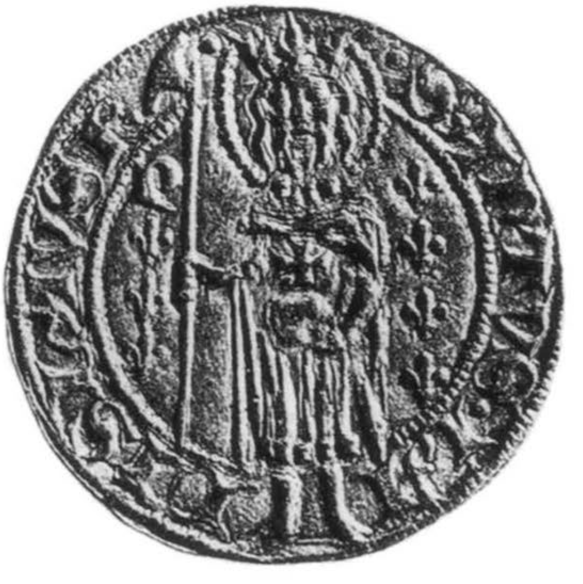

Fig. 2. Hungarian gold denar from reign of Louis the Great, 1342–82, reverse, Saint Ladislas. Private collection (photo: authors)

sainted Christian kings—the Three Magi and Charlemagne.[28] Gábor Klaniczay sees this as a pivotal event, noting that after this date images and donations pertaining to royal saints in Hungary increase dramatically.[29] Elizabeth's action appears to have sparked a wave of enthusiasm for holy kingship. By 1367 the number of Hungarian pilgrims to Aachen had increased considerably, necessitating the construction of a Hungarian Chapel connected to the octagon of Charlemagne's palace chapel.[30] Louis the Great donated numerous liturgical vestments, chalices, and reliquaries to the chapel, including three reliquary monstrances containing relics of Saints Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislas.[31] Thereby, a link was forged between the great sainted German king, Charlemagne, and his Hungarian confrères. Like the Queen Mother, Louis the Great fostered this connection to stress the legitimacy of his rule.

Hungarian coronation ritual under Louis the Great appears to have been modelled after that practised in Germany at the time.[32] This was achieved not so much by replicating particulars of the coronation practice as it was by following a similar paradigm of ritualized reference to traditions of holy kingship.[33] Of particular note here is Louis the Great's pilgrimage to the shrine of Saint Ladislas in Nagyvárad immediately after his coronation at Székesfehérvár in the presence of the relics of Saint Stephen.[34] This echoes the contemporary German practice of coronation at Aachen with the crown of Charlemagne, in the presence of his relics, followed by a pilgrimage to venerate the relics of the Three Magi in Cologne Cathedral.[35] In both cases the king is crowned at the site associated with the founder of Christian kingship in the region and then completes the coronation ritual by venerating the relics of other holy predecessors.

In light of these clear parallels, it seems likely that the reliquary bust of Saint Ladislas (colour pl. 6 and fig. 1) was at least conceptually modelled on the reliquary bust of Charlemagne at Aachen, dating from *c.* 1349 (fig. 3). There is a striking similarity between the two objects in general form and conception.[36] Both display the powerfully modelled visage of the crowned king rising above an upper torso decorated with heraldic motifs. The regal authority of these saintly sovereigns is expressed by the forceful gaze of their eyes. As the official 'public faces' of the saints, the reliquary busts presented them in all their majesty and corporeal presence. The similarity appears to have been consciously developed as part of a larger programme to assert that Saint Ladislas was a most worthy inheritor of the Charlemagne legacy. The cult and legend of Charlemagne transformed the image of royal saints in a more military, chivalric direction—a tradition upon which the cult and legend of Saint Ladislas clearly built.[37] It hardly seems surprising then that the one reliquary appears to be fashioned after the other in an effort to stress this connection. It is important to bear in mind that it was not necessary for the reliquary images to be identical in order for this association to be made. In our era of photographic proliferation and art historical comparison it is easy to lose sight of the fact that these images were never seen in direct juxtaposition. Any comparison between the two reliquaries, such as might be made by a Hungarian pilgrim to Aachen, would be carried out over great distance and time and be filtered through memory associations rather than through direct visual relationship. Therefore, a conceptual similarity would suffice to conjure up an association between the two reliquary images, and consequently between the two saints. An analogous situation can be seen in the two above-mentioned coronation rituals. While not identical in all particulars, enough conceptual parallels exist to foster a sense of similarity. Here the link is conjured via broad brushstrokes rather than minute detail.

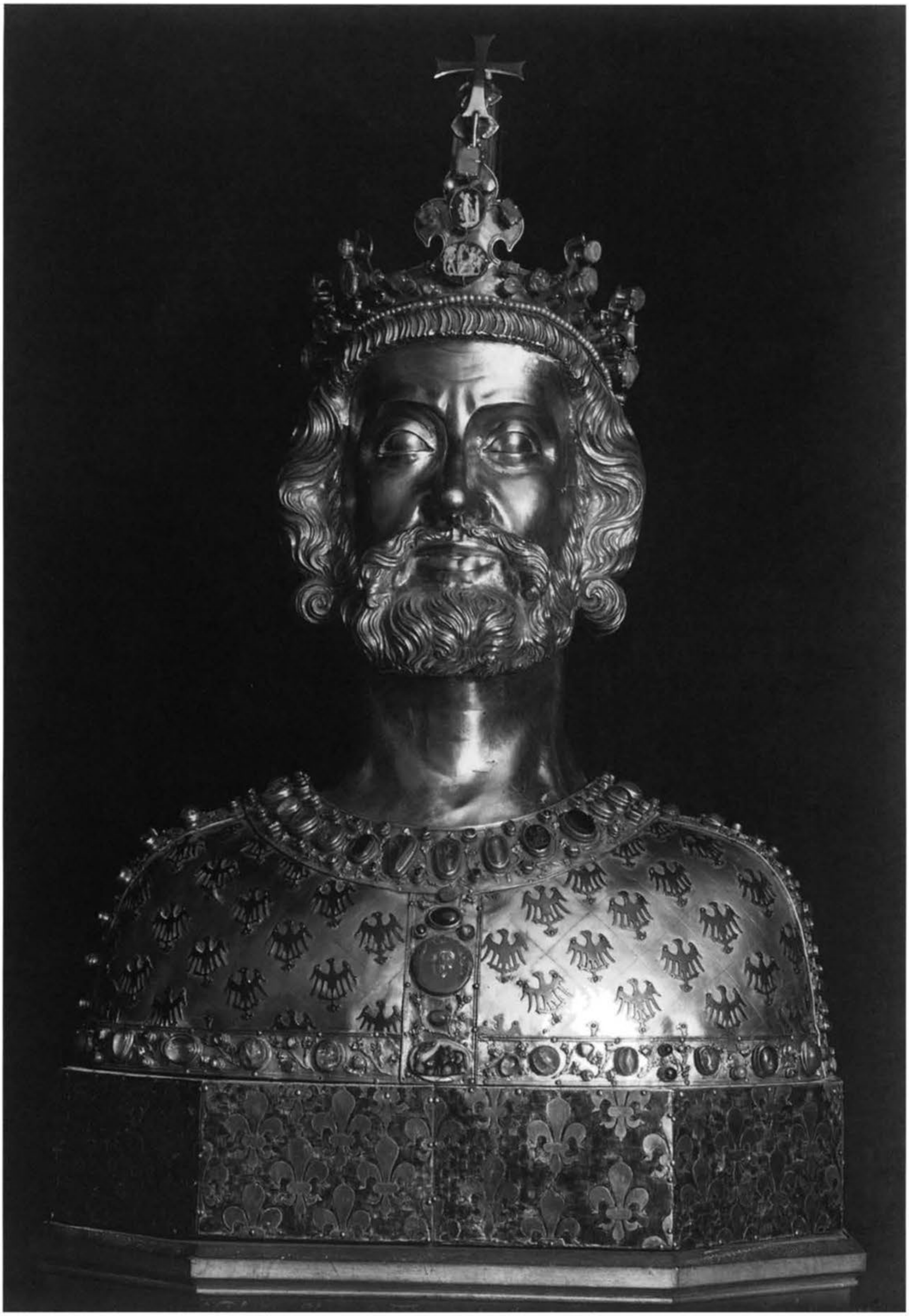

Fig. 3. Reliquary bust of Charlemagne, *c.* 1349, silver, partially gilded, semiprecious stones, antique gems, and cameos. Aachen, Cathedral Treasury (photo: Foto Marburg/Art Resource, NY)

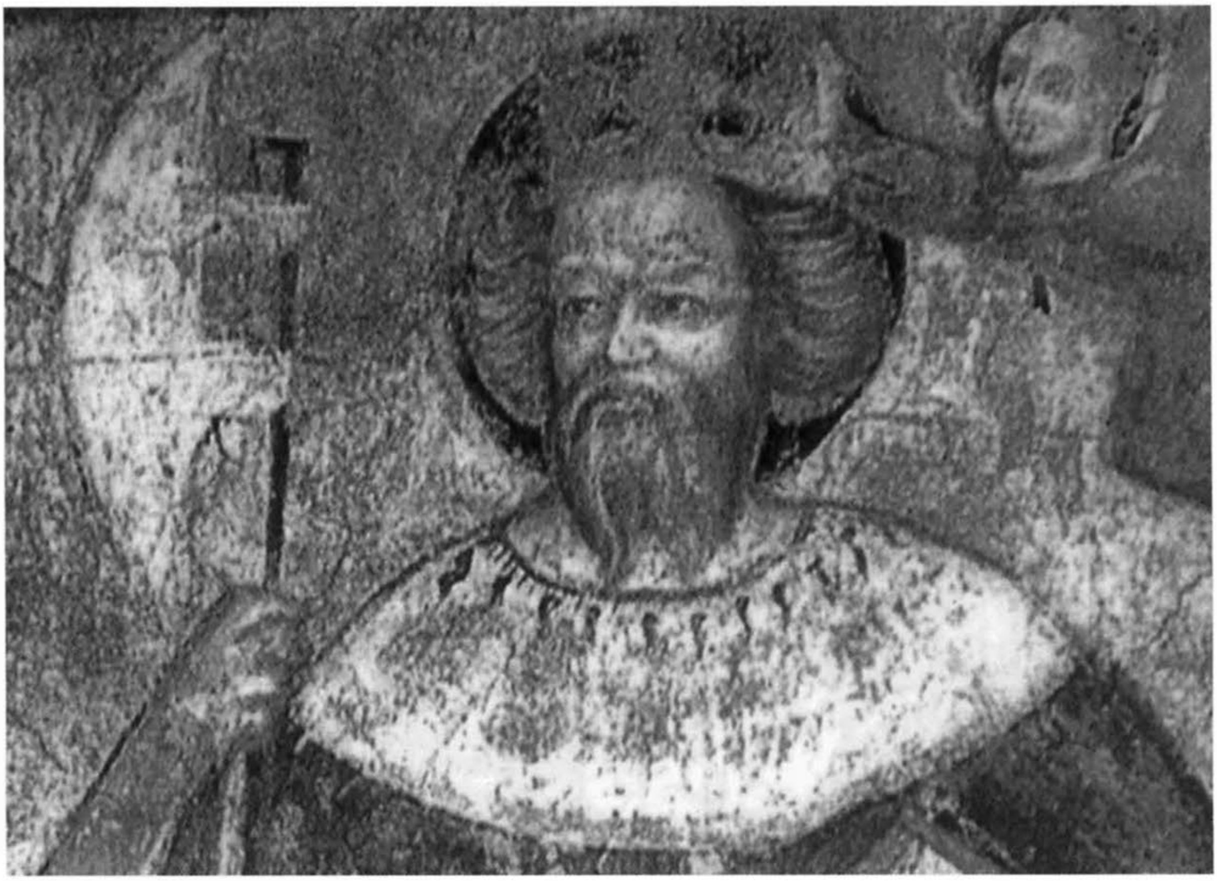

Fig. 4. Giovanni d'Aquila, Saint Ladislas, detail, 1378, fresco. Velemér, Holy Trinity church (photo: authors)

If this theory is correct, then a *terminus post quem* for the Saint Ladislas reliquary bust is provided by the *c.* 1349 dating of the reliquary bust of Charlemagne. A *terminus ante quem* is suggested by the depiction of Saint Ladislas in a fresco painted by Giovanni d'Aquila in the church of Velemér in 1378 (fig. 4).[38] The saint, crowned by angels, stands in an ermine cape, holding a sheathed sword and a large battle-axe—reminiscent of the weapon with which he defeated the Tatars. His unflinching, frontal gaze recalls the treatment of the reliquary bust. Despite slight variation in the beards—that of the fresco is pointed, while that of the reliquary bust is rounded at the ends—their overall conception into two neatly divided linear cascades is analogous. The stylization of the hair, with its dramatic linear waves, is so strikingly similar in both the fresco and the reliquary bust that it can be reasonably posited that the one is based on the authority of the other. The reliquary bust being the principal image at the centre of his cult, it is logical to assume that the fresco, painted in a provincial chapel, was based on the reliquary, rather than vice versa.

By these comparisons we can establish a dating for the reliquary bust of Saint Ladislas to the twenty-nine year period between 1349 and 1378. In considering the increased connection to Aachen after Queen Elizabeth's pilgrimage, we might further limit this span to between 1357 and 1378.[39] That this period witnessed the greatest proliferation of the cult of Saint Ladislas under Louis the Great makes this all the more probable. Louis the Great's veneration of the saint, specifically at Nagyvárad, suggests that he may even have been directly responsible for the creation of the reliquary bust. The larger political/cultic sphere and the significance of the reliquary image within this context point to the reign of Louis the Great as the era in which the creation of such a reliquary bust would have had the greatest resonance.

Further support for this suggestion can be gleaned from stylistic comparison to monuments created during the reign of Louis the Great. The two most important monuments for comparison to the Saint Ladislas reliquary no longer survive, having been destroyed during the Ottoman attacks of the seventeenth centu-

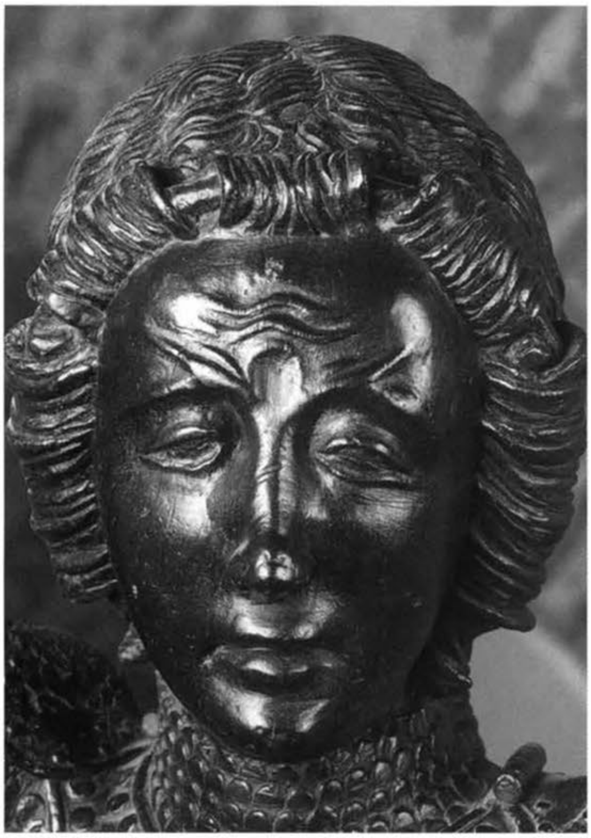

Fig. 5. Márton and György Kolozsvári, Saint George (detail) 1370s, bronze. Prague, National Gallery (photo: Petr Kříž)

ry. Both are late fourteenth-century monumental bronze statues created by the brothers Márton and György Kolosvári for the front of the cathedral of Nagyvárad.[40] On the cathedral's façade three figures represented the great sainted kings of the House of Árpád—Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislas.[41] A monumental bronze equestrian statue of Saint Ladislas was erected in the square in front of the cathedral.[42] This image of the saint, as a great mounted warrior, doubtless called to mind his miraculous intervention in the defeat of the Tatars in 1345.[43] The relationship between these two images of Saint Ladislas on the exterior of the cathedral and the reliquary bust inside is important in extending his presence beyond the church.[44] These monuments are significant in establishing an immediate context for the creation of the reliquary bust in terms of both chronology and location. While we cannot discern the exact stylistic and physiognomic relationship between these images, a comparison to the Kolozsvári brothers' statue of Saint George in Prague suggests a degree of stylistic compatibility with the Saint Ladislas reliquary bust, particularly in the distinctive treatment of the furrowed brow and striated hair (fig. 5). A thematic similarity might also be discerned here, as both saints are venerated as paradigms of the Christian knight. It has been suggested that the reliquary bust of Saint Ladislas was created by these same Kolozsvári brothers as part of a large programme of proliferating the image of the saint at his reliquary church.[45] Given the evidence of such a programme on the outside of the church and the probable contemporaneous creation of the reliquary bust, this hypothesis is compelling. Considering the central role of a reliquary bust in establishing the official image of a saint, as discussed above, it would make the most sense that the programme began at its core with the reliquary and subsequently expanded beyond the walls of the church.

A wide range of factors—political, artistic, cultic—all support the assertion that the reliquary bust of Saint Ladislas was indeed created during the reign of Louis the Great, as part of an ongoing Angevin policy of self-legitimization through forging connections to the Árpád saints, and Saint Ladislas in particular. This brings us once again to the consideration that the charter of 1406 might present a fictionalized account of the reliquary's loss in the fire in Nagyvárad Cathedral. What needs to be examined is the motive for such a fraudulent proclamation. The answer appears to lie in the political climate of Hungary in the early fifteenth century. The death of Louis the Great without an heir in 1382 led to another period of political turmoil in Hungary. Amidst bloody rivalry, Sigismund of Luxemburg eventually rose to power as King of Hungary. In doing so, he was forced to contend with Angevin claimants to the throne as well as numerous Hungarian lords who supported the pretender, Ladislas of Anjou, King of Naples. In the ensuing conflict, a number of Hungarian lords, plotting against Sigismund, swore oaths on the head of Saint Ladislas in the cathedral of Nagyvárad.[46] More specifically, they swore the oaths directly on the reliquary bust. The swearing of oaths on the head of Saint Ladislas was a very old and revered tradition—one that both bound the individual swearing the oath to stating the truth, and also served to validate the oath sworn, as sanctioned by the saint.

It appears that Sigismund's charter of 1406 sought to negate the saint's apparent sanction of these oaths sworn against him. The tale of the miraculous survival of the relic, despite the liquification of the reliquary, purged the relic of the taint of these oaths. By allowing the destruction of the reliquary upon which the oaths had been sworn, the saint demonstrated his disapproval of the oaths sworn against his sanctioned successor. Thus, the fiction of the melting reliquary can be seen as a politically motivated move on Sigismund's part to align himself with Saint Ladislas or, more importantly, to register the saint's approval of Sigismund's rule. As the saint miraculously struck down the Tatars who threatened the safety of the Hungarian kingdom, so too did he expurgate the impious oath that threatened the safety of Hungary and its rightful ruler—Sigismund. It seems no accident that both miraculous episodes were carried out by the relic of Saint Ladislas's head. Seen together, these miracles identify Saint Ladislas (and his relics) with Hungary itself, as both are saved through his supernatural intervention. The manifestation of the saint's power to save his head bolsters the effect of his power to save the kingdom.

The florid and dramatic language of the charter's description of the miracle is consistent with hagiographic writing. The voracious fire is described as having destroyed everything that gave in to its force. In contrast, the relic, and thus the saint, overcame this force and thereby proved to be more powerful. The language of the charter presents the fire as animate, seeming to possess a natural inclination for devastation. The miracle of the fire being commanded to spare the saint's relic is akin to the hagiographic trope of a saint expelling demons or forcing them to perform certain acts against their nature, such as holding a crosier or assisting with the celebration of the Mass. That this text is intended to be understood in this manner is suggested by the typological likening of this miracle to the Old Testament prototype of Moses' encounter with the burning bush. Rather than being read as a historical record of the fire's devastation, the charter's description of the conflagration should be interpreted as a hagiographic account recording the miracle of the relic's survival.

The charter of 1406 can therefore be seen as yet another example of the cult of Saint Ladislas being appropriated for political self-validation in the changing dynastic struggles of late medieval Hungary.[47] Rather than being taken at face value, the text should be read as having a clear agenda supporting Sigismund's claim to power.[48] It should be understood as a written codification of this claim, restructuring the memory of events to support Sigismund's propagandistic agenda.[49] The reliquary was not actually destroyed, but only 'cleansed' so that it could reappear in its familiar guise, now without the stain of sedition. In keeping with the fiction of the 1406 charter, Sigismund would appear to have recreated or replaced the reliquary bust. When we consider the conflation of relic and reliquary image, this act takes on greater importance. While the saint preserved his own head, the metallic epidermis melted. Only through the intervention of Sigismund was the recognizable face of Saint Ladislas restored. The symbolic potential of this action was enormous, as Sigismund thereby appears to reinstate the old order of things after a period of calamity. In this simple fiction, Sigismund is presented as the rightful heir to Louis the Great, being the one who returns the true face of Saint Ladislas, temporarily lost through the folly of the seditious lords. As the protector of the kingdom, Saint Ladislas symbolizes Hungary itself. In reinstating the official public face of the saint, Sigismund was symbolically reinstating the rightful rule of Hungary. The reliquary did not need to have melted, but only to be proclaimed to have been destroyed, thereby making the reappearance of the familiar face all the more miraculous. Once again, Saint Ladislas's cult was appropriated in the service of the rulership of the kingdom. Once again, the cult of Saint Ladislas guided the Kingdom of Hungary through a difficult dynastic transition. Once again, the head of Saint Ladislas acted as the protector of Hungary—the *athleta patriae*.

APPENDIX

Excerpts of the Charter of King Sigismund, 19 October 1406[50]

[...] as some years previously the sacristy, or conservatory, of the same church of Varad [...]

As the result of an unforeseen accident a large fire broke out: A candle, having been forgetfully left burning in that same sacristy, finally flared up amidst the vestments and wooden panels; along with the aforementioned treasure in its entirety—namely the crosses, chalices, gold and silver coffers, books, art works, gems and apparel, accoutrements and [jewels][51]—, even [...] the privileges and written charters [...] were completely burned and reduced to ashes. The voracious fire devoured everything that it encountered and that gave in to its force; it was compelled, however, by the power of sanctity, to spare one thing, and this must be ascribed to an act of the most glorious King Himself. It was certainly an extraordinary miracle and an unprecedented event to be marvelled at by all, and never to be forgotten by any generation of man, for when in the same sacristy the fire itself, stealthily growing, had spread, unbeknownst to anyone, and already destroyed certain combustible objects, it even melted the head reliquaries and the reliquary of the most saintly king himself: Nonetheless, the fire, having forgotten the violence of its very essence, abandoned its own natural force in such a way that it preserved his relics intact, well away from the combustion, and moreover did not defile them with smoke; jumping far back, it left them undamaged. In like manner, Moses' bush long ago did indeed seem to mortal eyes to be consumed by flickering flames, yet by an act of God, who performs miracles not only through Himself, but also through his saints, it appeared unburnt.

NOTES

A version of this article was presented as '*Caput sancti regis Ladislai*: An Investigation of the Dating and Significance of the Reliquary Bust of Saint Ladislas in Late Medieval Hungary' at the 33rd International Congress on Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo, May, 1998. We would like to honour the memory of Lucian Rossu of Western Michigan University who organized this session and who did so much for Eastern European medieval studies. For their insight and assistance in the preparation of this article, we would like to thank Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo, Stephen Lamia, Elizabeth McLachlan, Craig Baker, Mátyás Somogyi, Petr Kříž, Julianna Ritter, Tara Carlisle, and Al and Helen Bauer. We dedicate this work to the dear memory of Ferenc Bauer, who helped us with groundwork for the initial research on this project. Feri bácsi, ezt neked írjuk.

1. Regarding the campaign against the Tatars, see Jean W. Sedlar, *East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000–1500* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), pp. 24, 380.

2. 'Dicitur quoque, quod quamdiu bellum inter christianos et ipsos tartaros duravit, caput sancti regis Ladislai in ecclesia Waradiensi non inveniebatur. Mira certe res. Cum igitur subcustas eiusdem ecclesie causa requirendi ipsum caput sacristiam ingressus fuisset, reperit ipsum caput in suo loco iacer ita insudatum, ac si vinus de maximo labore vel calore estus aliunde reversus fuisset. [...] Ad probacionem vero predicti miraculi, quidam ex predictis tartaris captivis valde decrepitus aiebat, quod non ipsi siculi et hungari percussissent eos, sed ille Ladislaus, quem ipsi in adiutorium, suum semper vocant. Dicebantque et aly socy, sui, quod cum ipsi siculi contra eos processissent, antecebat eos quidam magnus miles, sedens super arduum equum, habensque in captie eius coronam auream, et in manu sua dolabrum suum, qui omnes nos cum validissimis ictibus et percussionibus consummebat. Super caput enim huius militis in aere quedam speciosissima domina mirabili fulgure apparuit, in cuius capite corona aurea, decore nimio ac claritate adornata videbatur. Unde manifestum est, predictos siculos pro fide Jesu Christi certantes, ipsam beatam virginem Mariam et beatum regem Ladislaum contra ipsos paganos [...] adiuvasse'. The chronicle is published in *Chronicon Dubnicense cum codicibus sambuci Acephalo et Vaticano, Cronicisque Vindobonensi Picto et Budensi Accurate Collatum*, in *Historiae hungaricae fontes domestici*, ed. by Mátyás Florianus (Paris: Quinque-Ecclesiae, 1884), III, 143–67 (p. 152). See also Gábor Klaniczay, 'The Cult of Dynastic Saints in Central Europe: Fourteenth-Century Angevins and Luxemburgs', in *The Uses of Supernatural Power. The Transformation of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early-Modern Europe*, ed. by Karen Margolis, trans. by Susan Singerman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 111–28 (esp. pp. 118 and 224, n. 41); Cyrill Horváth, 'Szent László-legendáink eredetéröl', *Irodalomtörténeti Füzetek*, 31 (1938), 28–37; Flóris Holik, 'Saint Jacques de Compostelle et saint Ladislas de Hongrie', *Revue des études hungroises et finno-ougriennes*, 1 (1923), 36–55 (p. 43); J. Podhraczky, *Szent László királynak és viselt dolgainak históriája* (Buda: Gyurián János és Bagó Márton, 1836), pp. 83–84.

3. This account bears a striking similarity to the miraculous appearance of Saint James on a white charger at the Battle of Clavijo in 844; see Holik, 'Saint Jacques de Compostelle'.

4. Regarding Saint Ladislas and his cult in Hungary, see *Athleta Patriae. Tanulmányok Szent László történetéhez*, ed. by László Mezey (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1980); Gyula László, *A Szent László-legenda Középkori falképei* (Budapest: Veszprémi Nyomda, 1993).

5. Horváth, 'Szent László-legendáink eredetéröl', p. 37. See also Arnold Ipolyi, 'Magyar Ereklyék', *Archeológiai Közlemények*, 3 (1862), 65–125 (p. 78).

6. The reliquary bust is presently located in Györ Cathedral, having been deposited there in 1607 in the aftermath of the fall of Nagyvárad. On the reliquary bust, see Gyula László, 'Szent László Györi Ereklyetartó Mellszobráról', *Arrabona* (1965), 157–209 (translated into French as 'Le Reliquaire en forme de buste de Saint Ladislas à Györ', *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 20 (1968), 313–42); idem, 'A Györi Székesegyház Szent László Hermáját', *Müvészet*, 15, no. 7 (1974), 11–12; L. Balits, *Szent László király fejereklyetartójának története* (Györ, 1928); Éva Kovács, *Kopfreliquiäre des Mittelalters* (Budapest: Corvina, 1964), no. 29, p. 70; Judit H. Kolba, 'Szent László alakja a középkori ötvösművészetben', in *Athleta Patriae*, ed. by Mezey, pp. 221–35 (228–30).

7. Regarding the profusion and use of reliquary busts in the late medieval era, see Scott B. Montgomery, 'The Use and Perception of Reliquary Busts in the Late Middle Ages' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Rutgers University, 1996). On reliquary busts in general, see Birgitta Falk, 'Bildnisreliquiare. Zur Entstehung und Entwicklung der metallen Kopf-, Büsten- und Halbfigurenreliquiare im Mittelalter', *Aachener Kunstblätter*, 59 (1991–93), 99–238; Barbara Drake Boehm, 'Medieval Head Reliquaries of the Massif Central' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1990); François Souchal, 'Les Bustes reliquaires et la sculpture', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th per., 67 (1966), 205–16; Kovács, *Kopfreliquiäre des Mittelalters*; Joseph Braun, *Die Reliquiare des christlichen Kultes und ihre Entwicklung* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1940), esp. pp. 61–69, 413–34. For additional bibliography, see Montgomery, 'Reliquary Busts', esp. p. 23, n.4.

8. An example of this can be seen in the xylographic book of Saint Servatius of Maastricht, produced *c.* 1461. The final page shows the reliquary bust being presented to pilgrims, while the accompanying text proclaims that what is shown is the head itself : 'Le chieuff de Saint Sevais reverendement on le monstre la a toutte gent'. See *Het Blokboek vin Sint Servaas: facsimile met commentaar op het vijftiende-eeuwse blokboek de Servaas-legende en de Maastrichtse reliekentoning*, ed. by A. M. Koldeweij and P. N. G. Pesch (Zutphen: Walberg, 1984); Montgomery, 'Reliquary Busts', pp. 135–37.

9. This fundamental basis for the cult of relics was asserted by numerous early fathers. See, for example, Victricius of Rouen, *De laude sanctorum*, XI, in *Patrologia Latina*, 20, col. 453: 'Et ubi est aliquid, ibi totum est' (Where the part is, there is the whole); Theodore of Cyrus, *Graecarum affectionum curatio*, VIII, col. 1012, in *Patrologia Graeca*, 83, cols 775–1152 ('in the divided body the grace survives undivided and the fragments, however small, have the same efficacy as the whole body'). See also Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage. An Image of Medieval Religion* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1975), p. 28.

10. Regarding this phenomenon of conflation, see Montgomery, 'Reliquary Busts'.

11. 'qualiter ante annos quosdam elapsos sacristia seu conservatorium eiusdem Ecclesiae Varadiensis [...] inopinati casus eventu, quadam candela ardente in eadem sacristia per oblivionem remnante et tandem inter vestimenta et asserias tabulas inflammata, validus ignis excrevit et cum praedictis universis thesauris—videlicet crucibus, calicibus, thecis aureis et argenteis, libris, imaginibus, gemmis et paramentis, ornatibus et jocalibus—etiam [...] privilegia et literalia munimenta [...] combusta et in cineres redacta fuere [...] universa, quae suis viribus cedentia reperit, vorax ignis absorbuit; unum tamen eiusdem gloriosissimi Regis meritis adtribuendum, relinquere virtute sanctitatis est coactus. Singulare quippe miraculum et cunctis admirandae novitatis eventus, nec ullis unquam saeculis obliviscendus, quod cum in eadem sacristia ignis ipse furtivis augmentis, nullo sciente, succreverit, certisque conbustibilibus demolitis, etiam thecas capitis et reliquiarum ipsius sanctissimi regis in liquidum resoluerit: ita tamen naturae suae vires ignis amisit, vim propriae virtutis oblitus, ut eiusdem reliquias ne dum de combustione servaverit illaesas, imo nec aliqua tetigit fumositate, procul absiliens, intactas reliquit, velet quondam Moysi rubus, volantibus flammis, uri quidem putatus oculis mortalibus; operatione Dei, qui non in se tantum, sed et in suis sanctis mirabiliter operatur, incombustus apparuit'. See Appendix for the English translation. See also Vincze Bunyitay, *A Váradi püspökség története*, 3 vols (Budapest: Franklin-társulat Nyomdája, 1883–84), I, 222, and III, 55–56; László, 'Szent László Györi Ereklyetartó Mellszobráról', p. 163, n. 14.

12. See Kolba, 'Szent László alakja a középkori', p. 228; Tiberio Gerevich, 'San Ladislao nella storia e nell'arte', *Corvina*, n.f., 5 (1942), 187–201 (p. 199); Jolán Balogh, *Varadinum*, Müvészettörténeti Füzetek, 13.1 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982), fig. 54.

13. See Kovács, *Kopfreliquiäre des Mittelalters*, p. 70; J. Kovács, 'A veleméri Szentháromság-templom (Történelem, ikonográfia, ikonológia.)', in *A 200 éves Szombathelyi Egyházmegye (1777–1977)* (Szombathely: Egyházmegyei Hatóság, 1977), pp. 507–33. Some of the confusion prevalent in the dating of the reliquary bust can be seen in Z. Szilárdy's entry on 'Ladislaus von Ungarn' in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 8 vols, ed. by Wolfgang Braunfels (Rome: Herder, 1974), VII, cols 361–63, in which the bust is both ascribed to the end of the fourteenth century and after 1406.

14. It should be noted that this re-dating to the late fourteenth century was first proposed by László, 'Szent László Györi Ereklyetartó Mellszobráról'. It appears, however, that this theory has not previously received much support, largely due to the 1406 document. While many of the claims of László's article are problematic, we feel that he was correct in the dating of the bust. However, László's assertion that the fourteenth-century bust was a copy of an earlier bust from the era of Béla III (1173–96), has no supporting evidence and is thus untenable.

15. Bunyitay, *A Váradi püspökség története*, I, 222.

16. László, 'Szent László Györi Ereklyetartó Mellszobráról', p. 163. While László thus reads the document as a pious forgery, he does not delve into the political motivations for such an act. This omission, and the numerous speculative leaps of faith made by László, has caused this intriguing thesis to remain largely ignored.

17. László, 'Szent László Györi Ereklyetartó Mellszobráról', p. 163; Ipolyi, 'Magyar Ereklyék', p. 81.

18. This account appears to be based on a similar miracle involving the relics of Saint Stephen of Hungary. In 1328

a fire at the basilica of Saint Stephen in Székesfehérvár miraculously spared only the tower where Saint Stephen's relics were kept. See Klaniczay, 'The Cult of Dynastic Saints', p. 115; Dezsö Dercsényi, *A Székesfehérvári király bazilika* (Budapest: Müemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1943 [1950]), pp. 50–52.

19. See Thomas von Bogyay, János Bak, and Gabriel Szilagi, *Die heiligen Könige* (Graz: Styria, 1976), pp. 147–65; György Györffy, 'A "lovagszent" uralkodása (1077–1095) I. László egyeduralmának biztosítása', *Történelmi Szemle*, 3–4 (1977), 555–62; Z. J. Kosztolnyik, *Five Eleventh-Century Hungarian Kings: Their Policies and their Relations with Rome* (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1981), pp. 92–109; János Karácsonyi, *Szent László Király élete* (Budapest: Szent-István-Társulat, 1926); Gyula Szöke, *Szent László Király* (Budapest: Franklin-társulat Nyomdája, 1993); 'De Sancto Ladislao, Hungariae Rex', *AA.SS.*, Junii V, 315–27; *Legenda maior* and *Legenda minor*, in *BHL*, II, 697, nos 4670 and 4671. For a critical edition of the *Legenda maior*, see Emma Bartoniek, *Legenda Sancti Ladislai regis*, in *Scriptores rerum hungaricarum* (Budapest: Academia litter. hungarica, 1938), II, 515–27.

20. On the relationship between Saint Ladislas and Nagyvárad, see Judit Kolba and Alexandru Sasianu, *Szent László és Városa* (Budapest: Officina Nova, 1992).

21. Klaniczay, 'The Cult of Dynastic Saints', p. 118; Zsuzsa Lukács, 'A Szent László legenda a középkori magyar falképfestészetben', in *Athleta Patriae*, pp. 161–204; Ágnes Kurcz, *A magyarországi lovagi kultúra (13–14. Század)* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988). The relative importance of Saint Ladislas at this time is illustrated by the greater emphasis on his legend in the so-called *Képes Krónika* (Illuminated Chronicle) of *c.* 1374–76. The life and miracles of Saint Ladislas are depicted in seventeen scenes, while those of Saint Stephen occupy ten illustrations; see *Képes Krónika: Chronicon pictum*, 2 vols, ed. by Dezsö Dercsényi (Budapest: Magyar Helikon Könyvkiadó, 1964).

22. This is clearly presented in the Legendary, made in 1331 by order of Charles Robert, which includes the *vitae* of Saints Stephen, Emeric, Ladislas, Elizabeth of Hungary, Louis of France, and Louis of Toulouse. Such an assemblage reveals the way in which the new Angevin rulers of Hungary consciously linked the two sacral traditions in an attempt to legitimize their rule of Hungary. See Ferenc Levardy, 'Il leggendario ungherese degli Angiò conservato nella Biblioteca Vaticana, nel Morgan Library e nell'Ermitage', *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 9 (1963), 75–108. A similar message is conveyed by the altar frontal offered to Saint Peter's by Queen Elizabeth of Hungary, wife of Louis the Great, during her visit to Rome in 1343–44. As described in an inventory of 1361, it showed the Virgin, Saint Peter, Saint Paul, Saint Stephen of Hungary, Saint Emeric, Saint Ladislas, Blessed Margaret of Hungary, and Saint Louis of Toulouse; see Ewa Sniézynska-Stotot, 'Tanulmányok Erzsébet királyné mecénási tevékenségéröl (Liturgikus textiliák és paramentumok)', *Ars Hungarica*, 7.1 (1979), 23–31. Further evidence of the Angevin penchant for images of the Hungarian kings can be found in the frescoes of Saints Ladislas, Stephen of Hungary, and Elizabeth of Hungary, painted *c.* 1320–25 on the southeast wall of the nun's choir in Santa Maria Donna Regina in Naples; see E. Carelli and S. Casiello, *Santa Maria Donna Regina in Napoli* (Naples: Editoriale Scientifica, 1975), pp. 39–41.

23. Regarding the use of this symbolic 'geneaology' to assert the Angevin claim, see János Bak, *Königtum und Stände in Ungarn im 14. bis 16. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1973), p. 23; Klaniczay, 'The Cult of Dynastic Saints'; idem, 'From Sacral Kingship to Self-Representation: Hungarian and European Royal Saints', in *The Uses of Supernatural Power*, pp. 79–94; idem, 'Le cult des saints dans la Hongrie médiévale (problèmes de recherche), *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 29.1 (1983), 57–78; André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. by Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 180–81. On the concept of Beata Stirps, or saintly lineage, see André Vauchez, '"Beata Stirps": sainteté et lineage en Occident aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles', in *Famille et parenté dans l'Occident médiévale*, ed. by Georges Duby and Jacques le Goff (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1977), pp. 397–406. For other specific Angevin-related images of Saint Ladislas, see Joseph Polzer, 'L'ultimo dipinto di Simone Martini', *Antichità viva*, 19.6 (1980), 7–16; Mária Prokopp, 'Simone Martini Szent László képe Altomonte-ben', in *Szent László és Somogyvár. Tanulmányok a 900 éves Somogyvári Bencés Apátság Emlékezetére*, ed. by Kálmán Magyar (Kaposvár: Somogy Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága Kiadásában, 1992), pp. 137–44; Adrian S. Hoch, 'Beata Stirps, Royal Patronage and the Identification of the Sainted Rulers in the Saint Elizabeth Chapel at Assisi', *Art History*, 15.3 (1992), 279–95. On art of Angevin Hungary in general, see László Gerevich, 'Tendenze artistiche nell'Ungheria angioina', in *Gli Angioini di Napoli e di Ungheria. Atti del colloquio italo-ungherese (Colloquio italo-ungherese sul tema – organizzato d'intesa con la Accademia delle Scienze di Ungheria – Roma, 23–24 maggio, 1972)* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1974), pp. 121–57; Bálint Hóman, *Gli Angioini di Napoli in Ungheria 1290–1403*, trans. by Luigi Zambra and Rodolfo Mosca (Rome: Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1938).

24. On the reign of Louis the Great, see Dezsö Dercsényi, *Nagy Lajos és Kora* (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, [1940]); *Louis the Great. King of Hungary and Poland*, ed. by Steven Béla Várdy, Géza Grosschmid, and Leslie S. Domonkos (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1986). Regarding the profusion of images of Saint Ladislas during this time, see *Müvészet I. Lajos Király udvarában, 1342–1382. Katalógus*, ed. by Ernö Marosi, Melinda Tóth, and Lívia Varga (Székesfehérvár: István király Múzeum, 1982).

25. Bak, *Königtum und Stände*, p. 23; Dercsényi, *Nagy Lajos és Kora*, pp. 54–55; Klaniczay, 'The Cult of Dynastic Saints', p. 117. Regarding Angevin gifts to Nagyvárad, see Bunyitay, *A Váradi püspökség története*, III, 147–50.

26. See Éva Kovács, 'Magyarországi Anjou Koronák', *Ars Hungarica*, 4.1 (1976), 7–19 (p. 10); Klaniczay, 'The Cult of Dynastic Saints', p. 119.

27. It is perhaps not coincidental that from 1358 the image of Saint Ladislas appears on Hungarian gold coins. See Lajos Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn* (Munich: Battenberg, 1979), p. 85, nn. 514–16; L. Réthy, *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae*, introduction and German trans. by Ladislaus Réthy and Günter Probszt (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1958), esp. pls XXII–XXIII; Marosi, Tóth, Varga, *Müvészet I*, pp. 153–54; Henrik Horvath, 'A budai pénzverde müvészettörténete a későközépkorban', *Numizmatikai Közlemények*, 30–31(1931–32), 14–19.

28. Elizabeth's motivation for this pilgrimage appears to have been a desire to foster the connections between Hungary and the Holy Roman Empire by underscoring the links between royal sanctity in the two kingdoms. In doing so, Queen Elizabeth was building upon a foundation laid by her namesake, Saint Elizabeth of Hungary (1207–31). A queen of the House of Árpád and daughter of King Andrew II of Hungary, Saint Elizabeth married Ludwig IV of

Thuringia in 1221, thus uniting the two royal lines. The Angevin Queen Elizabeth's pilgrimage to Aachen in 1357 may thus be viewed as part of a larger programme in which the Angevins associated themselves with traditions of holy kingship in the House of Árpád and the Holy Roman Empire. Regarding Elizabeth's pilgrimage to Aachen, see Elisabeth Thömmes, *Die Wallfahrten der Ungarn am Rhein* (Aachen, 1937); H. Kessel, *Geschichtliche Mitteilung über die Heiligtümer der Stiftskirche zu Aachen* (Cologne: L. Schwann, 1874), pp. 27–29; A. Pór, 'Erzsébet királyné Aacheni zarándoklása 1357-ben', *Századok*, 3 (1901), 1–14.

29. Klaniczay, 'The Cult of Dynastic Saints', p. 119.

30. Regarding Hungarian pilgrimage to Aachen, see Stephan Beissel, *Die Aachenfahrt. Verehrung der Aachener Heiligtümer seit den Tagen Karls des Großen bis in unsere Zeit* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1902); idem, 'Die Wallfahrten der Ungarn nach Aachen', *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, 63 (1902), 579–81; Thömmes, *Die Wallfahrten der Ungarn*; Kessel, *Geschichtliche Mitteilung*, p. 179; Rudolph Peltzer, 'Ein Handelsprivilege des Königs Ludwig I. Von Ungarn für Aachen. 1369, März 2', *Zeitschrift der Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, 28 (1906), 450–54. On the Hungarian chapel in the cathedral of Aachen, see Karl Faymonville, *Der Dom zu Aachen und seine liturgische Ausstattung vom 9. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1909), pp. 356-75; Karl Faymonville, *Das Münster von Aachen (Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz, ed. Paul Clemen, Volume 10, Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Aachen, No. 1, Das Münster)* (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1916), p. 63; F. Hagen, *Geschichte Aachens von seinen Anfängen bis zur neusten Zeit* (Aachen, 1873), I, 179–81; Edit Tömöry, *Az aacheni magyar kápolna története* (Budapest: Németh József Technikai Könyvkiadó, 1931).

31. Additional objects included a pair of silver cloak clasps with Saints Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislas surrounding the Angevin-Hungarian coat-of-arms; see György Féjer, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (Buda: Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829–44), ix.4, p. 91–92; József Hampel, 'Die Metallwerke der ungarischen Kapelle im Aachener Münsterschatz', *Zeitschrift der Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, 14 (1892), 54–71; U. von Reumont, 'Die ungarischen Metallwerke im Aachener Münsterschatz', *Zeitschrift der Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, 3 (1881), 119–25; Marosi, Tóth, Varga, *Müvészet I*, pp. 105–08; Stephan Szigeti, 'Ludwig der Grosse und Aachen', in *Louis the Great*, pp. 265–84.

32. Regarding Hungarian coronations, see Emma Bartoniek, 'A koronázási eskü fejlödése', *Századok*, 51 (1917), 5–44; Emma Bartoniek, 'A magyar Királyavatáshoz', *Századok*, 55 (1923); Erik Fügedi, 'Coronations in Medieval Hungary', in *Kings, Bishops, Nobles and Burghers in Medieval Hungary*, ed. by János Bak (London: Variorum, 1986), pp. 159–89. Regarding German coronations, see *Die Aachener Königs-Krönungen*, ed. by Walter Kaemmerer, Quellentexte zur Aachener Geschichte, 3 (Aachen: M. Brimberg, 1961). On medieval coronations in general, see also János Bak, *Coronations: A Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

33. The link between Hungarian and German coronation rituals is complex. Folz and others have suggested that King Stephen of Hungary's founding of a palace and church at Székesfehérvár was a conscious imitation of Charlemagne's palace chapel at Aachen. See Robert Folz, *Les Saints rois du moyen âge en occident (VIe–XIIIe siècles)*, Subsidia Hagiographica, 68 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1984), p. 81; Josef Deér, 'Aachen und die Herrschersitze der Arpaden', *Mitteilung des Instituts der Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 79 (1971), 1–56; Eric Fügedi, 'Die Stadtplan von Stuhlweissenburg und die Anfänge des Bürgertums in Ungarn', *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 15 (1969), 103–34. This would establish a pattern of looking to Aachen for models, based on an emulation of the cult of Charlemagne. Regarding German coronation ritual and the use of the reliquary bust of Charlemagne, see Kaemmerer, *Die Aachener Königs-Krönungen*; Montgomery, 'Reliquary Busts', pp. 171–78.

34. Kálmán Magyar, 'Epilogue', in *Szent László*, pp. 329–39 (p. 333).

35. The veneration of the relics of the Three Magi in Cologne by the newly crowned emperor is depicted in a manuscript of *c.* 1340: Kaiser Heinrichs Romfahrt, Koblenz, Staatsarchiv, Hs. I C No. 1. See *Rhine und Maas. Kunst und Kultur, 800–1400*, 2 vols, ed. by Anton Legner (Cologne: Schnütgen Museum, 1972), I, 139, 396–97. See also Montgomery, 'Reliquary Busts', pp. 181–83. Regarding the Shrine of the Three Magi, see Rolf Lauer, 'Dreikönigenschrein', in *Ornamenta Ecclesiae*, 3 vols, ed. by Anton Legner (Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum, 1985), II, 216–24.

36. The similarities between the two reliquary busts have been noted, as far back as Ipolyi, 'Magyar Ereklyék', p. 87. On the reliquary bust of Charlemagne, see Ernst Günther Grimme, 'Die ideengeschichtliche Bedeutung des Aachener Domschatz im Mittelalter', *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, 98–99 (1992–93), Teil I, 57–67; Hans Peter Hilger, 'Anmerkungen zu der Reliquienbüste Karls des Großen im Domschatz zu Aachen', *Aachener Kunstblätter*, 47 (1978–79), 17–24; Ernst Günther Grimme, *Der Aachener Domschatz*, *Aachener Kunstblätter*, 42 (Düsseldorf: L Schwann, 1973), pp. 88–90, cat. 69; Faymonville, *Das Münster von Aachen*, pp. 230–33.

37. Regarding the cult and legend of Charlemagne and its impact on later cults, see Ernst Günther Grimme, 'Karl der Grosse in seiner Stadt', in *Karl der Grosse. Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, 4 vols, ed. by Wolfgang Braunfels (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1965–67), IV, 229–73; Matthias Zender, 'Die Verehrung des Hl. Karl im Gebiet des Mittelalterlichen Reiches', in *Karl der Grosse*, IV, 100–12; Robert Folz, 'Aspects du culte liturgique de Sainte Charlemagne en France', in *Karl der Grosse*, IV, 77–99 ; Karol Gorski, 'Le Roi-Saint: Un problème d'idéologie féodale', *Annales. Économies-Société-Civilisations*, 24.2 (1969), 370–76 (esp. p. 374); Robert Folz, *Le Souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne dans l'empire germanique médiéval* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1973); Johann Hubert Kessel, *Geschichtliche Mitteilungen über die Heiligtümer der Stiftskirche zu Aachen nebst Abbildung und Beschreibung der sie bergenden Behälter und Einfassungen. Festschrift zur Heiligtumsfahrt von 1874* (Cologne: L. Schwann, 1874), pp. 152–53.

38. This was suggested by J. Kovács, 'A veleméri Szentháromság-templom'. Regarding Giovanni d'Aquila, see *Johannes Aquila und die Wandmalerei des 14. JH*, ed. by Ernö Marosi (Budapest: Institut für Kunstgeschichte der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989). Regarding the relationship of this figure to Altichiero's fresco of King Ramiro in the S. Felice Chapel in S. Antonio, Padua, see Margaret Plant, 'Portraits and Politics in Late Trecento Padua: Altichiero's Frescoes in the S. Felice Chapel, S. Antonio', *Art Bulletin*, 63 (1981), 406–25. We thank Zsombor Jekely for bringing this to our attention.

39. This is in accord with the dating of *c.* 1360 proposed by Gercvich, 'Tendenze artistiche', p. 155.

40. Jolán Balogh, *Márton és György Kolozsvári Szobrászok* (Kolozsvár, 1934).

41. See Balogh, *Varadinum*, pp. 20–22; Klaniczay, 'The Cult of Dynastic Saints', p. 119. Numerous descriptions, published by Sándor Bálint, reveal a belief in the protective power of the statues of king saints on the façade of Nagyvárad Cathedral. See Sándor Bálint, *Ünnepi Kalendárium*, 2 vols (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1977), I, 486–98. Gerevich, 'Tendenze artistiche', p. 153, suggests a dating of *c.* 1360 for these statues.

42. János Bak has suggested that this statue was a gift of Louis the Great after his coronation. See Bak, *Königtum und Stände*, p. 23. See also Gerevich, 'Tendenze artistiche', p. 152.

43. This association is given a somewhat ironic twist when we consider that the statue was later destroyed by another wave of invaders, the Ottoman Turks.

44. A study of a similar phenomenon in the case of Saint Minias and his imagery at San Miniato al Monte in Florence is forthcoming from Scott B. Montgomery, '*"Quia venerabile corpus redicti martyris ibi repositum"*: Image and Relic in the Decorative Program of San Miniato al Monte'.

45. Regarding the attribution of the reliquary to Márton Kolozsvári, see Gerevich, 'Tendenze artistiche', p. 156; Lajos Németh, *A Concise History of Hungarian Art*, trans. by Elisabeth Hoch (Budapest: Corvina, 1976), p. 13.

46. '[...] quidam prelati et Barones necnon proceres maior scilicet pars dicti Regni nostri Hungarie in opprobrium nostre celsitudinis in quo freti consilio in unum conspirantes Waradinum convenerunt, ubi prestito Juramento super capite sancti Regis Ladislai corporaliter facto nos dyademate Regnisque Hungarie Dalmacie Croacie nostris Regys pretitulatis que fere annis sedecim gubernauimus more Regio in eisdem Imperantes priuare de eisdemque Regnis nostris excludere'. *Codex Diplomaticus Patrius Hungaricus. Hazai Okmánytár*, 8 vols, ed. by I. Nagy (Budapest: Akadémiai Történelmi Bizottsága, 1865–91), VII, 439f. On the significance of this act, see Bak, *Königtum und Stände*, p. 36 and n. 67. The practice of swearing oaths on relics was widespread in the Middle Ages. See Nicole Herrmann-Mascard, *Les Reliques des saints. Formation coutumière d'un droît* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1975), pp. 235–70; Montgomery, 'Reliquary Busts', pp. 202–06. On the practice of swearing oaths at the tomb of Saint Ladislas, see P. de Reva, *De monarchia et sancta corona regni hungarici (1619)*, ed. by J. G. Schwandtner, in *Rerum Hungaricum Scriptores* (Vienna, 1746), II, 642; *Regestrum varadinense examinum ferri candentis ordine chronologico digestum, descripta effigie editionis a. 1550 illustratum, sumptibusque Capituli varadinensis lat. rit.* ed. by János Karácsonyi and Samu Borovszky (Budapest: Typis V. Hornyánszky, 1903), esp. pp. 210, 213, 239, 272, 282, 306.

47. The practice of appropriating certain saints' cults, particularly national saints, for political self-legitimization, appears to have been common. Certain parallels might be drawn here with Charles IV of Bohemia's use of the crown and cult of Saint Wenceslas. See Karl Fürst Schwarzenberg, *Die Sankt Wenzels-Krone und die böhmischen Insignien* (Vienna and Munich: Herold, 1960), esp. p. 17; Josef Cibulka, *Die Krönungskleinodien des böhmischen Königsreiches* (Prague: Obelisk, 1969); Folz, *Les Saints rois du moyen âge*, pp. 218–19.

48. It is still common to assume that a text provides an absolute point of reference by which to date works of art, while an image has a more relative relationship to the textual anchor. We must endeavour to discern how texts, as well as artworks, create an image of history. Here, we consider using the artworks as well as the larger cultic, political context to reconsider the meaning of a source document. The case of the reliquary bust of Saint Ladislas should underscore the importance of realizing the fluid interchange among all of these factors. One medium should not be read as an absolute by which all others are to be interpreted.

49. Regarding the restructuring of historical memory, see Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance. Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); Karl F. Morrison, *History as a Visual Art in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton Unversity Press, 1990); Amy G. Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995).

50. Translation by Craig Baker with minor modifications by the authors. See note 11 above for the original Latin text of the charter.

51. Bunyitay: 'vocalibus'; emended after Antal Bartal, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis regni Hungariae* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubneri, 1901).

PART II.

Cloister—Holy Place for the Holy Dead

The Bishop-Saints of Galicia and León, their Cults, and Material Remains (Ninth to Eleventh Centuries)

EDUARDO CARRERO SANTAMARÍA

From the ninth to the eleventh centuries, many episcopal sees in the western kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula were either created or restored, and several of these dioceses were governed by bishops who would eventually become saints. This was no novelty. Before the Islamic invasion other saintly bishops had existed in Galicia and León; their cults, however, were largely products of later conditions that were linked primarily with the exaltation of the Apostle Santiago.[1] Leaving aside the wholesale 'canonizations' of bishops by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors, I shall survey bishops who were holy, whether or not recognized by the Church in Rome. In addition, I shall consider the role they played in the political and cultural development of Galicia and León during that crucial period mentioned above and into the twelfth century. In certain cases we are not informed whether, during the Middle Ages, their sanctity or existence were known, or whether they were the object of devotions initiated during the Renaissance. My intention is to discuss them all, indicating for each the characteristics of his cult.[2]

A Panorama of Sacral Episcopacy in Galicia and León

The first, in chronological order, was Pelayo of León, who presumably lived in the ninth century, during the early years of the royal foundation of the Leonese diocese. Although we do not know the exact years of his episcopate, Manuel Risco places his death at 878, taking into consideration certain documents as well as his funerary epitaph.[3] Subsequent to Pelayo, the tenth century—'one of the most "sacral" in the history of medieval Spain', in the words of Peter Linehan—became the fertile era of a sacred episcopate for Galicia and León, producing a total of sixteen saintly prelates.[4] During the second half of the eleventh century, their number was increased by Alvito of León and Ordoño of Astorga.

With only five exceptions—Rosendo, Pedro de Mezonzo, Genadio, Froilán, and Atilano—the remaining eleven were objects of simple folk devotion. They served, as we shall see, as instruments in the medieval and modern manipulation of the cult of saints by the religious communities that preserved their sepulchres and relics. Leaving aside the exceptions till later, I shall begin by focusing on the least known of the holy bishops. Among them, those nine buried in the Galician monastery of San Esteban de Ribas de Sil (Orense) are particularly interesting. Ever since Morales visited the cenobium in 1572, various authors have attempted to order the fragmentary and contradictory notices we have about the episcopal pantheon in the *Ribeira Sacrata* of Orense.[5] The only thing we know for certain is that these nine bishops, exhausted from the weight of the mitre, chose the monastery of Ribas de Sil as a retreat and burial place, after giving up their episcopal thrones. Ansurio (*c.* 915–*c.* 922) and Vimarasio were bishops of Orense; Gonzalo Osorio and Froarengo, of Coimbra; Servando, Viliulfo, and Pelagio, of Iria Flavia; Alfonso, of Astorga; a certain Pedro, of whom we know little more than his name, has been linked with the Bishop Pedro of Lugo (*c.*1098–1113), former Abbot of Samos.[6]

The remaining bishops also abandoned their thrones for Ribas de Sil. Hermogio of Túy (915–942) had been a prisoner in Córdoba together with Bishop Dulcidio of Salamanca.[7] After returning from captivity, he retired to Ribas de Sil, only to leave to found the monastery of San Cristóbal near Ponte de Lima (Portugal); a note in the *Liber fidei* of Braga informs us that the monastery was restored by *Hermoygio episcopo in territorio Tudensi.*[8] The last of the bishops, difficult to identify, is Gonzalo of Mondoñedo. Despite his recognition by the Roman Church, we do not know much about him, nor even when he lived.[9] There are two different traditions for his activities, one spans the years 948–958, and the other, 1071–1108. In both cases, he acts as the miraculous destroyer who crushed either an Islamic or Norman army that assaulted Foz, on the coast of Lugo, where the see of Mondoñedo was located until the twelfth century.[10]

In turning to the more well-known saintly bishops, we begin with Rosendo of Celanova. San Rosendo was born in the bosom of an aristocratic family of Galicia and Portugal in 907 and died in the monastery of Celanova in 977. He is one of the most important personages in our catalogue of tenth-century sainted prelates. He was distinguished both for his political and ecclesiastical work in the bishopric of Mondoñedo (*c.* 923–*c.* 942), as well as for the foundation of the monastery of Celanova. Rosendo participated in the development of other important monasteries such as Caaveiro and San Esteban de Ribas de Sil, governed Galicia by order of King Ordoño III from 955 on, and eventually became the Bishop of Iria Flavia-Compostela (968–*c.* 977).[11] In the twelfth century, the monks Esteban and Ordoño of Celanova wrote the *Vita et miraculi Sancte Rudesindi*, the main source for the study of this historical figure and, especially, of his cult.[12] With regard to the Bishop Pedro Martínez, or Pedro de Mezonzo, we know that his ecclesiastical career began in the monastery of Santa María de Mezonzo, after which he was Abbot of Sobrado, and later, Abbot of San Pelayo (Paio) de Antealtares in Compostela. He subsequently became Bishop of Iria-Compostela. He managed the damaged possessions of the see after its destruction by the Muslim general Almanzor in 997, and oversaw the reconstruction of the apostolic basilica of Santiago de Compostela, until his death in 1003.[13] The Bishop of Astorga from approximately 909 to some time between 916 and 920 was Genadio.[14] Before he assumed the Astorgan throne, Genadio had been an exemplary hermit in the mountains of León and was the founder of several important monasteries such as San Pedro de Montes and Santiago de Peñalba. Deeds such as the reconstruction of the cathedral have been credited to his service as bishop, although, as his will informs us, he never felt at ease in this position, showing more concern for the development of his monastic foundations. In 920 he abandoned his prelacy and returned to the monastery, where he died in 936. The last representatives of the tenth-century holy episcopate were Froilán of León (900–905) and Atilano of Zamora (901–917), whose cult and memory are closely linked as master and disciple and, above all, as founders of the monastery of Santa María in Moreruela.[15] They each had their own *vita*. That of San Froilán was written by a certain Deacon Juan around 920 and was included in the Visigothic Bible of the Cathedral of León, from which it was copied and gradually transformed.[16] San Atilano's was published by Flórez as an appendix in *España Sagrada*.[17]

The two remaining bishops were Alvito of León (1055–63) and Ordoño of Astorga (1062–66), who occupied their sees in the middle of the eleventh century. Fernando I had commissioned them to travel to Seville, Muslim territory, to obtain the relics of Archbishop Isidore of Seville; Alvito died in the course of the journey. The two were canonized primarily because of their role in this transaction, and their *vitae* were written between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as a part of the story of Saint Isidore's translation to León.[18]

'Ad honorem et laudem nominis sui': Places for Burial

The scant notices we have on episcopal burials from the ninth to the eleventh centuries refer to inhumations in churches. These notices, together with the detailed accounts of other, better known cases such as Fructuoso in Montelios, Rosendo in Celanova, or Genadio of Astorga, underscore the custom of burial in the atrium that surrounds a church or in specific places within its perimeter, for example, within a western apse. Clearly, their contemporaries respected the prohibition of burying corpses inside the church, issued by the Council of Braga in 561; burial within the church was reserved only for those already sainted.[19] The bishops, at least initially, were buried just as the rest of society.

Return to the Monastic Fold

When they found themselves at the ends of their lives, twelve of the nineteen bishop-saints returned to the monasteries in which they had begun their careers or with which they had maintained close relationships. This was the case with Rosendo in Celanova, Genadio in Santiago de Peñalba, the nine bishops in Ribas de Sil, and the shadowy Hermogio de Túy in Ponte de Lima.

Rosendo, according to custom, was honourably buried in a stone sarcophagus on the exterior of the monastic church of Saint Peter that he rebuilt, as his monastic biographer Ordoño de Celanova informs us: 'Sepultus uero est honorifice prope ecclesiam sancti Petri in lapideo sarcofago ubi poscentibus prestantur beneficia dei ad honorem et laudem nominis sui'.[20] Most likely, Rosendo's original sepulchre consisted of a tomb at floor level or a simple arcosolium in the exterior wall of the chapel dedicated to Saint Peter. His *vita* says that there were three altars dedicated to the Saviour, Saint Peter, and Saint John the Baptist in the apse.[21] In the church he constructed at Montelios, Fructuoso of Braga (d. 665) was buried on the exterior of the north wall of the presbytery, in a sarcophagus that still can be seen today. In like manner, Santo Domingo of Silos was buried in the cloister of his monastery, near a door to the church, and Bishop Ermengol of Urgel was similarly buried with respect to his cathedral. When altars were dedicated to them, the bodies of both saints were translated to the interiors of their churches.[22]

In 1172, Rosendo was elevated and canonized by Cardinal Jacinto, and the *translatio* into the church of Santa María was effected, as Ordoño tells us (*corpus beati Rudesindi in beate Marie dei genitricis ecclesia requiesquit*).[23] San Rosendo did not find himself alone. Near his tomb were placed the remains of a second sainted bishop, San Torcuato of Guadix, which had been deposited in Santa Comba de Bande following the Muslim invasion; subsequently, they were transported to Celanova.[24] He became copatron of the monastery, with a cult, translation, and dispersion of relics similar to those of the saint of Orense. Only later do authors provide precise descriptions of the translation and medieval tomb, which was set at an unknown site in the church's topography near the door to the cloister. Morales informs us that 'the Holy Body is now in a chapel next to the main apse, in a high stone tomb raised on four small columns, covered with another of carved and gilded wood'.[25] Tamayo Salazar emphasizes that the Apostolic Legate Jacinto, with all the devotion to Rosendo and his miracles, 'translated him with honorific splendour to another oratory, next to the cloister'.[26] De la Cueva recounts how the sepulchre was

> set into a chapel with a wood grate, dedicated to him, which was where his altar is now, as one enters the church through the cloister door, to the right. [. . .] The tomb was raised on four columns of gilt stone, five hands high. [. . .] The tomb of the glorious martyr, San Torcado, Apostle of Spain and disciple of Santiago, [was also placed in the chapel] [. . .] and raised on four columns similar to those of San Rosendo's tomb. Each was encased in gilt wood covered with floral work. [. . .] The stone sepulchres were the depositories for these treasures; the relics of these glorious saints were guarded within like pearls in their shells. The sacristan carefully covered them with rich cloths appropriate to the day in their colour and richness.[27]

In the final description before the tombs were dismantled, Castellà adds that the Cardinal translated the remains of Rosendo and Torcuato into a chapel

> next to the door to the cloister, and placed them flanking the altar in two stone sepulchres (that were perhaps the same that they had been in) covered with cases of gilded wood, raised on four stone columns, such that a man could fit underneath them.[28]

We know virtually nothing about the church of Santa María mentioned in the *Vita et miracula*. In my opinion, it might have been the south apse of the newly constructed Romanesque church, whose original dedication to Peter and John may have been changed to the Virgin, as indicated by the later sources, and which dedication was maintained when the Baroque edifice was constructed. Unfortunately, nothing remains of the old sarcophagi either. In 1601,

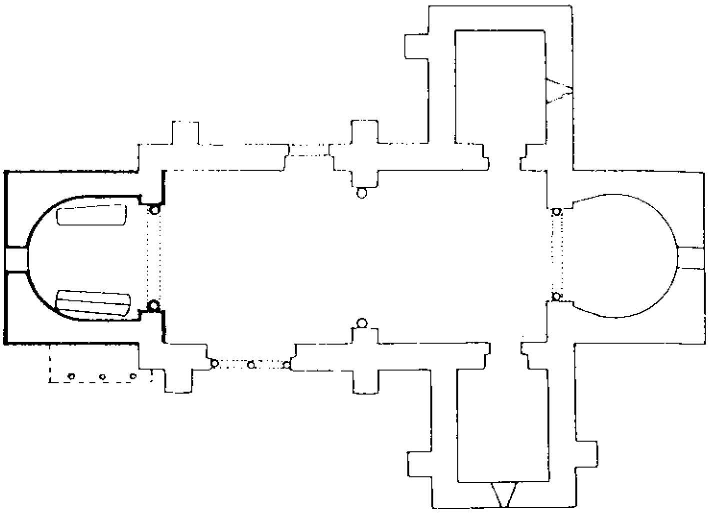

Fig. 1. Plan of Santiago de Peñalba (after I. Bango)

the Abbot Fray Claudio Tenorio decided to relocate the relics of Rosendo and Torcuato in silver coffers in the presbytery of the monastic church where they remained until a reliquary cabinet was constructed in the sacristy in the eighteenth century.[29]

The *Miraculorum Sancti Rudesindi episcopi et confessoris*, as well as the later descriptions, offer us an image of the great historic value of San Rosendo's sepulchre.[30] A tomb resting on elevated supports, it was of a type closely linked to the cult of saints and had interesting parallels within Galicia. One is the reliquary shrine of Santa Eufemia at the Cathedral Museum of Orense (colour pl. 5); on one face the saint's cenotaph is represented elevated on four columns each with a helicoid base.[31] In addition, two tombs similar to those described for Rosendo, Torcuato, and Eufemia are extant; they are of Galician figures who were objects of popular devotion. The first belongs to the Count San Osorio Gutiérrez, whose tomb survives in fragmentary condition in the chapel of Santa María de Valdeflores in the monastic church of San Salvador in Villanueva de Lorenzana (Vilanova de Lourenzá, Lugo). Into a niche of beautifully dressed stone, an antique sarcophagus, reused and perhaps Aquitainian in origin, had been placed and raised on two columns.[32] The second belongs to Abbot Fagildo of San Pelayo de Antealtares (Compostela), whose remains, known for their curative powers, were also found elevated upon some sort of support which was set into the wall that enclosed the lower choir of the monastic church. Today only the fourteenth-century tomb, which replaced the original, survives.[33] These types of shrines were designed for visits by the infirm and for a paraliturgy through which pilgrims and others sought the otherworldly aid of the saint. The *Miraculorum* of Rosendo narrates how the infirm and possessed were taken to the tomb and placed under the columns. Such was the case of one Miguel, who had problems with his legs and was healed by raising himself while grasping the columns, or that of a blind woman from Xinzo de Limia, who touched the columns that enclosed Rosendo's tomb.[34] This tomb type, widespread in the European Middle Ages, was employed for other notable monuments in the Iberian Peninsula, probably that of Pedro of Osma and of San Millán in La Cogolla, the cenotaph of San Vicente and his sisters Sabina and Cristeta in Ávila, and the pompous Gothic shrine constructed in Toledo Cathedral around the pillar where, according to tradition, the Virgin leaned as she placed a chasuble onto the Archbishop Saint Ildefonso.[35]

As for the destiny of the remains of our other sainted bishops, Pedro de Mezonzo was buried in the monastery of San Pelayo de Antealtares, where he had been abbot. All we know of his tomb is that in the sixteenth century it was located in the high altar.[36] San Genadio of Astorga decided to be buried in his monastery, Santiago de Peñalba, where his body stayed until the seventeenth century, when the Duchess of Alba translated him first to Villafranca and then to Valladolid, leaving the monastery with a reliquary containing just one finger of their sainted bishop-abbot.[37] Documents tell us that in 937, only one year after his death, Genadio was found *tumulatus* in Peñalba.[38] Scholars agree that Genadio's tomb was located in the western apse of the church along with the tombs of later abbots. However, they neither agree when the western apse was built, nor on its eventual sepulchral function. Determining the various stages of construction at Santiago de Peñalba is problematic because it was built with thin flat slabs of stone. Quintana Prieto maintains that the western apse was constructed by enlarging the original edifice (fig. 1).[39] García de Castro affirms that it was not conceived as a funerary site and had been planned from the beginning, without providing any rationale for its being there.[40] The actions of Genadio's successors may provide a solution; it seems that Bishop Salomón moved the monastery from its original site in order to rebuild it elsewhere.[41] If the church of Peñalba was constructed *ex novo* close to the death date of Genadio, the western apse in question and its funerary function as burial place for the abbots of Peñalba would clearly have been foreseen.[42] Consequently, attributing the unified construction to Salomón, who would have planned for a site for Genadio's tomb, is consistent with what is known about burials during the period in which they were forbidden on the church interior.

One of the more interesting cases of an episcopal pantheon of monastic character is that of the nine bishops in the Orensan cenobium, San Esteban of Ribas de Sil. We do not know what sort of following the cult of this ennead had in the Early Middle Ages. The first notice of them is owed to a document of 1220, in which Alfonso IX of León gave a donation to the monastery and the nine bodies of saintly bishops so that through them God would produce infinite miracles.[43] We know that during the Middle Ages, the episcopal tombs were situated in the so-called 'cloister of the bishops' next to the church. Tamayo reported that there were six stone sepulchres in the gallery of the *mandatum*, to the left as one entered from the church, and three graves in the ground, although, in 1463, they were translated from the cloister to a reliquary in the presbytery of the church.[44] In the seventeenth century the memory of the bishops was reserved in a placard with their image and the inscription 'sunt novem divi episcopi quorum reliquiis sacrum hoc nobiliatur coenobium'.[45] As far as their original claustral situation is concerned, it is clear that what Tamayo saw was not the tenth-century installation, because the oldest surviving parts of the monastery are datable to the last decades of the twelfth.[46] However, if one reconstructs the original articulation of the church wall, later filled in to support the sixteenth-century vaulting, the projecting buttresses produced the very spaces that could have housed sepulchres—in my opinion, the most appropriate site for them. Thus, their disposition outside the church conformed to the customs outlined in other cases. In this instance, the popular character of their cult, and absence of any recognition of their sanctity on the part of the Bishopric of Orense, meant that they would not be translated to the church interior until the fifteenth century.

Rest in the Cathedral City

According to tradition, the first bishop on this list, the mysterious Pelayo of León, was buried in his cathedral, despite the fact that, at the time of his demise in 868, the cathedral had not yet come into being. Even though evidence from an old lapidary inscription is still extant, the most reliable documentation for him dates from the sixteenth century, when the relics of the three bishop-saints of León were rearranged and placed in the three enclosing walls of the cathedral apse. Until the translation to the south side of the apse in 1565, 'the bones of the blessed San Pelayo were in the sacristy in a coffer locked with a key'.[47]

The only bishop saint of the tenth century for whom there is documentation of a supposed burial in his cathedral was Froilán of León, although a series of later translations resulted in the return of his body to a monastic enclave context. Following his death in 905, his *vita* narrates how he was buried in the cathedral, which was not yet in existence, an enigmatic circumstance that is coincident with the case of Pelayo of León. In all likelihood the burial took place at the church located outside the city walls, San Pedro de los Huertos, which functioned as a cathedral. In 916, a royal grant specified that the ancient Roman baths situated within the city would serve to house the Leonese cathedral, and it was to this edifice that the body of Froilán must have been translated, to a sepulchre paid for by King Ordoño II.[48] The raids of Almanzor in Galicia and León motivated a second translation of San Froilán's relics, this time to one of his monastic retreats, a place called Vallecésar. From there, he was translated again to the monastery of Moreruela, which he had founded and where he was venerated as patron saint.[49] In the second half of the twelfth century, the cathedral chapter of León began a campaign to rescue the holy bishop's relics for León. In 1175, Pope Alexander III divided the remains into two reliquaries, one for the monastery of Moreruela and the other for León Cathedral, where they were placed in the high altar of the cathedral church, and kept there even when the Gothic edifice was built.[50]

In the cases of San Atilano of Zamora, companion of Froilán, and San Gonzalo of Mondoñedo, the question of their burials is more complicated. Tradition places the sepulchre of the Bishop of Zamora in the parish church of San Pedro and San Ildefonso. It appears that the *inventio* of the sepulchre of Archbishop Ildefonso of Toledo in the parish church of San Pedro in 1260 brought with it the recovery of the forgotten *memoria* of San Atilano. According to the description of the discovery by the Franciscan friar Gil de Zamora, Atilano's sepulchre was in the north aisle, next to the altar of the Virgin, while that of Ildefonso was reconstituted in the apse with a sumptuous Gothic altar.[51] In the fifteenth century the axial chapel was renovated by elevating the presbytery. No document of the time alludes to any action in relation to Atilano's sepulchre, which must have remained in its original location until much later, with the inscription: HIC IACET SANCTI ATILANI.[52] In fact, in the sixteenth century, Lobera asked himself why San Atiliano had sunk into oblivion when he was venerated as founder by the Cistercians of Santa María de Moruela.[53] The axial chapel was reconstructed again in the seventeenth century, resulting in the elevation of Atilano's body in the manner in which it is displayed today.[54] With regard to San Gonzalo, despite the problem of his historicity, some authors give us notice of a sepulchre in the old pre-Romanesque Cathedral of San Martín of Mondoñedo. The sepulchre was, according to Flórez, locked with three keys and served as an altar. It was opened in 1648 and again in 1704, when a crosier, various ornaments, and a cincture were found among the saint's remains.[55]

Finally, we turn to the two eleventh-century saints, Alvito of León and Ordoño of Astorga. After recovering the relics of Saint Isidore of Seville, Ordoño returned to León and then to his see in Astorga. Alvito died in Seville and his body was translated to León together with that of Saint Isidore; he was buried in León Cathedral and was moved in 1164.[56] The earliest notices about the location of his sepulchre are owed to Bishop Trujillo who, at the end of the sixteenth century, recorded that Alvito was buried in the north aisle.[57] At that time, he was relocated above ground and his memory honoured with an inscription. This was not to be the only tomb or epitaph for the saint. According to Viñayo, the inscription recorded by Trujillo was, in fact, the one written on the wooden casket that originally housed the holy body in its stone sepulchre of the 1164 translation.[58] In the sixteenth century the shrine was enlarged and this sarcophagus was set into one of the walls of the chapel facing the north transept. Eventually forgotten, restorations to the cathedral in the nineteenth century favoured its rediscovery, which included a complete set of epigraphs.[59]

San Ordoño, the last of the group, was buried in Astorga, however, not in the cathedral itself, but in the Church of Santa Marta, the remnant of an old monastery next to the cathedral, later reconstructed in the eighteenth century.[60] According to some authors, the church was occidented, and Yepes, when he found Ordoño's tomb on the interior, noted that it was 'in a humble burial at the entrance to the church, as was done in times past'.[61] Two indicators suggest that Santa Marta of Astorga also had a western apse that functioned as funerary space: the fact that the Benedictine historian Yepes would utilize the same words—'a los pies de la iglesia, como se usaba en aquel tiempo'—to locate Ordoño's tomb in Santa Marta and that of Genadio in the western apse of Santiago de Peñalba. The sepulchre was destroyed during the eighteenth-century reconstruction of the church at Astorga. Ordoño's relics and epitaph, on which was inscribed *carmen 21* by the Visigothic San Eugenio of Toledo, were brought to what is now the Museo de los Caminos de Astorga.[62]

Remembering the Bishop Saint: Ritual and Reliquaries

A salient characteristic of the medieval cult of saints was the thaumaturgic power attributed to their relics. In contrast with the general absence of published records about miracles performed by eighteen of our holy bishops, the always exceptional case of San Rosendo and his cenotaph in Celanova provides ample information about his powers. The recorded *miracles* tell us about the healings achieved through Rosendo's intercession and also about the rituals performed around his cenotaph by infirm supplicants and those possessed by demons, who came to seek the aid of the holy bishop. In addition to orations, vigils, and contact with the tomb in order to achieve a cure, the custom of swallowing elements from it is also documented. Rosendo's *miracula* offer two examples of this practice. The first is the story of a maid in the monastery,

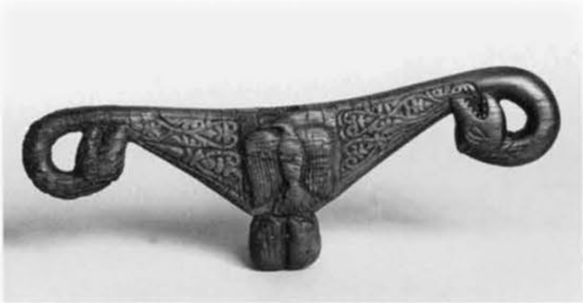

Fig. 2. San Pelayo's crosier, eagle side, cedar (?), 1065-85 (photo: Imagen MAS)

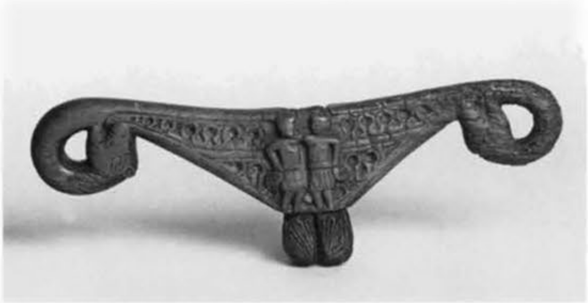

Fig. 3. San Pelayo's crosier, figure side, cedar (?), 1065-85 (photo: Imagen MAS)

complaining of attacks of rage; she ingested a splinter of the tomb and was forever cured.[63] The second tells of an invalid monk from Celanova who, by night, approached the tomb on horseback, then dragged himself along the ground to reach it, and finally swallowed bits of it that he scraped off with his teeth—as a result, he was cured.[64] These are not isolated examples. Another episcopal tomb was subjected to the same treatment without its occupant having been canonized, that of the Archbishop of Toledo, don Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada (d. 1247), buried in the apse of the Cistercian monastery Santa María de Huerta (Soria). According to Fray Luis de Estrada in 1580, the archbishop was considered a saint and 'the infirm were cured when they touched his tomb'; they would take away fragments, eventually reducing the tomb to a precarious state of conservation.[65]

Other types of contact with saintly remains were achieved by means of drainage holes in the tomb, meant to siphon off the putrefied humours; in other instances, the faithful would introduce their hands into the spaces and feel the relics.[66] This practice was documented by Yepes in relation to the tombs of the Count San Osorio Gutiérrez in the Monastery of Villanueva de Lorenzana and that of San Fagildo in San Pelayo de Antealtares. For the count-saint, the Benedictine chronicler noted that the faithful placed themselves under the sepulchre 'and like to knock with their heads and hands on the holy coffer, which is pierced in two places, each a circle the size of a coin, *a real de a ocho*. People insert their fingers there and can feel a wooden box that contains the rich deposit'.[67] With San Fagildo, the liquid transudation of the sarcophagus was used to produce oils of miraculous properties.[68] These 'necrolatric therapies' (*necrolátrico terapéuticas*), as Carro y Varela describes them, had other parallels in the popular culture of Galicia, as cures were sought from the sarcophagus at Trasmonte (La Coruña), from the so-called *corpo santo* of Iria Flavia in Padrón (La Coruña), or from other sanctuaries.[69] As with those recorded by Yepes, the cases of Trasmonte and Iria have their roots in medieval tradition, as the cures narrated in the *miracula* of San Rosendo demonstrate. As to the thaumaturgic capacities of objects connected with our bishop-saints, the *Miracles* of Rosendo tell of a cleric who was cured by contact with the silver-encased ring (*anulus cum capsula argentea*) which had come from the saint's sepulchre. The nine bishop-saints of Ribas de Sil also had rings (*pretiosos anulos*) that were used for cures during the sixteenth century.[70]

Similar cultic practices are recorded in Castilla, as well as for the rest of Europe, where bishop- and abbot-saints in particular were recognized as having thaumaturgic power and for whom rituals in hopes of a cure were rapidly developed, some of which are described in this volume.[71]

Reconnecting with the Bishop Saint: Treasures

The quantity and diversity of the objects associated with the cults of our holy bishops is surprising. Two of the lesser known prelates such as Pelayo of León and Gonzalo of Mondoñedo have relics that pertain to their status as bishops—liturgical articles, such as their crosiers and rings. Their crosiers represent two contrasting tendencies in ecclesiastical ornament. Gonzalo's crosier, now in the church of San Martiño, Foz (Lugo), is a common type with a volute. That of Pelayo, now in the Museo Diocesano de León, is tau-shaped (figs 2, 3). This is a par-

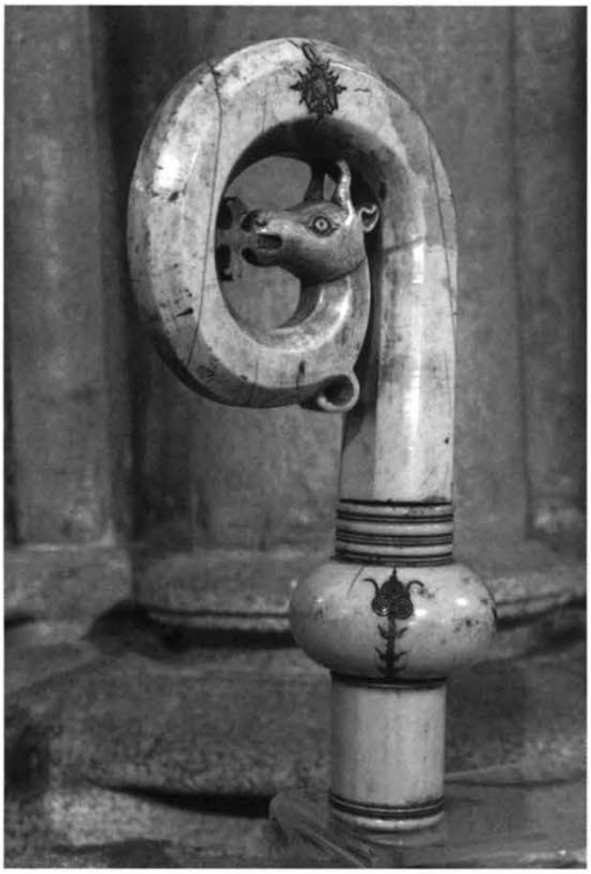

Fig. 4. Crosier from the Treasury of San Rosendo. Museo de la Catedral de Ourense (photo: author)

ticularly Spanish form, associated more with abbots than with bishops, a point to which I shall return.

A large number of liturgical ornaments, most post-dating his life, are associated with the cult of San Rosendo. The so-called Treasure of San Rosendo, from the monastery of Celanova, is now in the Museo de la Catedral de Orense.[72] The ensemble is formed of three rings, an ivory crosier (fig. 4), liturgical combs of ivory, a portable altar of jasper with gilt silver, a short mitre with *infulae*, a silver chalice, a paten, and an eight-piece Fatimid chess set in rock crystal housed in a box of cypress. The dates for these objects range from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries; only the chess set (fig. 5) and one of the episcopal rings, with filigree and a Roman cameo, may be related with Rosendo chronologically.[73] The ring may be the one responsible for the cleric's miraculous cure, referred to above. The chess set, on the other hand, does not seem to have been associated with the saint until its arrival in Orense in 1954. Morales does not mention it, nor does it appear in photographs of the treasury taken by the Comisión Provincial de Monumentos de Orense at the end of the nineteenth century, nor in the study of the ensemble by Marquina.[74]

San Genadio is also associated with Islamic chess pieces, those of ivory, two complete and two fragmentary, today in the monastery of Santiago de Peñalba, where he was buried.[75] In both Celanova and Peñalba it is possible that the sets were gifts, something that Fité found at various Catalan monasteries, where donations of chess sets were made *ad opera*. Such pieces were used as intended, that is, for gaming. At Sant Pere de Áger (Lérida), we know that the canons were severely reprimanded for playing chess with money in the thirteenth century.[76] Later, the use of such pieces may have been overlooked and, because of their luxurious character, they came to form part of the monastic treasury, as occurred in Áger, eventually becoming associated with the belongings of a saint. This may have happened at Orense, Peñalba, and, perhaps also, in San Millán de la Cogolla. The chess pieces there, preserved as part of the reliquary of San Felices made in 944 for the Riojan monastery, have recently been linked with the cult of Millán instead. The imagery that unfolds on the ivories of the reliquary casket of San Millán represents his original coffer decorated with the pieces.[77] It is notable that tenth-century Islamic chess sets are associated with three popular abbot-saints in Reconquest Spain.[78]

Objects supposedly used by the saints naturally form a large number of the pieces associated with their memory. Another precious item said to have been a personal possession of the Abbot Bishop Genadio is the Arqueta de Genadio, now in Astorga, a gift from King Alfonso III (866–910) during the early years of the tenth century.[79] The parish church of San Pedro y San Ildefonso contains several artefacts connected with Atilano of Zamora. With the revival of his cult during the Golden Age, his relics were mounted in gold- and silver-work, among which are an episcopal ring set into a cross, a liturgical comb (fig. 6), and the remains of a crosier inserted into reliquaries.[80] Ordoño's episcopal ring, today at the Museo de la Catedral de Astorga, was found inside his sepulchre in the eighteenth century, during the reconstruction of his former monastery, Santa Marta in Astorga.[81] Finally, documents tell us of objects associated with the nine bishops of Ribas de

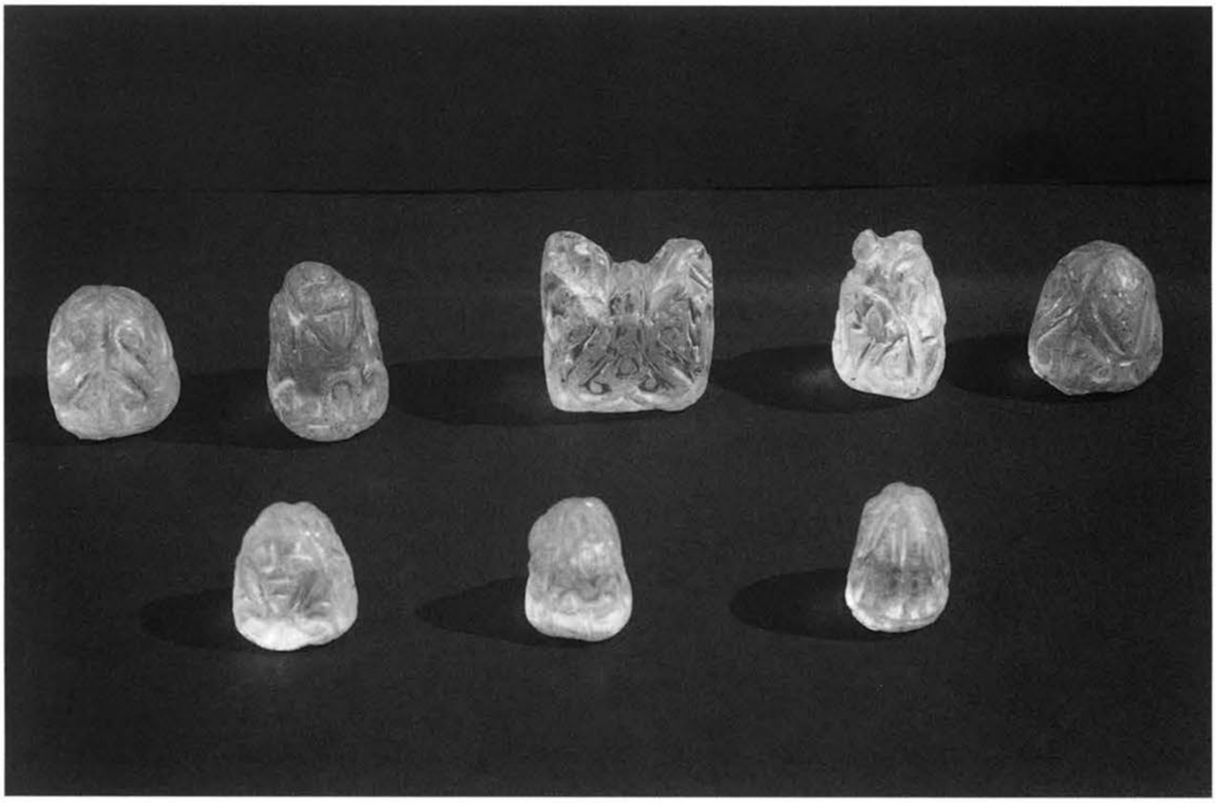

Fig. 5. Chess set from the Treasury of San Rosendo. Museo de la Catedral de Ourense (photo: author)

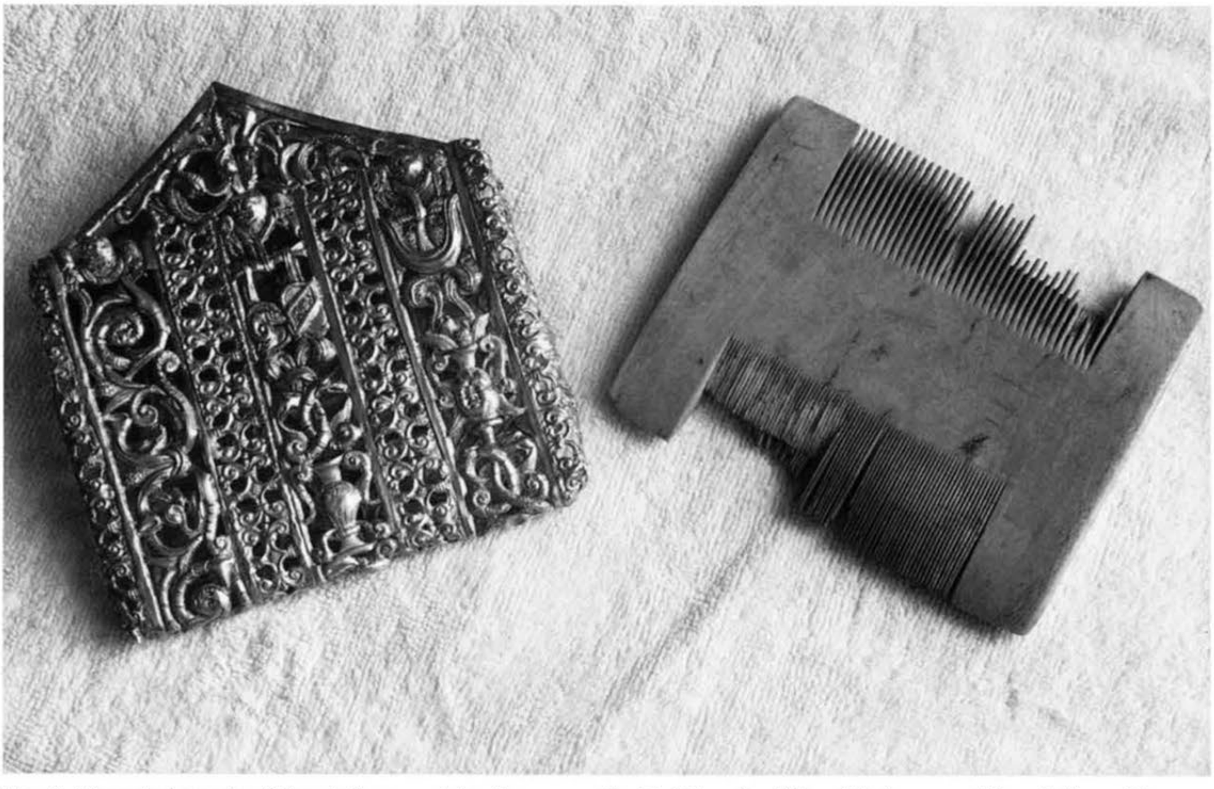

Fig. 6. Liturgical comb of San Atilano and its silver case. Parish Church of San Ildefonso and San Atilano, Zamora (photo: author)

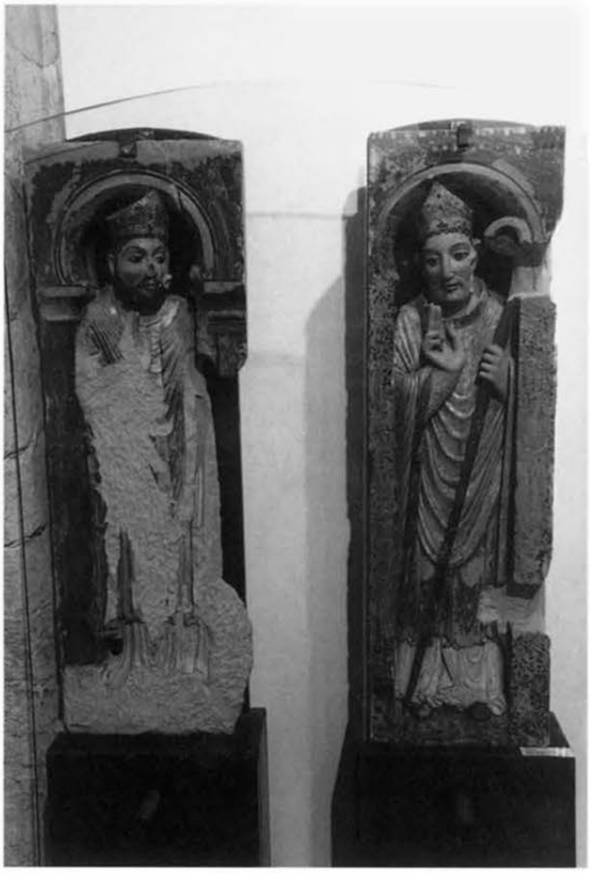

Fig. 7. San Froilán and San Alvito (?), reliefs from the cloister of León Cathedral. Museo Diocesano de León (photo: author)

Sil; all disappeared after the nineteenth-century Exclaustration. These were rings said to have belonged to the holy bishops (*que dicen haber sido de los santos obispos*) that were employed for medical purposes during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[82]

Re-viewing the Bishop Saint: Images

Only three medieval artworks represent the bishop-saints of Galicia and León; of those, only Rosendo and the Leonese Froilán and Alvito are so honoured. Rosendo is depicted in the miniatures of his *Vita et miraculi*.[83] Froilán and Alvito may be the bishops represented in two reliefs from the late Romanesque cloister of León Cathedral (fig. 7).[84] In 1175, some of San Froilán's remains were translated back to León from the Zamoran monastery in Moreruela, with the clear intent to inculcate devotion to the sainted prelate, for whom liturgical texts from the same period survive in the cathedral as well.[85] Thus, the representation of a bishop who may be Froilán in effigy materialized the new episcopal cult initiated by the arrival of the relics not long before the relief was carved (*c.*1200). The pendant figure may very well be Alvito, whose remains were also in the cathedral, and whose importance resided in his participation in the relic translation of the Archbishop Saint Isidore to the Leonese capital during the second half of the eleventh century.

'Episcopi sub regula'

We end as we began, noting the numerous bishop-saints who occupied the sees of Galicia and León in the century and a half between 875–1066. In this detailed account, we have seen that several of them present problems, not merely concerning the veracity of their sainthood, but even of their very existence. Yet, setting aside the problematic figures of Hermogio of Túy, Gonzalo of Mondoñedo, and Pelayo of León, there remain seventeen holy prelates whose veneration is documented in the Middle Ages.

What do their burial sites reveal about these bishops and their cults? In the majority of the cases, their sees received neither their sepulchres nor their relics, which were instead usually deposited in the monasteries with which they were linked. Along with this, I wish to accentuate that they were all significant personages in the monastic world—monks and abbots, who, furthermore, founded several monasteries. In this vein, their biographers followed an old Hispanic hagiographic tradition that insisted on the grief and resignation with which the bishop-monks greeted their election to episcopal dignity—in contrast with their longing for life within the monastic cloister.[86] In my opinion, it would not be erroneous to suppose that we are faced with some distortion of actual events, in which the monastic aspect of the bishops was exalted over their episcopal responsibilities. The monastic episcopacy that engendered our nineteen bishop-saints clearly represented continuity with the canons of the Hispano-Visigothic Church, now revitalized by means of the *episcopus sub regula* and the rigour of communal life among the cathedral clergy.[87] It is in this light that the crosier in the form of a tau attributed to Pelayo of León should be considered (figs 2, 3). While its form is traditionally associated with abbots, in the Peninsular context it is connected with bishops living under monastic rule who acted as abbots to their cathedral community. Bishop-abbots appear with monastic cowls in the miniature depicting the consecration of the king in the *Antiphonary of León* and in the *Codex Albeldense*.[88] A mentality characteristic of the Reconquest, the *ordo gothorum* implied a restoration of both episcopal sees and the significance of ecclesiastical ordination.[89] The bishop-saints' desire to return to their monasteries reflects the tone of such Visigothic authors as Archbishops Isidore of Seville and Ildefonso of Toledo who, when recording the lives of other bishops originating from monastic environments, described and emphasized similar sentiments about returning, ultimately, to the monastic fold.[90] A precendent may be found in Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, who recorded in *De opera monachorum* that when he was named bishop, he found it difficult to administer justice in that office, preferring instead the *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa* of a monk—manual labour and designated hours for prayer and reading.[91] Perhaps, the intention of lending the bishops an air of sanctity led their biographers to emphasize monastic life as the highest expression of beatitude.

The canonization of all these personages as much as their *vitae*, documents for their cults, royal donations to their memories, and the appearance of devotional objects supposedly pertaining to the holy bishops may be traced to the twelfth century. At this precise moment, every ecclesiastic institution that maintained a relationship with those prelates—either historically during their lives, or materially by housing their sanctified bodies—orchestrated the creation of their tombs and acquisition of their relics with the intention of obtaining the benefits that such treasures brought with them. However, others among the holy bishops—Pedro de Mezonzo, Ordoño of Astorga, and Atilano of Zamora—were not remembered in any significant way during the Middle Ages. In fact, it is not surprising that many of our sainted prelates were relegated to folk cults in the monasteries where they chose to be buried, while the episcopal sees they governed sought other saints and relics to house and promote. This oblivion was generated by their primary identity as *episcopi sub regula*, abbots raised to the episcopate who returned to the monastic bosom to die, and where they were subsequently venerated.

Compostela, Orense, and Astorga, with their relics of Saints James, Martin, Martha, and three Visigothic bishop-saints respectively, did not need other attractions in their institutions such as local bishops. In a similar way, the powerful sees of Oviedo and Lugo had no need for bishop-saints to improve their economic, political, or ecclesiastical interests in the early Kingdom of León. Oviedo, for one, housed the prestigious *Arca Santa* replete with relics. Most unfortunately, however, the eternally modest see of Mondoñedo was consigned to such economic, political, ecclesiastical, and geographic oblivion that no cult of any saint could change that situation. To avoid such a fate, Túy and Zamora sought out additional patron saints during the thirteenth century. San Atiliano's cult was clearly not a great attraction for Zamora until the fascinating Bishop Suero (1255–86) included in his program the discovery of the relics of Archbishop Ildefonso of Toledo in San Pedro, the very church in Zamora where Atiliano was buried. In Túy the cult of the local Dominican San Pedro Telmo was promoted.

Only in León, a see created in the ninth century, did the cathedral chapter have to search for the memory of bishop-saints such as Pelayo, Alvito, and especially Froilán, but for reasons distinct from the aforementioned. Logically, the relics of Froilán should have generated a nucleus of devotional fervour for the cathedral when they were returned there—such as that enjoyed by the royal monastery of San Juan, where the relics of the Spanish patriarch, Saint Isidore, resided. Pelayo and Alvito had always been buried in their cathedral, but it is not until the key period of *c.*1200 that notice of them appears, even though Alvito participated directly in bringing Isidore's relics to León. The three holy bishops of that see were needed to balance the dominant cult of the Hispanic patriarch, resulting in the creation of an ecclesiastical city that was polarized between the bishop and cathedral on the one hand, and the Augustinian community of Saint Isidore on the other.[92] Additional factors made the promotion of their saints important to the Leonese cathedral; only a few decades earlier, in 1104, it had declared itself free of archepiscopal control, because the Archbishop of Toledo had sought to incorporate the dioceses of Oviedo and León.[93] Within a few decades the following events took place: León was declared subject only to Rome; it had reclaimed the relics of San Froilán who would become the cathedral's patron; and it underwent a vigorous reform of its cathedral clergy. Evidence suggests that a new consciousness of episcopal dignity had been created, something which would have direct impact upon the sculptural projects carried out in León in the following years. This process was similar to that which occurred at other sees such Santiago de Compostela and Oviedo.[94] In short, we are faced here with the notion of a saintly bishop very distinct from that previously held in the western Peninsula or with respect to the concept of sacral episcopacy elsewhere in Europe. There, from Late Antiquity, the bishop-saint became the visible head of his cathedral and patron of his city, and this was manifested in the dedication of churches, reliquaries, and the writing of hagiographic texts.[95] In León, despite an absence of chronicles concerning the changes in episcopal status generated within the cathedral itself, we do find art works reflecting the new situation: the pair of bishops carved in the cloister reliefs embodies the reinstatement of episcopal prestige.

The cult of San Froilán is an additional dimension in the new consciousness of episcopal dignity in Galicia and León, compared with the bishop-abbots of earlier eras. This is a consciousness shared by Gelmírez in Compostela and Pelayo in Oviedo, at the same time at which León was becoming a privileged bishopric seeking the relics of its holy bishop. It was a period of profound reform that affected the Leonese see, as evidenced by the activities of those bishops who governed from the time of Pelayo (1065–85) through Manrique (1181–1205), the two pillars of reform in León of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Under their administration, the cathedral chapter was restructured, the Roman liturgy was introduced, and the cult of San Froilán—and probably also that of San Alvito—was established. In consequence, from the twelfth century on, the bishop-saints of León encapsulate in their cult a series of changes to the structure of the Church of the Iberian Peninsula, in which the bishop at the head of the diocese and the chapter will acquire new significance—one that was very different from the bishop-abbots under monastic rule of the Old Hispanic, Visigothic Church.

NOTES

My thanks to Elizabeth Valdez del Alamo for the translation of this article.

1. I refer to Capito of Lugo, Efrén of Astorga, Pedro de Rates in Braga, and Arcádigo in Orense, all considered to be disciples of Saint James Major and supposedly appointed bishops by the apostle himself.

2. Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, 'A propos de la canonisation des saints au XIIe siècle', *Revue de droit canonique*, 17 (1968), 3–15.

3. 'Hic requiescit fidelissimus Christi servus Pelagius Legionensis Episcopus Era MVI in mense Augusti'; Manuel Risco, *España Sagrada*, 8 vols (Madrid: Oficina de Pedro Marín, 1786–98), XXXIV, 149. Atanasio de Lobera, *Grandezas de la muy insigne ciudad e iglesia de León y de su obipos y patrón Sant Froylán con las del glorioso Sant Atilano Obispo de Çamora* (Valladolid, 1596; León: Lancia, 1987), pp. 125–26.

4. 'Uno de los más "sacralizados" de la historia medieval hispánica'; Peter Linehan, 'León, ciudad regia, y sus obispos en los siglos X–XIII', in *El reino de León en la Alta Edad Media* (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigaciones 'San Isidoro', 1994), VI, 409–57 (p. 426).

5. For the supposed geographic origins for these bishops, see Ambrosio de Morales, *Viage a los reynos de León y Galicia y Principado de Asturias* (Madrid, 1765; Oviedo: Biblioteca Popular Asturiana, 1977), p. 162; Fray Antonio de Yepes, *Crónica General de la Orden de San Benito* (Valladolid, 1609–21), ed. by Justo Pérez de Urbel, 3 vols (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1959–60), II, 223–25; Joannes Tamayo Salazar, *Anamnesis sive commemorationis Sanctorum Hispaniorum ad ordinem et methodum Martirologii Romani, quo vtitur Ecclesia Catholica*, 6 vols (Lugduni: P. Borde, L. Arnand et C. Rigaud, 1651–59), VI, 303–08; Juan Pallares Gayoso, *Argos Divina, Sancta María de Lugo de los Ojos Grandes. Fundación y grandezas de la iglesia, Sanctos naturales, reliquias y venerables varones de la Ciudad y Obispado, Obispos y Arçobispos que en todos los imperios la gouernaron* (Santiago de Compostela, 1700; Lugo: Albarellos, 1988), pp. 459–60; Enríque Flórez, *España Sagrada*, 29 vols (Madrid: Oficina de Pedro Marín, 1747–75), XVII, 65–72; Arturo Vázquez Núñez, 'El monasterio de Ribas de Sil', *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos de Orense*, 15 (1900), 261–73; A. García Conde, '¿Un santo obispo de Lugo en Ribas de Sil?', *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos de Lugo*, 53–56 (1960–61), 3–5; Cesáreo Gil Atrio, *Santos Gallegos* (Orense: Diputación Provincial, 1968), p. 175; R. Jiménez Pedrajas, 'Vimarasio, Vescovo di Orense, e altri VIII vescovi santi', *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, XII, 1127–32; María Teresa González Balasch, 'Ribas de Sil, Monasterio de San Estebo', *Gran Enciclopedia Gallega* (Santiago and Gijón: Silverio Cañada editor, 1974), XXVI, 226–27; Emilio Duro Peña, *El monasterio de San Esteban de Ribas de Sil* (Orense: Instituto de Estudios Orensanos 'Padre Feijoo', 1977), pp. 27–32; Emilio Duro Peña and J. Platero Paz, *San Esteban de Ribas de Sil* (Orense: Caixa Orense, 1990), pp. 19–25.

6. See above, Jiménez Pedrajas, 'Vimarasio, Vescovo di Orense, e altri VIII vescovi santi', for an overview. We know the most about Ansurio, whose funerary epigraph was recorded in sixteenth-century documents, and Froarengo. For San Ansurio, see Flórez, *España Sagrada*, XVII, 65–72; Pietro Altabella Gracia, 'Ansurio, vescovo de Orense', *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, II, 47–48; Antonio Palomeque Torres, *Episcopologio de las Sedes del Reino de León* (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación 'San Isidoro', 1966), pp. 409–13. For Froarengo, see Emilio Sáez, 'Notas sobre el obispo Froarengo', *Revista portuguesa de história*, 3 (1945), 220–30; idem, 'De nuevo sobre el obispo Froarengo de Coimbra', *Cuadernos de estudios Gallegos*, 5 (1950), 175–87.

7. 'Etiam duo Episcopi Dulcidius Salmanticensis et Hermogius Tudensis ibidem sunt comprahensi et Cordubam adducti et pro isto Hermogio Episcopo ingresus fuit obses sobreinus eius Sanctus Pelagius Cordubam deinde posuerunt eum in carcerem'; Justo Pérez de Urbel, *Sampiro, su crónica y la monarquía leonesa del siglo X* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1952), p. 314.

8. Yepes, *Crónica General*, II, 309–311.

9. Doubts about the figure of San Gonzalo inspired the Augustinian Flórez to write some of the most ironic lines to be found in the entire *España Sagrada*; see XVIII, 117–18.

10. Justo Fernández Alonso, 'Gonsalvo', in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, VII, 102; A. Vilanova Rodríguez, 'Gonzalo, San', in *Gran Enciclopedia Gallega* (Santiago and Gijón: Silverio Cañada editor, 1974), XVI, 131–32.

11. Antonio López Ferreiro, *Historia de la S. A. M. I. de Santiago de Compostela*, 11 vols (Santiago de Compostela: Seminario Conciliar Central, 1898–1909), II, 359–68; Emilio Sáez, 'Notas al episcopologio mindoniense del siglo X', *Hispania*, 22 (1946), 3–79 (pp. 20–26, 67–70); Justo Fernández Alonso, 'Rudesindo, vescovo di Mondoñedo e abate di Celanova', *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, XI, 453–54; José Mattoso, 'S. Rosendo e as correntes monásticas da súa época', *Do tempo e da história*, 5 (1972), 5–27; J. Rodríguez Fernández, 'La figura de San Rosendo en el reinado de Ramiro II de León', *Archivos Leoneses*, 54 (1973), 287–307; Damián Yáñez Neira, 'San Rosendo', in *Gran Enciclopedia Gallega*, XXVII, 114; José Mattoso, 'A vita e miracula S. Rudesindi', *Religiâo e cultura na Idade Media portuguesa* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1982), pp. 441–80; Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, 'El testamento monástico de San Rosendo', *Historia, instituciones, documentos*, 16 (1989), 47–102; M. Carriedo Tejedo, 'El segundo Pontificado mindoniense de San Rosendo (955–958) y su posterior influencia en la transmisión de su pontificado compostelano', *Estudios Mindonienses*, 12 (1996), 191–229; Eugenio Romero Pose, 'A igrexa na Gallaecia altomedieval: San Rosendo e San Pedro de Mezonzo', in *Galicia románica e gótica. Ourense Catedral 27 de xuño / outubro 1997* (Orense, 1997), pp. 154–61; Ariel Guiance, *Los discursos sobre la muerte en la Castilla medieval (siglos VII–XV)* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1998), pp. 111–13; Juan José Cebrián Franco, *Obispos de Iria Flavia y Arzobispos de Santiago* (Santiago de Compostela: Instituto Teológico Compostelano, 1997), pp. 62–63.

12. My references are to the edition by Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, María Virtudes Pardo Gómez, and Daría Vilariño Pintos, *Ordoño de Celanova: Vida y milagros de San Rosendo* (La Coruña: Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, 1990).

13. Yepes, *Crónica General*, II, 402–05; López Ferreiro, *Historia*, II, 381–431; Manuel R. García Álvarez, *San Pedro de Mezonzo. El origen y el autor de la 'Salve Regina'* (Madrid: Gráficas Magerit, 1965).

14. Palomeque, *Episcopologio de las Sedes del Reino de León*, pp. 145–60; Augusto Quintana Prieto, *El obispado de Astorga*

en los siglo IX y X (Astorga: n. pub., 1968), pp. 65–216; idem., *Peñalba* (León: Nebrija, 1978).

15. Palomeque, *Episcopologio de las Sedes del Reino de León*, pp. 55–59 and 223–28; José María Canal Sánchez-Pagín, 'San Froilán Obispo de León. Ensayo biográfico', *Hispania Sacra*, 91 (1993), 113–46; Julio de Prado Reyero, *Siguiendo las huellas de San Froilán* (Salamanca: San Esteban, 1994).

16. Archivo de la Catedral de León, MS 6; Canal, 'San Froilán Obispo de León', pp. 113–18, 139–40; Prado Reyero, *Siguiendo las huellas de San Froilán*.

17. *Vita Sancti Attilani Episcopi Zamorensis*, in Flórez, *España Sagrada*, XIV, 395–97.

18. 'Actas de la translación de San Isidoro', in Flórez, *España Sagrada*, IX, 370–75; Lobera, *Grandezas de la muy insigne ciudad e iglesia de León*, pp. 121–24; Flórez, *España Sagrada*, XVI, 178–83; Risco, *España Sagrada*, XXXV, 72–97; Pedro Rodríguez López, *Episcopologio asturicense*, 7 vols (Astorga: Porfirio López; 1906-08) II, 106–18; Antonio Viñayo, 'La llegada de San Isidoro a León. Datos para la historia del traslado del cuerpo del Doctor de las Españas desde Sevilla a León', *Archivos Leoneses*, 17.33 (1963), 65–112; Augusto Quintana Prieto, 'Ordonio, vescovo di Astorga', *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, IX, 1223; Alfonso M. Zimmermann, 'Alvito, vescovo di León', *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, I, 903. On the problematic political and ecclesiastical context in which the translation of Saint Isidore occurred, see the solid arguments proposed by Amancio Isla Frez, *Realezas hispánicas del año mil* (La Coruña: Seminario de Estudios Gallegos, 1999), pp. 169–75.

19. Similarly, in the countries where the customs of the Empire were more long-standing, episcopal burials in the ancient manner are documented; they were placed outside the city limits until their entry to the city and their irruption into the space of the church; Jean-Charles Picard, *Le Souvenir des évêques. Sépultures, listes épiscopales et culte des évêques en Italie du Nord des origines au Xe siècle* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1988), pp. 251–64 and 327–85; Cécile Treffort, *L'Église carolingienne et la mort. Christianisme, rites funéraires et pratiques commémoratives* (Lyon: Presses Universitaires, 1996). For Hispanic funerary practice in the Middle Ages, see Isidro G. Bango Torviso, 'El espacio para enterramientos privilegiados en la arquitectura medieval española', *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)*, 4 (1992), 93–133 (pp. 94–105).

20. *Ordoño de Celanova*, p. 158.

21. Ibid, pp. 140–42.

22. For Santo Domingo of Silos, see Isidro G. Bango Torviso, 'La iglesia antigua de Silos: del prerrománico al románico pleno', in *El Románico en Silos. IX Centenario de la consagración de la iglesia y el claustro* (Santo Domingo de Silos: Abadía de Silos, 1990), pp. 317–76 (p. 327 and n. 60); idem, 'El espacio para enterramientos', pp. 110–12; Joaquín Yarza Luaces, 'El Santo después de la muerte en la Baja Edad Media hispana', in *La idea y el sentimiento de la muerte en la historia y en el arte de la Edad Media II* (Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1992), pp. 95–117 (p. 112); Guiance, *Los discursos sobre la muerte*, p. 111; as well as the essay by Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo in this volume. For San Ermengol, see Pere Pujol i Tubau, *L'urna d'argent de Sant Ermengol, bisbe d'Urgell* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1927), pp. 3–13; Anna Orriols i Alsina, 'Hagiographie et art roman en Catalogne', *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 29 (1998), 121–42 (p.131, n. 90).

23. *Ordoño de Celanova*, p. 206.

24. Miguel Ángel González García, 'San Torcuato y la leyenda jacobea del puente derribado en un cuadro procedente del monasterio de Celanova', in *Actas del Congreso sobre O camiño xacobeo na provincia de Ourense* (Santiago de Compostela, 1995), pp. 165–75; M. A. González García and M. A. Pereira Soto, 'El relicario de la iglesia conventual del monasterio de San Salvador de Celanova', *Porta da Aira*, 8 (1997–98), 23–76.

25. 'El Santo Cuerpo está agora en una capilla colateral de la mayor, en tumba alta de piedra levantada sobre quatro columnas pequeñas, y la tumba de piedra está cubierta con otra de madera labrada de talla y dorada'; Morales, *Viage a los reynos*, p. 153.

26. 'In aliud Oratorium, iuxta claustri situm, honorifico transtulit apparatu'; Tamayo, *Anamnesis*, II, 34.

27. 'En una capilla hecha de verjas de madera dedicada al mismo santo que estava donde aora está el altar de San Rosendo, como se entra en la iglesia, por la puerta del claustro a mano derecha [. . .] el sepulcro de san Rosendo (estaba) elevado sobre cuatro columnas de piedra dorada, de cinco palmos de alto; [. . .] el sepulcro del glorioso mártir San Torcado, Apóstol de España y diszípulo de Santiago, puso el mismo cardenal [. . .] en la misma capilla, [. . .] y elevado sobre cuatro columnas semejantes a las de San Rosendo, cada sepulcro tenía una cubierta de madera de florones y dorada [. . .] mientras los sepulcros de piedra fueron depositarios de sus tesoros y las reliquias de estos santos gloriosos se guardaban en ellos como perlas en sus conchas, el sachristán cuydaba de cubrirlos con paños ricos convenientes al oficio del día en el color y la riqueza'; Fray Benito de la Cueva, *La Celanova Ilustrada*, published in Miguel Ángel González García, 'Las reliquias de San Rosendo y de San Torcuato de la Catedral de Ourense', in *Actas do 1º Ciclo de Conferencias. Sâo Rosendo e o seu século* (Santo Tirso, 1992), 113–26 (pp. 114–15). The liturgical custom of covering a reliquary with precious textiles may be traced back to the Middle Ages, as it is also mentioned in the *Miracula*: '[. . .] ipsum monumentum panno pretioso'; *Ordoño de Celanova*, p. 226.

28. 'Junto a la puerta del Claustro, y los colocó a los lados del altar en dos sepulcros de piedra, cubiertos con caxas de madera dorada (o acaso eran los sepulcros los mismos en que estauan), levantados en alto sobre quatro columnas de piedra cada uno, de suerte que podía un hombre meterse debaxo dellos'; Mauro Castellà Ferrer, *Historia del apóstol de Jesus Christo Santiago Zebedeo* (Madrid: Alonso Martín de Balboa, 1610), fol. 168v. The wooden cases may be comparable to the Late Gothic canopy placed over the sepulchral monument of San Vicente in Ávila; see the article by Daniel Rico in this volume.

29. De la Cueva, *La Celanova Ilustrada*, pp. 114–15. As with San Rosendo, the remains of Abbot Domingo of Silos and Bishop Ermengol of Urgel were relocated into a Baroque silver urn (see above, note 22).

30. *Ordoño de Celanova*, 218, 224.

31. Serafín Moralejo Álvarez, 'La reutilización e influencia de los sarcófagos antiguos en la España medieval', in *Colloquio sul reimpiego di sarcofagi romani nel Medioevo, Pisa 5–12 settembre 1982*, ed. by B. Andreae and S. Settis (Marburg and Lahan: Verlag des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminar, 1984), pp. 187–203 (p. 189).

32. 'Un arco de hermosa cantería, donde está metido el sepulcro del santo conde, levantado sobre dos columnas';

Yepes, *Crónica General,* II, 356; see also Manuel Chamoso Lamas and José Carro Otero, 'El "Conde Santo" D. Osorio Gutiérrez', *Cuadernos de estudios Gallegos,* 23 (1968), 136–44 (pp. 140–42); Moralejo, 'La reutilización e influencia de los sarcófagos', p. 189; José Carro Otero and María Luisa Varela Ogando, 'Estudio anatomo-antropológico del esqueleto atribuido a don Osorio Gutiérrez, el "Conde Santo" de Villanueva de Lorenzaná (Lugo)', *Cuadernos de estudios Gallegos,* 35 (1984–85), 79–114 (pp. 112–13); Manuel A. Castiñeiras González, 'La actividad artística en la antigua provincia de Mondoñedo: del Prerrománico al Románico', *Estudios Mindonienses,* 15 (1999), 287–342 (pp. 292–98).

33. Yepes, *Crónica General,* II, 54; José Carro Otero, 'La estatua yacente de San Fagildo en el monasterio benedictino de San Pelayo de Antealtares', *El correo Gallego,* 30 July 1972; María del Pilar Carrillo Lista, 'Sepulcro de San Fagildo', in *San Paio de Antealtares, Santiago de Compostela, 24 de junio–31 de diciembre, 1999* (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1999), pp. 105–06.

34. 'Quadam uero die cum more solito mane ante tumulum alienis manibus duceretur ibique solo inter columnas monumenti iactaretur. [. . .] Et hec durissimis nocibus inclamando cepit surgere et tenere columpnas ipsius sepulcri'; 'Que ueniens Cellam Nouam ab eodem sacrista est in ecclesia coram sancti confessoris sarcophago presentata. Que manu palpans columpnas quibus sancti Rudesindi tumba sustentabatur flendo et deinlando fletibus accingebat'; *Ordoño de Celanova,* pp. 218, 224.

35. For the tombs of San Millán and San Pedro of Osma, and for the cenotaph in Ávila, see the articles in this volume by Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras and Daniel Rico Camps. For an overview of Spanish Saints' tombs, see Soledad Silva Verástegui, 'Religiosidad popular y la escultura funeraria: Los sepulcros de los Santos en el Románico español', in *Religiosidad popular en España. Actas del Simposium,* 2 vols (San Lorenzo del Escorial: Instituto Escurialense de Investigaciones Históricas y Artísticas, 1997), I, 755–77. Additionally, the sepulchral monument of Saint Lazarus in Autun must have been a spectacular sight; see Neil Stratford, 'Le mausolée de saint Lazare à Autun'; and Gilles Rollier, 'Essai de reconstitution du tombeau: résultats et limites', both in *Le tombeau de saint Lazare et la sculpture romane à Autun après Gislebertus* (Autun: Ville d'Autun and Musée Rolin, 1985), pp. 11–38, 42–103. In addition, there are the exceptional cenotaphs of English sainted bishops, as indicated by various texts and images describing the ceremonies practised by pilgrims and the infirm in the cases of Saint Osmund of Salisbury and Thomas Becket of Canterbury. See Stephen Lamia, '*Sepulcrum Domini*': The Iconography of the Holed Tomb of Christ in Romanesque and Gothic Art' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto, 1982), pp. 382–92, 418–19; Ben J. Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998); and John Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West c. 300–c. 1200* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 242–81. For similar practices involving pierced saints' tombs, see Stephen Lamia, 'Souvenir, Synaesthesia, and the *sepulcrum Domini*: Sensory Stimuli as Memorial Stratagems', in *Memory and the Medieval Tomb,* ed. by Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo with Carol Pendergast (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 19–41.

36. López Ferreiro, *Historia,* II, 429, text in note.

37. Quintana, *Peñalba,* pp. 30, 144.

38. Rodríguez López, *Episcopologio asturicense,* II, 463.

39. Pedro Aingo de Ezpeleta, *Fundación de la Santa Yglesia Cathedral, Iglesia de la ciudad de Astorga. Vida, predicación y martirio de su primer obispo San Efrén* (Madrid: Andrés de Parra, 1634), fol. 41r; Flórez, *España Sagrada,* XVI, 41; Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo monumental de España. Provincia de León,* 2 vols (Madrid, 1925, repr. León: Nebrija, 1979), I, 116; Quintana, *Peñalba,* pp. 140–41; Bango, 'El espacio privilegiado para enterramientos', pp. 98–105.

40. César García de Castro Valdés, 'Las estructuras occidentales en la arquitectura altomedieval asturiana', in *Religion and Belief in Medieval Europe. Papers of the 'Medieval Europe Brugge 1997' Conference (1–4 october 1997),* ed. by G. De Boe and F. Verhaeghe (Zellik: Instituut voor hee Archeologisch Patrimonium, 1997), vol. 4, pp. 159–70 (p. 170, n. 19).

41. '[. . .] se edificó allí cerca, en otro lugar más cómodo que ahora se llama de Santiago Apóstol, donde está sepultado el mismo cuerpo de Genadio'; Yepes, *Crónica General,* II, 312.

42. Flórez, *España Sagrada,* XVI, 42; Quintana, *Peñalba,* pp. 108–11, 115.

43. '[. . .] Monasterio Sancti Stephani et nouem corporibus sanctis episcopis qui ibi sunt tumulata pro quibus Deus infinita miracula facit'; Yepes, *Crónica General,* II, 223; Tamayo, *Anamnesis,* II, 306; Flórez, *España Sagrada,* XVII, 69; Emilio Duro Peña, *El monasterio,* p. 28.

44. Tamayo, *Anamnesis,* I, 305–08. This would not be their final destination. In 1544 Abbot Víctor de Nájera arranged their bones into two groups in the presbytery, with four little urns on the south, and five on the north side. Later they were translated to the reliquary we see today; Yepes, *Crónica General,* II, 219–228; Tamayo, *Anamnesis,* VI, 308; Flórez, *España Sagrada,* XVII, 68–70; Duro, *El monasterio,* pp. 29–30; Duro and Platero, *San Esteban de Ribas de Sil,* pp. 24–25. Of the six sarcophagi, all that remains is the epitaph of Ansurio de Orense, recorded in a seventeenth-century document; Archivo de la Catedral de Ourense (cited hereafter as A.C.O.), Papeles de San Estevo de Ribas de Sil, published in Yepes, *Crónica General,* II, 224; Morales, *Viage a los reynos,* p. 162; Juan Muñoz de la Cueva, *Noticias históricas de la Santa Iglesia Cathedral de Orense* (Madrid, 1727), pp. 241–42; Flórez, *España Sagrada,* XVII, 68; Palomeque, *Episcopologio,* pp. 412–13; Duro, *El monasterio,* p. 29 and fig. iv.

45. A.C.O., Papeles de San Estevo de Ribas de Sil, published in Duro, *El monasterio,* p. 30.

46. José Carlos Valle Pérez, 'Ribas de Sil, Monasterio de San Estebo. Arquitectura', in *Gran Enciclopedia Gallega,* XXVI, 227–31.

47. 'En un arca cerrada con llave los huesos del cuerpo del bienaventurado San Pelayo [. . .]'; Risco, *España Sagrada,* XXXVI, 277–79.

48. Tamayo, *Anamnesis,* 390; Risco, *España Sagrada,* XXXIV, 190.

49. *Crónica del obispo don Pelayo,* ed. by B. Sánchez Alonso (Madrid: Imprenta de los Sucesores de Hernando, 1924), p. 66.

50. Ibid.; Yepes, *Crónica General,* II, 381; Risco, *España Sagrada,* XXXIV, 195–98; Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras, '*Fundamenta* and *monumenta.* The 13th Century Episcopal Pantheon of León Cathedral', in *Memory and the Medieval Tomb,* pp. 269–99.

51. José Ángel Rivera de las Heras, 'El frontal pétreo de San Ildefonso (Zamora)', *Anuario del Instituto de Estudios Zamoranos 'Florián de Ocampo'* (1991), 477–92.

52. Vicente Bécares Botas, *Los patronos de Zamora San Ildefonso y San Atilano* (Zamora: Monte Casino, 1990), p. 80.

53. Lobera, *Grandezas de la muy insigne ciudad e iglesia de León*, fol. 418r. By 1158–63, Atilano was recognized as one of the patron saints of the Cistercian Order, as demonstrated by an eighteenth-century wood relief in the monastery of Melón in Galicia, showing him in a Cistercian habit and holding the fish that swallowed his episcopal ring before his pilgrimage to Jerusalem; see *Memoria, gratitud y esperanza. IX siglos de historia y vida cisterciense. Catálogo de la exposición* (Orense: Concello de Ourense, 1998), p. 51, cat. 53.

54. Jesús Caldero Fernández, *La iglesia arciprestal de San Pedro y San Ildefonso de Zamora* (Zamora: Monte Casino, 1978), pp. 49–50.

55. Flórez, *España Sagrada*, XVIII, 296.

56. *Historia Silense*, ed. by J. Pérez de Urbel and A. González Ruiz Zorrilla (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1959), pp. 82–85; Francisco de Trujillo, *Antigüedad y obispado de León*, Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, códice no. 78 B, fols XCIv–XCIIIv; Lobera, *Grandezas de la muy insigne ciudad e iglesia de León*, pp. 121–24; Yepes, *Crónica General*, III, 132; Risco, *España Sagrada*, XXXV, 95.

57. Trujillo, *Antigüedad*, fol. XCIIIv; Risco, *España Sagrada*, XXXV, 95.

58. The older inscription reads: 'Alvitus tumulo presul tumulatus in isto annuit huic X(h)ristus pontificale decus / dicite X(h)risticole celestis rex sibi parce et requiem vite da sibi perpetue / era M C et quot III non(as septembris) [. . .]'; Antonio Viñayo, 'La llegada de San Isidoro a León', p. 92.

59. Fidel Fita, *Reciente hallazgo del primitivo sepulcro de San Alvito, obispo de León* (León: Imprenta González Redondo, 1866); subsequently published in F. Fita and A. Fernández Guerra, *Recuerdos de un viaje a Santiago de Galicia* (Madrid, 1880; repr. La Coruña: Librería Arenas, 1993), pp. 148–50.

60. Aingo, *Fundación de la Santa Yglesia Cathedral*, fol. 44r–44v.

61. 'En una humilde sepultura a la entrada de la iglesia, como se usaba en tiempos pasados'. Yepes, *Crónica General*, II, 133 and III, 205; Aingo, *Fundación de la Santa Yglesia Cathedral*, fol. 43v; Flórez, *España Sagrada*, XVI, 182; Manuel Rodríguez Díez, *Historia de la muy noble, leal y benemérita ciudad de Astorga* (Astorga: Porfirio López, 1910; repr. León, 1981), pp. 581–82.

62. His epitaph was recorded in Madrid, Biblioteca de Palacio Real, MS 713, fols 173v–174r; transcribed in Aingo, *Fundación de la Santa Yglesia Cathedral*, fol. 43v; Flórez, *España Sagrada*, XVI, 182. The text was identified by Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, *Anecdota Wisigothica*, I: *Estudio y edición de textos literarios menores de época visigoda* (Salamanca: Universidad, 1958), pp. 119–22. See also Martín Martínez Martínez, 'Lauda funeraria de San Ordoño', in *La séptima iglesia. Las Edades del Hombre* (Astorga: Gráficas Varona, 2000), pp. 47–48.

63. 'Quod cum factum fuisstet et de petra sancti fumuli rassa ab ipsa potaretur ita pristine sanitati reddita est acsi malum numquam sensisset'; *Ordoño de Celanova*, p. 178.

64. 'Ibique per unius noctis spatium excubans dum omnes quiescerent, quasi per terram rependo ad beati uiri sepulcrum accesit et illius petram cum dentibus raendo degluttiens obdormiuit; ibid., pp. 198–200. This custom resulted in the tomb's being surrounded by an iron grate to impede direct access by the faithful; Benito Fernández Alonso, *El Pontificado gallego, su origen y vicisitudes, seguido de una Crónica de los Obispos de Orense* (Orense: Imprenta de 'El Derecho', 1897), p. 28.

65. 'Los enfermos sanaban al tocamiento deste sepulchro'; Luis de Estrada, 'De origine Monasterii Hortensis', in *Fray Luis de Estrada (IV Centenario)*, ed. by L. Esteban (Santa María de Huerta: Monasterio de Santa María de Huerta, 1983), pp. 385–404. For the tomb, see Fernando Gutiérrez Baños, 'Sepulcro de don Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada', in *Monjes y monasterios. El Císter en el medievo de Castilla y León* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1998), p. 385. For the use of other tombs for medicinal purposes, see Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, pp. 99–100, n. 44.

66. For Spain, see Carro y Varela, 'Estudio anatomo-antropológico', p. 86, n. 17. A parallel practice is documented in England, that of introducing oneself into the interior of the tomb of King Edward the Confessor in the Abbey of Westminster, represented in *La estoire de seint Aedward le rei*, Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.3.59, fol. 30; or the surviving pierced tomb of Saint Osmund in Salisbury Cathedral with its three oval openings, destined for touching the relics; Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, pp. 92–100; Lamia, '*Sepulcrum Domini*', pp. 338–52; see also Lamia's article in this volume; Crook, *The Architectural Setting*, pp. 282–81.

67. 'Y gustan de topar con la cabeza y con las manos en la santa arca, la cual está agujereada por dos partes, y en cada una de ellas se ve el círculo del tamaño de un real de a ocho; tienen devoción de meter por allí los dedos y encuentran con una caja de madera en donde está el rico depósito'; Yepes, *Crónica General*, II, 356.

68. Ibid., II, 54; Carro, 'La estatua yacente'.

69. J. A. Fidalgo Santamariña, 'Prácticas "supersticiosas" en el tratamiento de enfermedades en la Galicia rural: análisis del "sartego" de Trasmonte', *Cuadernos de estudios Gallegos*, 32.96/97 (1981), 307–27; J. Carro Otero, and M. C. Masa Vázquez, 'El "corpo santo" de Iria (Padrón-España) y la terapéutica popular del mal de aire', in *Actas del I Coloquio Galaico-Minhoto* (Ponte de Lima, 1981), II, 249–70; Carro y Varela, 'Estudio anatomo-antropológico', p. 113, n. 91; Ariel Guiance, 'Santos y taumaturgia en la Castilla medieval (siglos XII–XIII)', *Temas medievales*, 5 (1995), 209–43.

70. *Ordoño de Celanova*, p. 216. Bartolomé Sagrario Molina, *Descripción del Reyno de Galizia*, facs. edn (Santiago de Compostela, 1949), fol. 10; Tamayo, *Anamnesis*, I, 308; Flórez, *España Sagrada*, XVII, 70; Duro, *El monasterio*, p. 29. Belief in the healing power of relics or other objects linked with the saints was a constant in medieval Europe; see André Vauchez, *La Saintité en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Age*, 2nd edn (Rome: Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1988), pp. 272–80. One of the oldest ceremonies involving saintly rings is that of the sacral English monarchy; Marc Bloch, *Les Rois thaumaturges* (Strasbourg: Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg, 1924); trans. in Spanish as *Los reyes taumaturgos* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1988), pp. 152–74.

71. For Navarrese and Castillan examples, see Francesca Español Bertrán, 'Santo Domingo de la Calzada: el cuerpo santo y los escenarios de su culto', *La cabecera de la catedral calceatense y el tardorrománico hispano. Actas del simposio en Santo Domingo de la Calzada, 29 al 31 de enero de 1998* (Logroño: Cabildo de la S.M.I. de Santo Domingo de la Calzada, 1999), pp. 207–82 (pp. 258–71); the articles by Sánchez Ameijeiras and Valdez del Álamo in this volume; Valdez del Álamo and del Álamo Martínez, 'Témoins de la foi. Le portique nord de Silos et le pèlerinage à Saint Dominique', *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 31 (2000), 17–35. In addition, see the tomb made for San Juan de Ortega, in 1464–74,

which represents the infirm seeking to be healed by his sepulchre; Yarza, 'El Santo después', p. 114. In Aragón, the Bishop San Ramón of Roda de Isábena enjoyed a similar cult, in which visitors to his tomb in the cathedral of Roda sought his intercession for cures; Francesca Español Bertrán, 'Le sépulcre de saint Ramon de Roda. Utilisation liturgique du corp saint', *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 29 (1998), 177–87. For examples in Italy such as San Mauro of Cesena, Filastro of Brescia, and Zeno of Verona, see Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques*, pp. 577, 679–88. For English examples such as Osmund in Salisbury, Swithun in Winchester, and Thomas Becket in Canterbury, see Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, pp. 92–121; Crook, *The Architectural Setting*, pp. 242–81; and Stephen Lamia's article in this volume. For Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages in the Iberian Peninsula, see Cristina Godoy Fernández, 'Poder i prestigi episcopal en relació amb el culte de les relíquies de les màrtirs', *Estudis universitaris Catalans*, 29 (1993), *Homenatge a Miguel Taradell*, pp. 879–99 (pp. 894–98). For an overview of ceremonies involving the tomb of a saint in France, Pierre-André Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale, XIe–XIIe siècle* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1985).

72. I would like to express my gratitude to Canon don Miguel Ángel González García, archivist of the cathedral of Orense and director of the cathedral and diocese museum, for making it possible for me to study the treasury of San Rosendo.

73. José Camón Aznar, 'Las piezas de cristal de roca y arte fatimí encontradas en España: lote del monasterio de Celanova', *Al-Andalus*, 4 (1936–39), 396–406; Manuel Casamar, 'Piezas de ajedrez', in *Exposición de arte, tecnología y literatura hispano-musulmanes* (Teruel: Diputación, 1988), 82–85; Eduardo Carrero Santamaría, 'Piezas de ajedrez del tesoro de San Rosendo', in *Encrucijadas. Las Edades del Hombre. Catedral de Astorga, mayo-octubre, 2000* (Astorga: Fundación Las Edades del Hombre, 2000), pp. 238–39. Besides the Celanova treasury, the memory of San Rosendo is linked with two chalices, their patens, and an alb distributed between two of the other places at which he had resided, Caaveiro and Compostela.

74. Morales, *Viage a los reynos*, pp. 154–55; E. Marquina, 'El album de la Comisión', *Boletín de la Comisión provincial de monumentos de Orense*, 1 (1898), 10–12; idem, 'Objectos de la antigua liturgia que se conservan en el monasterio de Celanova, *Boletin de la Comisión provincial de Monumentos de Oresne*, 72 and 74 (1910), 60–68 and 90–95.

75. Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo monumental de España*, I, 124; Quintana, *Peñalba*, pp. 114, 131. Eduardo Carrero Santamaría, 'Ajedrez de San Genadio', in *Encrucijadas*, pp. 237–38.

76. Francesc Fité i Llevot, 'El lot de peces d'escacs de cristall de roca del Museu Diocesà de Lleida, procedents del tresor de la col·legiata d'Àger (s. XI)', *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia*, 5–6 (1984–85), 281–312.

77. Manuel Casamar and Fernando Valdés, 'Arrotomas Irakes', in *Homenatge a mossèn Jesús Tarragona* (Lérida: La Paeria, 1996), pp. 67–88; Manuel Casamar and Fernando Valdés Fernández, 'Les objets égyptiens en cristal de roche dans Al-Andalus, éléments pour une reflexion archéologique', in *L'Egypte fatimide, son art et son histoire. Actes du colloque organisé à Paris les 28, 29 et 30 mai 1998* (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1998), pp. 307–82.

78. For the reception of Islamic art in Christian Spain, see Joaquín Yarza Luaces, 'Los inicios de la miniatura hispana altomedieval', *Arte medievale*, 10 (1997), 35–59; Isidro G. Bango, *El arte mozárabe* (Madrid: Cuadernos de Arte Español, 1991); Jerrilynn D. Dodds, 'Islam, Christianity, and the Problem of Religious Art', and Otto K. Werckmeister, 'Art of the Frontier: Mozarabic Monasticism', in *The Art of Medieval Spain a.d. 500–1200* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), pp. 26–37, 121–32.

79. Javier Rivera Blanco, *Las Edades del Hombre. El arte en la Iglesia de Castilla y León* (Valladolid: Diócesis de Castilla y León, 1988), 34–35, no. 3; Bernardo Velado Graña, *La catedral de Astorga y su museo* (Astorga: Museo de la Catedral de Astorga, 1991), p. 192; idem, 'Arqueta de San Genadio (reproducción)', in *Todos con Santiago. Catálogo de la exposición* (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1999), pp. 248–49.

80. Yepes, *Crónica General*, II, 386; Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo monumental de España. Provincia de Zamora* (Madrid, 1927), p. 158; Caldero, *La iglesia arciprestal*, pp. 46, 75–76; José Ángel Rivera de las Heras, 'Cruz-relicario de San Atilano' and 'Peine de San Atilano/estuche', in *San Ildefonso y San Atilano. V Centenario de la elevación de los Cuerpos Santos 1496–1996* (Zamora: Heraldo de Zamora, 1996), pp. 18–19.

81. Flórez, *España Sagrada*, XVI, 183; Etelvina Fernández González, 'Anillo del obispo San Ordoño', in *La séptima iglesia Las Edades del Hombre. Palacio de Gaudí 2000* (Astorga: Fundación las Edades del Hombre, 2000), pp. 48–49. The remains of the early medieval church of Santa Marta in Astorga have recently been discovered in a surprisingly revealing archaeological excavation. See M. A. Sevillano and Julio M. Vidal, 'Arqueología del entorno de la catedral de Astorga: La primitiva iglesia de Santa Marta como testimonio de la configuración de un área sacra', *La catedral de Astorga (Actas del Simposio)* (Astorga: Centro de Estudios Astorganos Marcelo Macías-Fundación Las Edades del Hombre, 2001), 25–47.

82. Duro, *El monasterio*, pp. 31–32.

83. Ángel Sicart Giménez, 'Un manuscrito medieval. La vida y los milagros de San Rosendo', *Boletín Avriense*, 7 (1977), 5–19; Yarza, 'El Santo después, pp. 111–12. See fig. 8 in the article by Rocío Sánchez in this volume.

84. Etelvina Fernández González and Manuel Valdés Fernández, 'Recientes hallazgos artísticos en la catedral leonesa', in *León medieval. Doce estudios* (León: Colegio Universitario, 1978), pp. 233–45; José María Villanueva Lázaro, *La ciudad de León. El gótico* (León: Lancia, 1986), p. 35; María Victoria Herráez, Concepción Cosmen, and Manuel Valdés, 'La catedral de León en la transición de los siglos XII a XIII. El edificio tardorrománico', *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte (U.A.M.)*, 6 (1994), 7–21; Gerardo Boto Varela, *La memoria perdida. La catedral de León (917–1255)* (León: Diputación Provincial, 1995), pp. 85–100; Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras, 'Una empresa olvidada del primer gótico hispano: la fachada de la Sala Capitular de la Catedral de León', *Archivo Español de arte*, 276 (1996), 389–406; Eduardo Carrero Santamaría, 'Las construcciones de los cabildos catedralicios en los Antiguos Reinos de León y Galicia durante la Edad Media', 3 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1998), I, 265–68, II, 139–43.

85. Canal, 'San Froilán Obispo de León', p.131.

86. One exception may have been Pedro de Mendozo, who was a monk of San Pelayo de Antealtares, a community in charge of the apostolic cult in Compostela, and who eventually became its bishop. In this case, there was considerable overlap between the role of the Bishop and the Abbot of Antealtares, who acted as high priest of the *locus*

sanctus. For the *magna congregatio* that governed religious life in Compostela, see Fernando López Alsina, *La ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la Alta Edad Media* (Santiago de Compostela: Concello de Santiago de Compostela, 1988), 252–54; idem, 'De la *magna congregatio* al cabildo de Santiago: reformas del clero catedralicio (830–1110)', in *IX Centenário da Dedicaçâo da Sé de Braga. Congresso Internacional. Actas,* I, *O Bispo D. Pedro e o Ambiente Político- Religioso do Século XI* (Braga: Universidade Católica Portuguesa-Cabildo Metropolitano e Primacial de Braga, 1990), pp. 735–62; José Suárez Otero, 'Los orígenes de un monasterio', in *San Paio...*, pp. 29–36; and Concepción Burgo López, 'La Edad Media', in *San Paio...*, pp. 37–40.

87. Amancio Isla Frez, *La sociedad gallega en la Alta Edad Media (siglos IX–XII)* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1989), pp. 93, 215–16.

88. A.C.L., MS 8, fol. 271v; see Louis Brou, 'Le joyau des antiphonaires latines: Le manuscrit 8 des archives de la Cathédrale de León', *Archivos Leoneses*, 15–16 (1954), 7–141 (pp. 73–74); Otto K. Werckmeister, 'Das bild zur liste der bistümer spaniens im *Codex Aemilianensis*', *Madrider Mitteilungen*, 9 (1968), 399–423 (pp. 400–01); Joaquín Yarza Luaces, 'Las miniaturas del Antifonario de León', *Boletín del Seminario de estudios de Arte y Arqueología*, (1976), 181–205 (pp. 187–90); Linehan, 'León, ciudad regia, y sus obispos', p. 418; Fernando Galván Freile, 'La representación de la unción regia en el Antifonario de la Catedral de León', *Archivos Leoneses,* 97–98 (1995), 135–46.

89. Eduardo Carrero Santamaría, 'Las construcciones', I, 68–80; idem, '*Ecce quam bonum et quam iocundum habitare fratres in unum.* Vidas reglar y secular en las catedrales hispanas llegado el siglo XII', *Anuario de Estudios medievales,* 30.2 (2000), in press. These are, in effect, very close to the episcopal ideals of Bede for the Anglo-Saxon church; see Simon J. Coates, 'The Bishop as Pastor and Solitary: Bede and the Spiritual Authority of the Monk-Bishop', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* 4 (1996), 601–19.

90. For example: Eladio, Juan, Eugenio I and Eugenio II of Toledo, or Nonnito of Gerona. See Carmen Codoñer Merino, *El 'De viris illvstribvs' de Ildefonso de Toledo. Estudio y edición crítica* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1972), 125–31, 133–35.

91. García M. Colombás, *La tradición benedictina. Ensayo histórico,* I: *Las raíces* (Zamora: Monte Carmelo, 1989), 397.

92. Linehan, 'León, ciudad regia, y sus obispos', p. 438.

93. Demetrio Mansilla Reoyo, 'Obispados exentos de la Iglesia española', *Hispania Sacra,* 32 (1980), 287–321; idem, *Geografía eclesiástica de España. Estudio histórico-geográfico de las diócesis,* 2 vols (Rome: Iglesia Nacional Española, 1994), II, 261–90.

94. Serafín Moralejo Álvarez, 'El patronazgo artístico del arzobispo Gelmírez (1100–1140): su reflejo en la obra e imagen de Santiago', in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Pistoria e il Camino di Santiago. Una dimensione europea nella Toscana medievale, Pistoia, settembre 1984* (Naples, 1987), pp. 245–72; Joaquín Yarza Luaces, 'El obispo Pelayo de Oviedo y el "Liber Testamentorum"', *Actum Luce. Rivista di Studi Lucchesi,* 1–2 (1989), 61–81.

95. For France, see Brigitte Beaujard, 'Cités, évêques et martyrs en Gaule à la fin de l'époque romaine', in *Les fonctions des Saints dans le monde Occidental (IIIe–XIIIe siècle). Actes du colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome avec le concours de l'Université de Rome 'La Sapienza', Rome, 27–29 octobre, 1988* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1991), pp. 175–91. The case of Reims is paradigmatic. There the relationship of bishopric and monastery was modelled on the generation of saintly bishops and monks whose 'parallel lives' marked the power of the episcopate over that of monasticism, always overpowered; M. Sot, 'La fonction du couple saint évêque / saint moine dans la mémoire de l'Église de Reims au Xe siècle', ibid., pp. 225–40.

The Saint's Capital, Talisman in the Cloister

ELIZABETH VALDEZ DEL ÁLAMO

> *He who follows the letter takes figurative expressions as if they were literal and does not refer the things signified to anything else.*
>
> Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine.*[1]

From the south transept of the monastic church of Santo Domingo de Silos, a stairway descends to the cloister through a double-arched opening (fig. 1). Straight ahead in the luminous north gallery is the first burial place of the monastery's sainted abbot, Domingo. The line of sight includes a large relief that represents, simultaneously, the burial and resurrection of Christ (colour pl. 7). Very succinctly, the designer of the cloister has informed the visitor of a fundamental tenet of faith: like Christ, the human dead too will arise. My discussion will focus on how the decoration of the north gallery, produced *c.* 1100, was orchestrated to honour the presence of the dead therein.[2]

The cult of Domingo is the formative factor for the monastery of Silos. The reforming abbot was sent there by Fernando I of Castilla as part of a programme to strengthen regal and episcopal authority through a renovation of monastic communities.[3] By the time of his death in 1073, Domingo had restored, rebuilt, and refurnished the church and monastic structures of Silos.[4] Domingo self-consciously prepared for sainthood as he revitalized the destitute monastery of San Sebastian. His visionary dedication to the Church was rewarded with canonization in 1076, an event marked by the translation of his remains from his original burial in the cloister to a shrine within the church of San Sebastian; the monastery thenceforth was called Santo Domingo de Silos.[5] Despite the fact that his relics were translated into the church, his original grave site in the north gallery was still charged by his presence. Dust from the grave, in fact, was a source for healing miracles.[6]

The decoration of the north gallery reflects its sanctity. The funereal function of the gallery space is evoked by the Deposition and Entombment-Resurrection reliefs on the northeast pier and by the confirmation of Christ's Resurrection in two of his Appearances, on the northwest (fig. 1). The end of time is suggested by the Elders of the Apocalypse on the third capital (no. 18) from the northwest corner. A cenotaph, now composed of three twelfth-century lions supporting a fourteenth-century effigy of Domingo, stands over the anthropomorphic tomb that is carved into the living rock.[7] When the doors to the medieval church were extant, they would have subdivided the mural surface in a manner similar to that of the twentieth-century chapel that now stands behind the tomb; the effect is to frame the sacred space. The burial is marked yet again with the large capital (no. 23) at the original centre of the cloister arcade; on the concave abacus the saint's epitaph was incised (figs 2–6).[8] While these elements may not be viewed simultaneously, they resonate in the visitor's mind while there. Each operates to modulate the experience of the cloister for the viewer.

It is the combination of grave and cenotaph capital that identifies the specifically funerary nature of the north gallery. Bearer of meaning

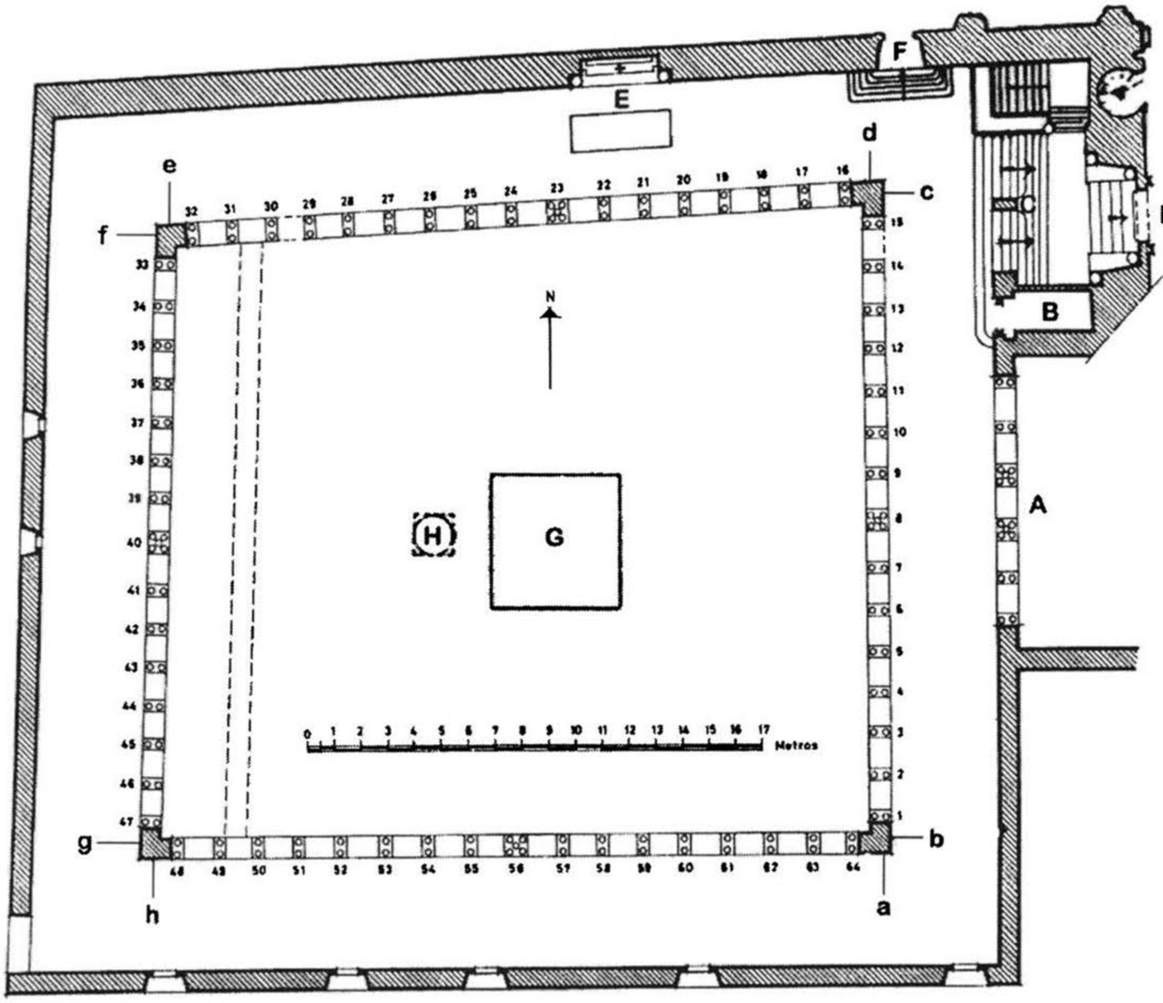
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Fig. 1. Plan of the Romanesque cloister of Silos (after Pérez de Urbel; changes by C. & E. V. del Álamo with the assistance of Julie Yu-Lin Gau)

PARTIAL LEGEND

C	Staircase to the Romanesque south transept
E	Original burial and cenotaph of Santo Domingo, with modern altar in wall
F	Door to medieval church (not extant)
G	Muñoz-Finojosa monument (not extant)

Pier Reliefs

a	Ascension, south side of southeast pier
b	Pentecost, east side of southeast pier
c	Entombment-Resurrection of Christ, east side of northeast pier
d	Deposition from the Cross, north side of northeast pier
e	Journey to Emmaus, north side of northwest pier
f	The Doubting of Thomas, west side of northwest pier

East Gallery Capitals

1	Basketweave interlace
2	Birds (storks or flamingos?)
3	Birds (storks or flamingos?)
4	Lions and birds
5	Birds (storks or flamingos?)
6	Lions entangled in foliage
7	Lion-headed birds
8	Winged dragons and offspring (centre)
9	Birds (pelicans or vultures)
10	Warriors mounted on gazelles
11	Birds (storks or flamingos?)
12	Foliate interlace
13	Lions entangled in foliage
14	Bird-Sirens, birds, lions
15	Birds (storks or flamingos?)

North Gallery Capitals

16	Foliate interlace
17	Eagles and lions in three registers
18	Elders of the Apocalypse
19	Acanthus and pinecones
20	Bird-Sirens
21	Acanthus
22	Birds (storks or flamingos?)
23	Bird-Sirens, lions, eagles (original centre)
24	Acanthus and pinecones
25	Acanthus
26	Birds (storks or flamingos? One restored)
27	Acanthus and apples
28	Restored
29	Acanthus and pinecones
30	Monsters (not originally in north gallery)
31	Superposed lions (not originally in north gallery)
32	Superposed birds (eagles and storks or flamingos)

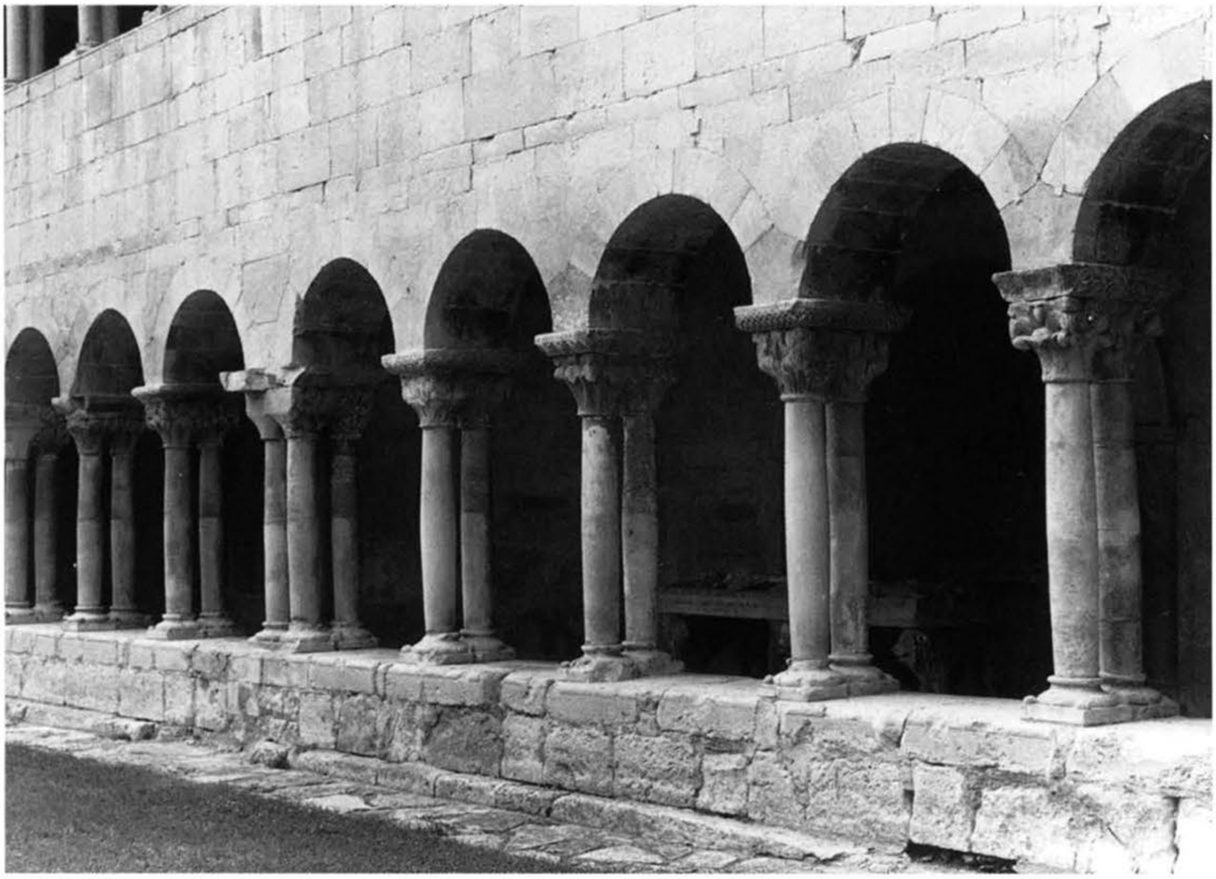

Fig. 2. View of north gallery and saint's cenotaph, *c.* 1100 (photo: C. & E. V. del Álamo)

by means of its inscription, the saint's capital merits closer analysis than it has heretofore been granted.[9] Long part of the argument about the date of the early Silos sculptures, the capital has always been valued for its inscription and the resulting implications for the chronology of the cloister. A short review of the role this object has played in scholarly opinion on Silos will set the stage for a closer examination of the capital's imagery and its role in commemorating the saint.

According to his biographer, the abbot was buried in the cloister in front of the doors of the church, where his body remained for several years.[10] This is the passage of the *Vita* that has caused so much difficulty in determining the history of the cloister that now stands. Arthur Kingsley Porter took this to mean that 'the northern gallery of the cloister was among the monastic buildings reconstructed by Santo Domingo'.[11] What appeared to support the notion that the saint built the north gallery is his epitaph, part of which is carved onto the capital now numbered 23.[12] As Porter put it, 'Santo Domingo died in 1073, and was buried in the cloister, the construction of which he had begun. In 1076 the body was moved, but the epitaph on a capital of the cloister still remained, and still remains'.[13] Bertaux was equally affirmative: 'It is the epitaph of the saint whose body rested at the foot of the column. [...] This inscription has all the characteristics of the Christian epigraphy of Spain at the end of the 11th century. The [epitaph] was composed and engraved on the cloister column less than 3 years after the death of the abbot.[...] The two capitals above which are engraved the epitaph of Saint Dominic were probably carved during the lifetime of the saint; they and the inscription are prior to, without a doubt, the year 1076'.[14]

Those who supported the inscribed epitaph as contemporary with the saint's cloister burial argued that the verb *tegitur* in the epitaph is in the present, not the past tense, indicating that it was carved while Domingo was buried in the cloister, between 1073 and 1076. The inscription, a shortened version of the saint's original epitaph, reads, from left to right:

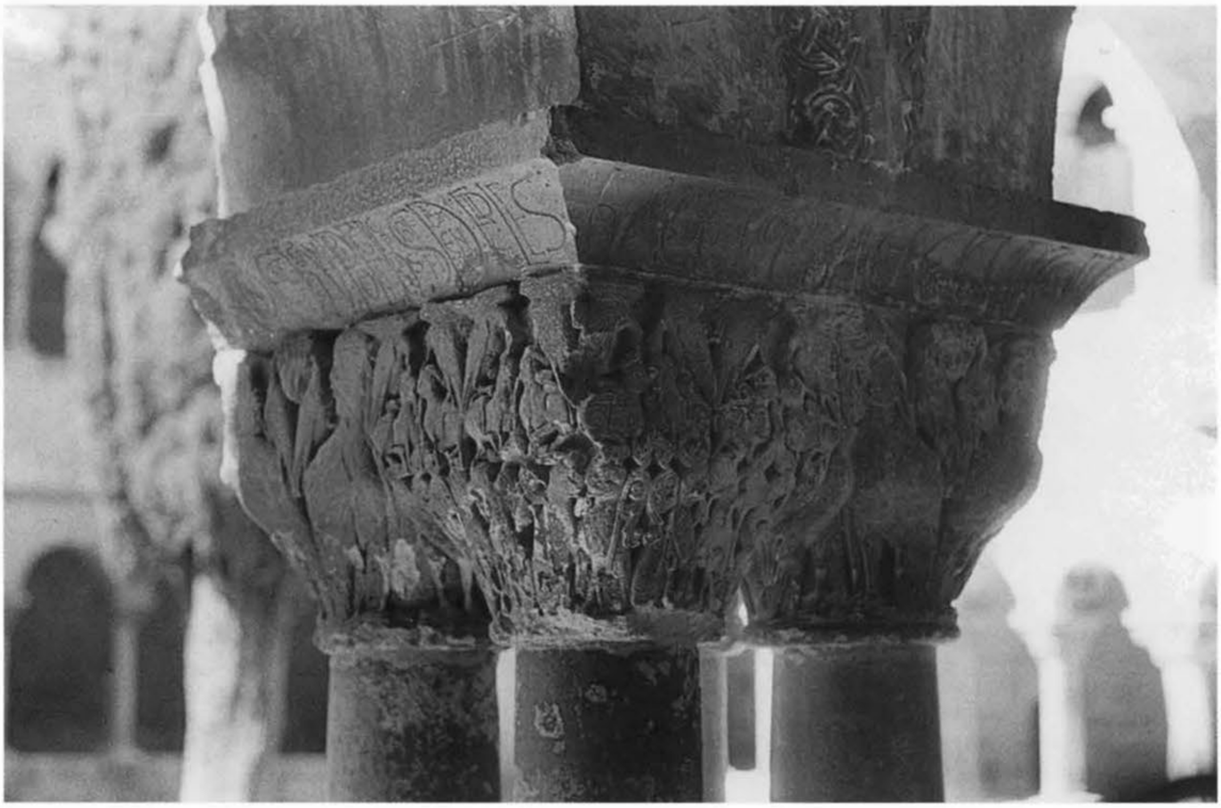

Fig. 3. Capital 23, northeast corner, *c.* 1100 (photo: C. & E. V. del Álamo)

> [...] XRS: CONCESIT: HONESTUM: PROTEGAT: HIC: PLEBES: SIBI FIDA MENTE: FIDELES / HAC: TUMBA: TEGITUR: DIV / A: QUI: LUCE: BEATUR::DICTUS: DOMINICUS: NOMINE: CONSP [...] /.[15]

It is likely that those who chose to place the inscription on the capital, whenever they did, were capable of adjusting the verb—had they wished to do so. But the position of the capital in relation to the original burial was not as close as Bertaux perceived it to be. The capital is at the original centre of the gallery, slightly diagonal from the saint's sarcophagus, not the one closest to the burial (figs. 1 and 2). Monumentally located within the gallery, the inscribed column functions as a cenotaph. Covered with serpent-tongued harpies and lions attacked by eagles, the pictorial language of the capital's sculptured ornament activates the words carved above, while, in turn, the words explicate the images.

Because of its inscription, the cenotaph is one of the few capitals in the cloister that has a directed reading. An environment in which most of the sculptured capitals are non-narrative, not inscribed, and, furthermore, symmetrical in design, the decoration of the Silos cloister does not, on the whole, motivate visitors to look at each capital from all sides. Even the now incomplete representation of the Elders of the Apocalypse in the north gallery probably approximated this regularity. When the cloister was completed later in the twelfth century, the artists of the second campaign broke the pattern for only two historiated capitals: the Infancy of Christ (no. 38) and the events initiating his Passion (no. 40). In effect, this is quite different from the cloister of Moissac, where so many capitals are narrative, labelled, and vary from one side to the other.[16] At Silos, the cenotaph capital captures one's attention because it is different—it is inscribed and the decoration is not symmetrical—and that distinction initiates the interaction between artwork and audience (fig. 3).

The prompt for action—reading the inscription—requires movement from one position to another, a kinesthetic experience for the reader that also identifies the column as a station at a saint's shrine.[17] In this case, the direction is suggested primarily by the order of the letters, rather than by the verses themselves, for—if read from left to right as quoted above—their

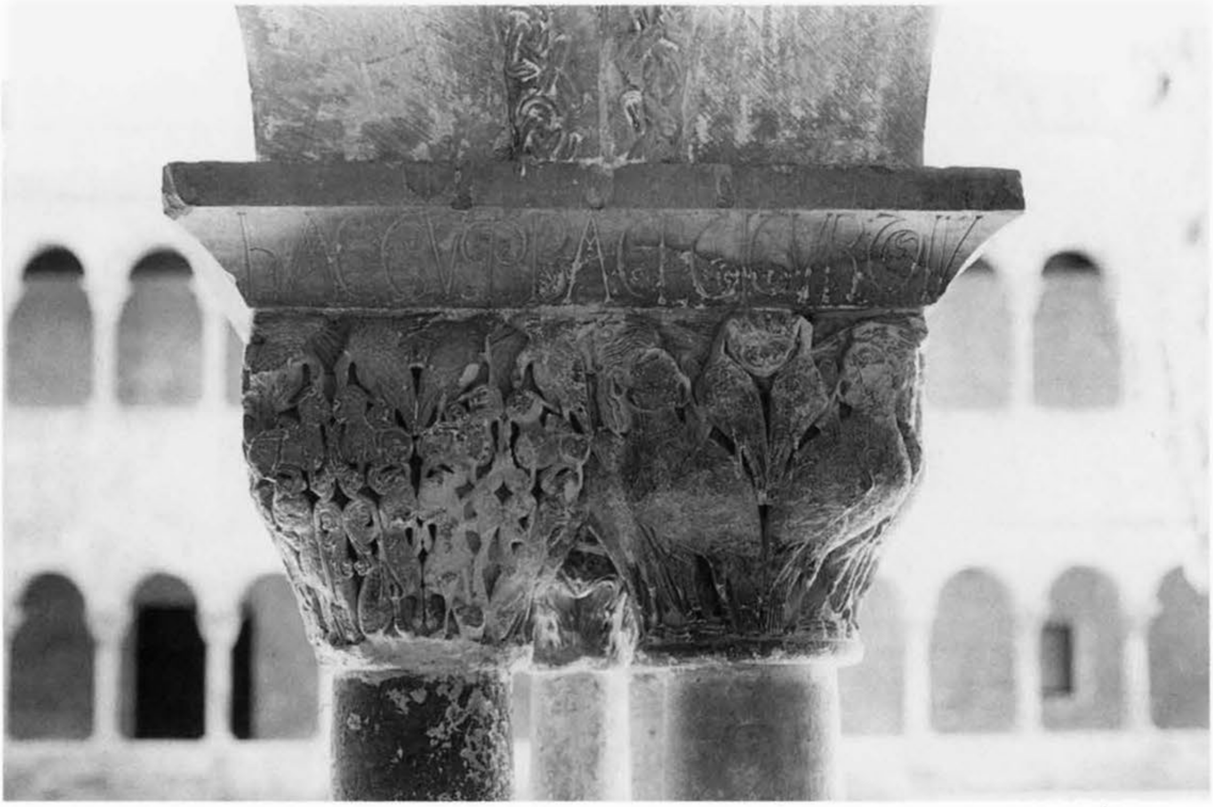

Fig. 4. Capital 23, gallery side, inscribed HAC TUMBA TEGITUR [...], *c.* 1100 (photo: C. & E. V. del Álamo)

arrangement varies from the epitaph as recorded at the end of Book I of Domingo's *Vita*.[18] Taking the scribal version as authoritative, the opening words of the epitaph commence on the gallery side, in large clear letters centred between the final line and the subsequent one (fig. 4). The effect of the composition is to identify this side as the most significant. Facing the grave in the gallery, the inscription begins: 'HAC:TUMBA:TEGITUR:DIV /' (In this tomb is buried), announces the abacus. By carving the terminal *a* of *diva* on the other side of the corner, the partial word, without its gendered ending, seems to suggest not only that the tomb is sacred, but also that its occupant has been deified.[19] If the original visual experience could be reconstructed, it should include the fact that in order to read this line the viewer would have his back to the saint's grave, although he would have seen the tomb while approaching the capital. Thus, he would have been looking instead toward the garth in the direction of the burial at its centre, the Muñoz-Finojosa monument.[20] The reader, nevertheless, would have understood by the use of *hac* (this) instead of *illa* (that), that the object of description was nearby. The inscription, therefore, acts as a sort of *titulus*, similar in function to the various inscriptions on the large-scale reliefs, identifying the sculpture and its ornament as having significance.[21]

Turning from left to right, the text continues: '/ A: QUI: LUCE: BEATUR: : DICTUS: DOMINICUS: NOMINE: CONSP / [...] (one who is blessed with divine light, named Dominicus, remarkable in fame [...]) (fig. 5). In identifying Domingo, *Dominicus*, and remarking on his reputation, the author has employed another subtle play on words, for the sequence also implies that the name *Dominicus* was notable or propitious for the saint, being equivalent to Sunday, the Lord's day, or that he belonged to the Lord.[22]

The next part of the epitaph is now incomplete, and the exterior face of the impost block is now broken. As recorded in the *Vita*, the missing phrase would have read: '/ IC[UUS:ORBI QUEM SPECULUM] /'.[23] At some point, a buttress was added to support the column from the ground up to the original roof level (fig. 2).[24] Such a buttress is suggested by the configuration of the original structural elements. The garth side of the capital, now exposed due to the removal of the support, was never carved,

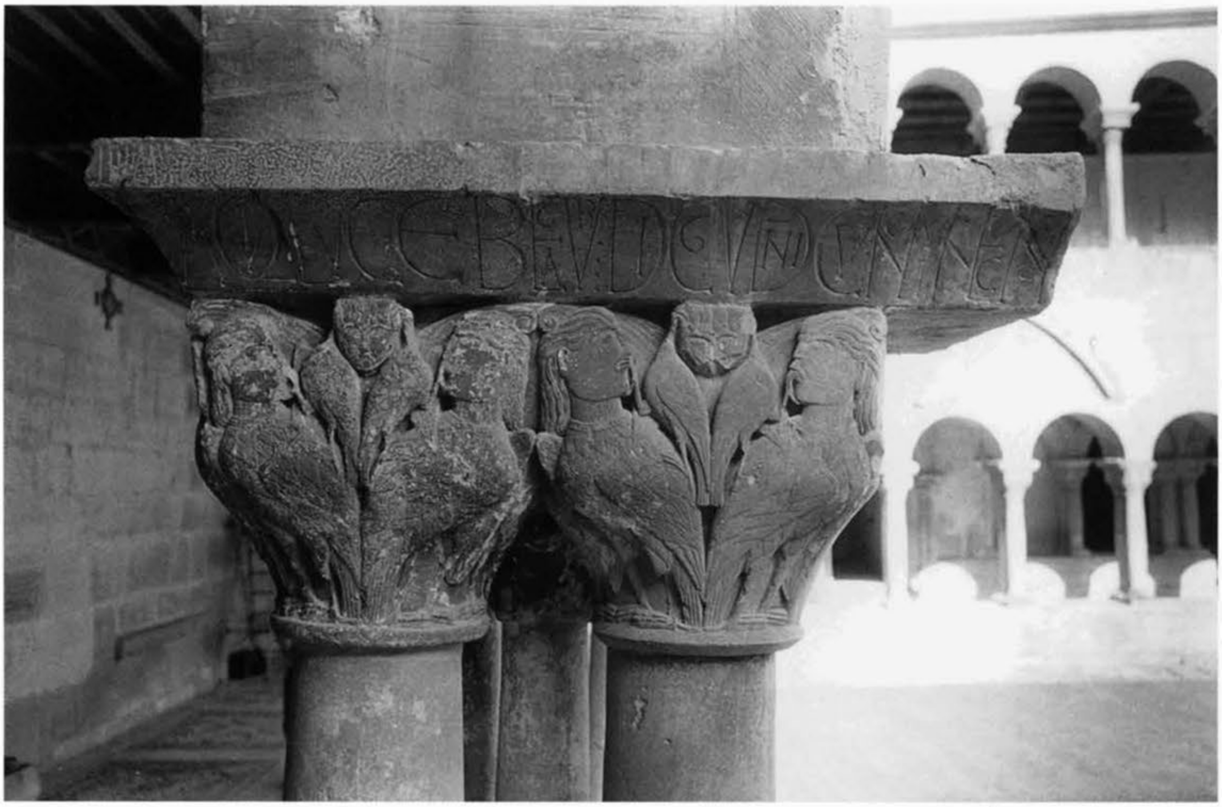

Fig. 5. Capital 23, west side, inscribed DIVA QUI LUCE [...], *c.* 1100 (photo: C. & E. V. del Álamo)

leaving one to wonder about the appearance of the abacus. Judging from its projection (fig. 6), it is probable that the words continued on the impost block, but not all the way around. Were the next line inscribed on the garth face, it would have been necessary to climb over the plinth to continue reading, hardly a dignified, if not awkward, perambulation.[25] Furthermore, unless there was an interpolation, the lines as carved are in the same sequence as in the manuscript. In fact, it is possible to comprehend and read all the extant inscription from the gallery, but from this position the sequence is not linear. Instead, the inscription runs from the centre, in the gallery, to the right, and then from the left back to the centre (figs 3–6). Continuing on the damaged east face, the epitaph ends with: '/ [...] XRS: CONCESIT: HONESTUM: PROTEGAT: HIC: PLEBES: SIBI FIDA MENTE: FIDELES' (whom to the world as a mirror of) / virtue Christ granted. May he protect the pious people who trust themselves to him'.[26]

In fact, the inscription is a *cento* comprised of an abbreviated and rearranged version of the original epitaph, recorded in the saint's *Vita*.[27] Memory, or familiarity with readings for the saint's feast day, could serve to fill in the missing lines. Most of the deleted text should follow *honestum* and continue the thought of that line: 'exhorting the good, rebuking the bad / While the beginning of winter brings the solstice to the world / He is removed from earth and united with the Lord'.[28] The penultimate line of the original epitaph became the last line of the abacus inscription, conveying the significant idea that the saint should protect his faithful. The final line of the poem goes on to say: 'And now protecting his own, may he then take them to the heavens'.[29]

In contrast to the space allotted to the letters on the other two surviving faces of the abacus, this final face is crowded, piling letters on top of and within each other, making the reading more difficult, almost a cipher. This crowding occurs as well in the carved capital below. The compound capital is formed of five parts: two double capitals with separate astragals and columns, and in the centre interior, a fifth astragal and column fill what would otherwise be a void. Each face is shaped as a square with a gradually diminishing, rounded neck. The capital is covered with repeat designs, patterns in which units of two figures or groups are placed with-

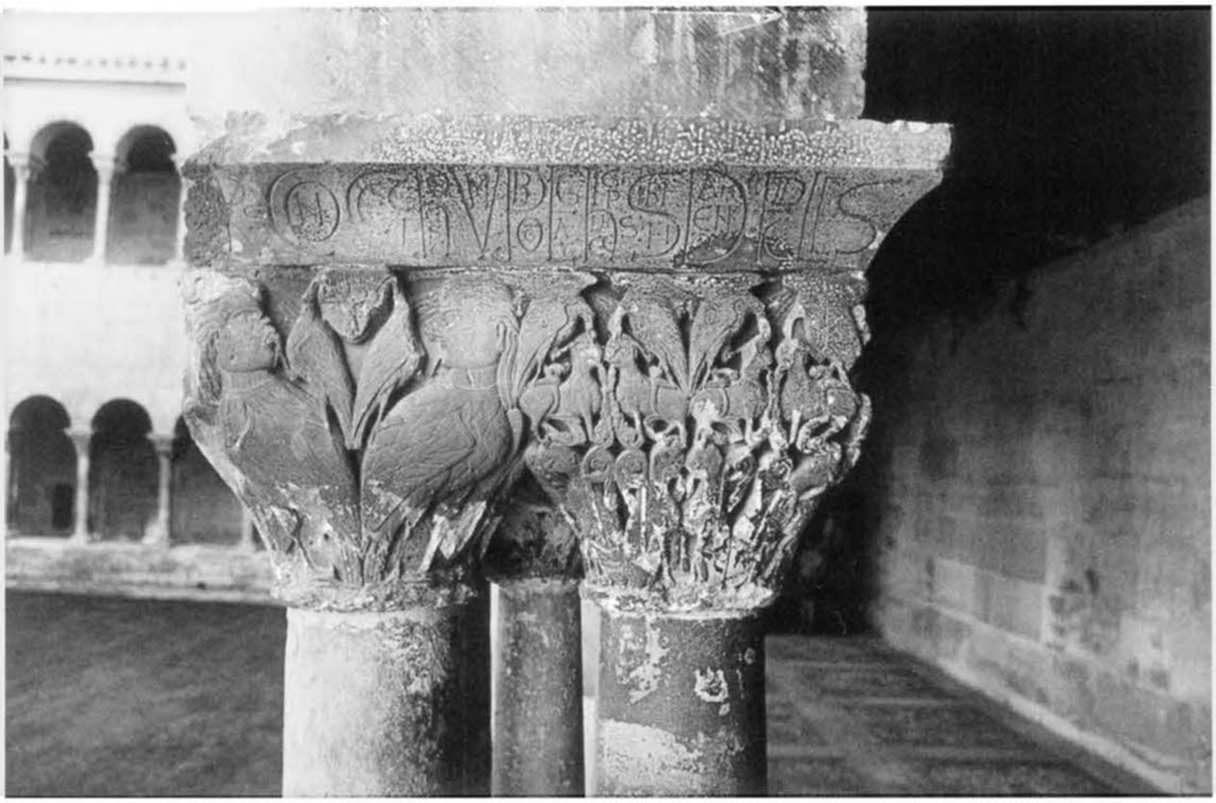

Fig. 6. Capital 23, east side, inscribed XRS CONCESIT [...], *c.* 1100 (photo: C. & E. V. del Álamo)

in the square (fig. 3); on most of the other capitals, these units are repeated consistently around. On this important capital, that pattern is disrupted, but by more than the intervening buttress that blocked off the garth face. Here, on four of the six available surfaces, pairs of large, addorsed harpies turn their heads back to glare at the birds perched on their backs in a parallel pose (fig. 4). The birds claw at the harpies' mouths while their own turned-back heads peck at the ears of a lion's head suspended between them. On the remaining two faces, beneath the end and the beginning of the epitaph, are small animals piled one upon another to create a different, densely packed, active pattern (figs 3–6). On the astragal, two seated confronted lions stick out their tongues, which take the form of foliage. Their tails emerge from between their thighs, also taking the form of vine tendrils, which unfold as leafy volutes over their backs. Perched on their heads are their cubs, whose tails and tongues likewise metamorphose into leaves and tendrils that wind around their bodies and descend to entwine with the parent vines. The cubs are being attacked by aquiline birds of prey. These raptors grasp the cubs' backs with one claw, their heads with the other, simultaneously biting the heads of their prey. For balance, they hold one wing down, and the other up, effectively providing a visual support for the abacus above.

Despite their differences, the subject matter of these two designs shares many features: aggressive biting and clawing by the birds, and by the lions. The lion cubs attacked by birds in one image become, by association, the dismembered heads suspended between the birds in the other. This 'discoordination' unifies the seemingly disparate capital ornament.[30] The densely packed patterned surface and the suddenly disrupted design compellingly draw attention to those two faces of the capital, and hence, to the words above, yet another cento: 'PROTEGAT: HIC: PLEBES: SIBI FIDA MENTE: FIDELES/ HAC TUMBA', the prayer that he who is in this tomb protect the faithful.

The words give the cenotaph a voice, placing it within the tradition of capitals as the 'heads' (*caput*) above the body of the column.[31] Isidore of Seville added to that: '*Epistolia* [*sic* for *epistylia*] are put above the capitals'.[32] If Isidore truly intended to use the term *Epistolia,* his description would find itself richly rendered in the case of this example, for an *epistolium* is a short letter or note, here, the inscribed verse.[33] Such a proposition falls within the realm of possibility, for his ideas about architecture were certainly available to Domingo's successors, the monks, builders, and sculptors of the Silos monastery: a luxury copy of Isidore's *Etymologies* had been produced during the abbacy of Domingo and was finished in 1072.[34] Thus, the community had at hand the statements by the Visigothic churchman about buildings, and might even have drawn directly upon them in planning the properties of their own construction. This prominent inscription was surely intended to be seen, read, and contemplated.[35]

Reading the epitaph is not easy, for it involves deciphering letters inserted one inside another, with smaller letters ordered from top to bottom. To one accustomed to Visigothic rubrics, the device is not surprising, for similar arrangements occur in many manuscripts.[36] The inscription mandates a kind of 'active' reading, in which the letters and their relationships must be studied in order to ascertain their meaning.[37] The words need to be sounded out, actively formed by the lips, as part of the process of separating one from another, then identifying the relationship of each word to the rest. In fact, that relationship is flexible: the reading sequence might vary depending on which side the process began; the verses would thus be rearranged by the movement of the reader, making him the author of his own *cento*. The inscribed lines, as we have seen, are already a *cento,* or variant, of the saint's original epitaph. In the case of this inscription, the epigrapher must have planned the position and spacing of the words, for the most important ones identifying the tomb, its occupant, and the name of Christ, are large, relatively clear, and readily deciphered. The individual who chooses to confront the full epigraph, however, is drawn into a more complex process, a contemplative reading to be rewarded by the accomplishment of identifying each letter and word, and of knowing which parts of the original epitaph appear, and which were not there. Such ambiguity and variation of form are vital elements in the engagement of the reader; for he who is successful in sorting out the information, the text is gradually revealed.[38] That struggle to comprehend, to puzzle out meaning, may be understood as a small-scale enactment of spiritual encounter with the biblical word and the reward of revelation. Not all are capable of engaging in this struggle. It has been my observation that many individuals find it easier simply to memorize the words of the epigraph in order to recite them *as if* reading.[39] This might also have been true of those who, in the past, had a limited capacity to read. Even such memorization provided spiritual nutrition for the individual by meditating upon, or learning, the words of the inscription and the invocation of the monastery's titular saint.

Since a correlation can be established between the 'discoordination' of the capital's design and the treatment of the letters inscribed on the abacus, is it possible to find any meaning in the harpies, lions, and birds on the capital that can be related to the text? A prayer for protection seems appropriate in the context of the violent images below. One need not be versed in mythology to find the scowling harpies harsh and the attacking birds ferocious. The energetic assault by the birds upon the lions and harpies might be categorized as ornament devoid of specific content by some.[40] Nevertheless, the affective impact of images of animal struggle, however standardized, is clear. Meyer Schapiro often spoke of a medieval fear of personal violence and a respect for aggressive force sublimated into such images.[41] From time immemorial, animal combat has been used in art to embody the powerful forces of destruction or the battle between good and evil.[42] In the case of this capital, the images are glossed by the inscription above them, and thus, are removed from the sphere of generic decoration.[43] Indeed, it is not the word alone that provides meaning, but the full cultural matrix.

The twentieth century, with the great iconographer Emile Mâle, only begrudgingly granted significance to animal imagery.[44] Choosing to see in them nothing ideologically significant, Mâle consolidated the modern view that 'in the twelfth century, art was often considered to be simple decoration; it was not always required to provide profound lessons, [...] our sculptors were not always concerned with teaching; most of the time they thought only to decorate'.[45] The problem of determining the meaning, if any, of flora and fauna used as ornament has also been the poverty with which many interpretations have been put forth.[46] Although manuscript studies, through the propinquity of text and image, have successfully cast off Mâle's notion, it has been more difficult for the idea that corbels and cloister capitals bear significance to gain acceptance. In part, this may be the residue of Schapiro's powerfully persuasive view that Romanesque sculptors were designing capitals and other 'marginal' elements in architectural sculpture according to the whims of personal fantasy, untrammelled by doctrinal issues.[47] This view is no longer accepted universally.[48] Michael Camille originally separated the Romanesque capital from manuscripts into a 'dynamic world of "non-meaning"' but later discussed ways in which fantastic sculptural images in a cloister might be read—recognizing that medieval artists are bound by the culture they shared with contemporary monks.[49]

The fundamental problem is that these architectural elements have been classified as 'marginal', I believe mistakenly. This may be due, in part, to their seemingly inauspicious dimension and physical placement atop columns—discretely contrasting with the more prominently displayed, monumental sculptured images that begin to appear on pier reliefs and tympana at this time. Furthermore, a cloister is more the physical centre of a monastery than its margin.[50] An additional problem is that those who would see meaning in animal imagery were often summarily dismissed.[51] Oleg Grabar, who provided an important correction for the understanding of ornament, nevertheless describes the ornament of the capitals at Silos and Moissac as 'one of the many exciting absurdities of Romanesque art'.[52] In evaluating iconophoric mixed with ornamental capitals he says, '*All* of them, regardless of subject, are more important for what they do to the three-dimensional space of the cloister, to the ways in which behaviour is to be regulated in that space, than for any specific topic depicted of them'.[53] While Grabar's view is well reasoned, one can take yet further an understanding of cloister ornament by appreciating the ways in which foliage, animals, and mythological beasts could, and did, function on a cognitive, allegorical, and behavioural level. Neither artist nor viewer was free of his culture, oral or written, both of which shared a common mythic structure. Animal stories were a means for people to define themselves in the Middle Ages.[54] That this instrument to represent human subjectivity could equally well be employed by sculptors follows, for the fauna of folklore is found in both text and three-dimensional image. The saint's capital at Silos is just such a case in point.

One difficulty in undertaking an interpretation of any intended symbolism for the creatures on this capital is that many of them are polyvalent in meaning. Images by their very nature are instruments of cognition, with many frames of reference.[55] Heraldic in format, the animals on the cloister capitals may be read, as Klingender pointed out, 'with the ideas which animals suggest to men'.[56] The lions, for example, might be a visible embodiment of strength, of Christ, or the saints; birds, of the soul; eagles, of resurrection. On the other hand, lions may also represent forces of evil; and rapacious birds, evil souls. The harpies, or bird-sirens, may be the only unambiguous figures represented.[57] Because of their avian bodies, they retain association with souls, but their monstrous composition categorizes them as bestial. Sirens, part woman and part bird, lured sailors into shipwreck with their song; once the victims are charmed, the sirens tear them to bits.[58] Jerome introduced sirens into his Vulgate Bible in Isaiah 13. 22, a description of the destruction of Babylon, to be left uninhabited except for owls that 'answer one another there, in the houses thereof, and sirens in the temples of pleasure'.[59]

On the capital, the sirens are being silenced by the birds perched on their backs; with one claw, the birds push the sirens' chins up and clamp their mouths shut. The anger felt by the frustrated temptresses is evident from their glaring eyes and the tension in their necks.[60] The birds, therefore, can be read as agents of protection, vigorously performing the function sought from the saint in the inscription above ('may he protect the faithful'). It is, in fact, in some of the lines missing from the abacus that the correspondence between the epitaph and image is reinforced. In those lines the saint is described as *corripiendo malos*, which may be understood as 'rebuke', as I translated it above in relation to 'exhort', but literally *corripere* means 'to seize' or 'attack', and that is what the birds are doing.[61]

This being the case, the disembodied lion heads triumphantly held by the birds manifest their protective function as well. By extension, the imagery on the neighbouring face of the capital also embodies the prayer for protection. There, the aquiline birds begin their attack on the lions' heads. While combat between predatory birds and beasts was an ubiquitous decorative subject, in the context of this capital the struggle can be read as an attack upon malevolence, perhaps in collaboration with the saint's spirit invoked by the epitaph.[62] In the final battle of the Apocalypse, an angel calls upon the birds to consume the wicked slain by God (19. 17–18, 21). An essential illustration in manuscripts of Beatus's commentary on the Apocalypse, the image was probably well known to the Silos community, who read the Apocalypse during Lent, and who had their own *Beatus* in progress at the time this capital was being carved.[63]

It cannot be mere coincidence that the creatures represented on this commemorative capital are all associated in one way or another with the imagery of death, salvation, and resurrection. The bird represented is of the Accipiter family, which includes hawks, eagles, and falcons. Birds and hawks, specifically, were often held to manifest the human soul.[64] In biblical and medieval literature, Accipiters share the characteristic of ferocity and courage, but are also loyal, since some could be domesticated.[65] As such, hawks and eagles were obedient to God's will, thus, his instrument, as described above and in Job 39. 26–27. Eagles, vehicles of apotheosis, were capable of resurrection because they could renew themselves by flying up to the heavens, then descend once again.[66] On the capital, regeneration is suggested by the larger, parent lions whose tails intertwine with their cubs above—perhaps reference to the belief that lions breathed life into their young.[67] Their roar may be suggested by the vine scrolls spewing forth from their mouths.[68] As with the siren's song, the lion's vociferation articulates forces of destruction. In a claustral context, the siren-song and lion-roar contrast with the sacred chant of monastic prayer.[69] Bird-sirens, part of the decorative vocabulary of pagan tombs and funerary objects, were applied as architectural decoration almost ubiquitously.[70] That, however, does not necessarily void the image of meaning for the viewer anymore than does frequent encounter with a modern trademark, even when transformed into decoration.[71] At Silos, what grants specific significance to the images on the capital are the words inscribed above the animals, a prayer to the saint for protection. Daniel described the results of his own prayer to escape from the lions' den thus: 'My God hath sent his angel, and hath shut up the mouths of the lions, and they have not hurt me' (6. 22). A parallel to the sculpted harpies whose mouths have been shut by the birds can be extrapolated by a knowledgeable viewer; such comparison, however, is not required to grasp the sense of the image. The beholder who searched for meaning in these figures, therefore, could find it—just as he could decipher the inscription. Coupled with the epitaph inscribed on the capital, these animals form an integral part of the prospective, funerary environment of the cloister. They not only embody the words of the prayer for protection, they also express anticipation for the afterlife, as does the complete text of the epitaph.

Why does the figuration of this capital take a symbolic form rather than a direct representation of the saint and his healing powers? By the time Domingo was translated into the church, his *Vita* was replete with narratives that could have been figured on the capital. At Moissac, as discussed by Leah Rutchick in this volume, the patron saints Peter and Paul, martyr apostles, were celebrated in both large reliefs and capitals in the cloister. In addition, there were historiated capitals with scenes from the lives of other saints revered in the region, a tradition maintained and developed yet further at Saint-Pons-de-Thomières by mid-century.[72] Barbara Abou-El-Haj proposes that elaborate representations of saints' lives during this period may be identified with competition between cultic centres or affirmation of the possession of a saint's relics, when disputed.[73] Unlike Moissac and Saint-Pons, Silos was secure in its possession of the patron saint's principal relics and, thereby, of his presence and power. At Silos, the large reliefs on the cloister piers bear fully narrative, biblical, images, while the majority of the capitals are heraldic in design, alive with the flora and fauna of mythology, biblical and pagan. One can only suppose that, although the Castilian monastery had incorporated the new monumental sculpture into its claustral decor with the pier reliefs, Silensan taste was still governed by a system of aniconic rather than historiated capitals, consonant with earlier sculptural traditions.

The cenotaph capital provides a key to unlocking the significance of 'ornament' in the cloister environment. Indeed, the concepts of decor as propriety and ornament as grace are to be found in Domingo's *Vita*. His biographer describes the decently ordered restoration of the monastic compound, and alludes to the saint's virtues as ornament.[74] The saint's capital brings together the various fauna depicted on the other capitals of the original north gallery (nos 16–29, 32); harpies, lions, and birds appear separately or together in capitals irregularly interspersed with foliate capitals.[75] This distribution has all of the appearance of being deliberate, since in the east gallery a greater variety of creatures appear: along with hawks, harpies, and lions, there are also ibexes, flamingos, storks, dragons, and human warriors. It has been argued even recently that 'ornamental' capitals are devoid of specific meaning, but the weight of the evidence being gathered in contemporary scholarship grants significance to architectural sculpture, whether or not historiated.[76] The saint's capital in the cloister of Silos is just such a case. Gerardo Boto concluded, independently, that the animal imagery evokes a funerary environment in the Silos cloister.[77] I believe, however, that the images are weighted with more than passing allusion; in the north gallery the ornament is funerary.

In addition to the saint, other distinguished members of the monastic community were buried in the cloister. The Silos cloister was a space privileged not only by its proximity to the church, but now also by proximity to a saint's grave.[78] The long-established practice of burial *ad sanctos* facilitated the salvation of the deceased, garnering the intercessionary power of the saint nearby.[79] Among those deceased in the north gallery is Fortunius, Domingo's successor, who may well have masterminded what we know as the first cloister campaign. While it is not surprising to find abbots among the eleventh- and twelfth-century burials in the cloister, there was an additional burial, highly unusual for the time. An elaborate chapel for a family was at the cloister's original centre: Don Muño Sánchez de Finojosa, who died *c.* 1080, his wife María Palacín, their sons, and a twelfth-century descendant.[80] As first suggested by Constancio del Álamo Martínez, this family, who were afforded the privilege of burial *ad sanctos* inside the Silos cloister, may have achieved this distinction by financing its construction.[81] Factors beyond donations could have made it possible for them to receive burial in the cloister. One of Don Muño's sons, Domingo Muñoz, was a monk of Silos; the other, Fernando Muñoz was a Major Domo of Alfonso VI between 1096 and 1101, and his signature may be found on several of Alfonso's donations to the abbey and documents executed at other locales.[82]

Some eighty additional burials were also discovered in the cloister garth.[83] Joaquín Yarza, Karl Werckmeister, and others have assumed that these are burials of the monastic community, and certainly that practice is well documented.[84] One can only wonder whether benefactors other than the Finojosas may also have earned the right to be buried in the cloister garth as well.[85] At Cluny, there was a graveyard within the monastery for laypeople among whom numbered relatives of the monks.[86] At Saint-Martin-de Canigou, the founders of the monastery are buried near the front entrance to the church, within what must have served as an unusually positioned cloister. Finally, the converted Jew who founded the church of San Vicente in Ávila was buried within, an exceptional privilege afforded by his compassion for the martyred saint and his sisters.[87]

The position of the saint's capital at the original centre of the gallery and not at the closest possible location near his grave plays an important role in identifying its significance in relation to the funereal function of the cloister. In life, Domingo promoted the spiritual and material success of his monastery, and, as demonstrated by the prayer, he continued to do so in death. According to his *Vita,* Domingo foresaw the provision of his relics to his monastery and the concomitant prosperity they would produce. When he accompanied local churchmen to Ávila to carry relics of Saint Vincent and his sisters to the neighbouring monastery of Arlanza, Domingo's community complained to him at the time that he had not requested relics as had some other delegates.[88] His reply was that in time Silos would have its own relics and would be as great as Arlanza, burial place of its founder Fernán González, first Count of Castilla, father of Domingo's patron, Fernando I. Domingo was clearly aware of the power of relics and the attraction of burial *ad sanctos,* and assured his monastery's success with his own sainthood. In that spirit, the cluster of columns bearing the epitaph represents the saint as a pillar of the church, a support for the cloister.[89]

The central piers at Moissac perform a similar function in a more obvious manner. Two significant differences in the application of this concept exist between Silos and Moissac, however. At Moissac, there are no burials in the cloister itself, and the deceased abbot is presented as one of the apostles, to be imitated by the monastic community.[90] At Silos, the remembered abbot was canonized, and a Visigothic concept of patron saint prevails: Domingo is invoked for protection in the verse visible on a daily basis.[91] His epitaph and miracles during the first decades of his cult concerned the well-being of his faithful, based on their observance of Church norms.[92] The epitaph, the location, and the decoration make it a talisman, an image carved onto a sympathetic stone in order to avert evil.

It is the monumental location of the apotropeic capital, the centre of the gallery, that incorporates the monastery's saint into the Christological scheme of salvation. This is accomplished by its placement between the eastern and western corners where the reliefs represent Christ's death, resurrection, and appearances. In its architectural context as supporting member, the capital invokes the saintly Abbot Domingo, articulating the relationship of the community to him. In the north gallery, the only human figures represented on a capital are the Elders of the Apocalypse, who sing the praises of the Lord during the Last Judgment. Indeed, as Karl Werckmeister suggested commemoration of the dead must have had a special place at Silos, evidenced by the combination of the Elders capital and the numerous burials in the cloister.[93] The eschatological Elders are complemented by the birds, lions, sirens, and paradisal foliage on the other capitals there.

The burials, combined with the sculptured decoration of the cloister, create an environment that is at once funerary and prospective. The passerby was afforded opportunities for contact with the sacred, an aid towards his own hoped-for resurrection. For the deceased, sharing the sacred soil of the grave could provide that contact, as their bodies merged back with the earth from which they came. For pilgrims and for the monastic community, contact with the sacred consisted of touching or caretaking the elements that made Domingo present: his relics, his altar, his grave site.

NOTES

1. Trans. by D. W. Robertson (New York, 1958), p. 34, cited by Susan M. Kim, 'Man-Eating Monsters and Ants as Big as Dogs: The Alienated Language of the Cotton Vitellius A. XV "Wonders of the East"', in *Animals and the Symbolic in Medieval Art and Literature*, ed. by L. A. J. R. Houwen, Mediaevalia Groningana, 20 (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1997), pp. 39–51 (p. 44).

2. The material on which this essay draws was written in 1996–97 while I was on sabbatical leave from Montclair State University; it is part of a larger work on the cloister of Silos tentatively titled *Palace of the Mind*. Field work in Europe in 1997 was made possible by a summer stipend from the National Endowment for the Humanities and a research grant shared with Constancio del Álamo Martínez from the Program for Cultural Cooperation Between Spain's Ministry of Culture and the United States' Universities. The final writing was done with the assistance of released time through the Faculty Scholarship Incentive Program of Montclair State. For their perceptive reading of earlier versions of this article, I thank Susan Boynton, Tom Dale, Stephen Lamia, O. K. Werckmeister, and, as always, Constancio del Álamo Martínez and my parents.

3. *Vita*, I, VI, 49–82, in Vitalino Valcárcel, *La 'Vita Dominici Siliensis' de Grimaldo* (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1982), pp. 230–31; Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 180–88; Charles Julian Bishko, 'Fernando I and the Origins of the Leonese-Castilian Alliance with Cluny', in *Studies in Medieval Spanish Frontier History* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1980), pp. 26–27; Luciano Serrano, *El obispado de Burgos y Castilla primitiva desde el siglo V al XIII*, 3 vols (Madrid: Instituto de Valencia de D. Juan, 1935), I, 236, 240, 248–49. This is a subject I plan to discuss at greater length in my projected book on Silos.

4. 'Quam decenter autem monasterium sibi commissum pene omni re necessaria destitutum spoliatumque restauraverit, quam eleganter ecclesiam et omnia monasterii habitacula [...] reedificaverit et pristino melioratoque decori retituerit [...] vel quia manifeste habetur pre oculis [...]'. *Vita*, I, XX, 57–67; Valcárcel, *Vita Dominici*, p. 298.

5. The basis for assuming that the translation took place in 1076 is a donation by Alfonso VI on 20 August, calling the monastery Santo Domingo de Silos; Marius Férotin, *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Silos* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1897), pp. 23–24; Marius Férotin, *L'Histoire de l'abbaye de Silos* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1897), p. 63.

6. *Vita*, III, XXV, 14–18; Valcárcel, *Vita Dominici*, pp. 498–99. For the pilgrimage to Silos, see Derek W. Lomax, 'Aspectos de la vida castellana en la época de Alfonso VI reflejados en la "Vita Dominici Silensis"', in *Estudios sobre Alfonso VI y la Reconquista de Toledo*, Actas del II Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozárabes, 20–26 mayo 1985 (Toledo: Instituto de Estudios Visigótico-Mozárabes, 1988), pp. 291–304; Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo and Constancio del Álamo Martínez, 'Témoins de la foi. Le portique nord de Silos et le pèlerinage à Saint Dominique', Acts of the Journées Romanes de Cuixa, July 8–12, 1999, trans. by Catherine Gros, *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 31 (2000), 17–35. For the imbibing of dust from saints' graves, see the articles by Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras, Stephen Lamia, and Eduardo Carrero Santamaría in this volume.

7. Tombs carved into living rock may be found in much of southern France and northern Spain, reflecting early medieval burial practice. There is no record of how the grave of Santo Domingo was marked in the twelfth century. The lions on which the effigy rests, however, appear very close to the work of the sculptors of the second cloister campaign. Justo Pérez de Urbel, *El Claustro de Silos*, 3rd edn (Burgos: Institución Fernán González, 1975), p. 185.

8. Alterations in the garth in 1971 led to the discovery of the original western limit of the cloister, establishing what had long been suspected: that the compound column was the original centre of the gallery; Rafael Torres Carot and Joaquín Yarza Luaces, 'Hallazgos románicos en el claustro de Santo Domingo de Silos', *Boletín del Seminario de Arte y Arqueología, Universidad de Valladolid*, 37 (1971), 187–97 (pp. 191–93); Constancio del Álamo Martínez, *El claustro románico de Silos* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1983), pp. 10–13, 17.

9. I draw upon the felicitous phrase of John Onians, *Bearers of Meaning: The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

10. '[...] Tumulatum est [...] intra claustrum fratrum ante portas ecclesie, ubi per quedam annorum curricula quievit'. *Vita*, I, XXIII, 106–09; Valcárcel, *Vita Dominici*, p. 308. Reference to the plan of the medieval church and its descriptions (see below) support the interpretation of the word *claustrum* as the architectural unit, 'cloister'. For discussion of the term *claustrum* in medieval monastic texts, see Paul Meyvaert, 'The Medieval Monastic Claustrum', *Gesta*, 12 (1973), 53–60. For burial customs in the Iberian Peninsula, see the article by Eduardo Carrero in this volume and Isidro Gonzalo Bango Torviso, 'El espacio para enterramientos privilegiados en la arquitectura medieval española', *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid*, 4 (1992), 93–132; idem, 'Atrio y pórtico en el románico español: Concepto y finalidad cívico-litúrgica', *Boletín del Seminario de Arte y Arqueología, Universidad de Valladolid*, 40–41 (1975), 175–88.

11. Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, 2 vols (Florence, 1928; repr. New York: Hacker, 1969), I, 75. While he remains the best-known partisan of this view, it was not Porter who formulated it; most of his predecessors and a long line of monastic historians were seduced by the close correlation between the *Vita*'s words and the site. For differing readings of this history, see Joaquín Yarza Luaces, 'Elementos formales del primer taller de Silos', in *Studia Silensia Series Maior I* (Santo Domingo de Silos: Abadía de Silos, 1990), pp. 105–47; John Williams, 'El románico en España: nuevas perspectivas', in *Alfonso VIII y su época*, II Curso de Cultura Medieval, 1–6 octubre 1990 (Aguilar de Campóo: Centro de Estudios del Románico, 1990), pp. 9–20; Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo, 'Ortodoxia y heterodoxia en el estudio de la escultura románica española: estado de la cuestión', *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte. Universidad Autónoma de Madrid*, 9–10 (1997–98), 9–33 (p. 17).

12. The most astute comments on the epitaph are still those of Meyer Schapiro, 'From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos', in *Collected Papers*, I: *Romanesque Art* (New York: Braziller, 1976), pp. 59–60 (originally published in *The Art Bulletin*, 13 (1939), 113–74). For catalogues of inscriptions in the cloister, see Vicente García Lobo, 'La epigrafía del

claustro de Silos', in *Studia Silensia Series Maior I*, pp. 85–104 (p. 97); Calvin B. Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 278–79, cat. no. 157, and p. 351, n. 211. A complete discussion of the style and date of the inscription is beyond the scope of this paper, but forms part of my projected book.

13. Arthur Kingsley Porter, 'Pilgrimage Sculpture', *Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America*, 2nd ser., 26.1 (1922), 1–53 (p. 10).

14. Émile Bertaux, 'La sculpture chrétienne en Espagne des origines au XIVe siècle: la sculpture romane', in *Histoire de l'art*, ed. by André Michel (Paris: Armand Colin, 1906), II, pt. 1, pp. 30–32.

15. The verses are not usually quoted in the sequence inscribed in stone, as above, but in the sequence established by the text as recorded at the end of Book I of the saint's *vita*; Silos, Archivo Monástico, MS 12, fol. 89 (86). See Valcárcel, *Vita Dominici*, pp. 314–15, and discussion following below. The thirteenth-century manuscript reads thus: 'Epitaphivm Sepulchri eivusdem: Hac tumba tegitur diua qui luce beatur, / dictus Dominicus, nomine conspicuus, / orbi quem speculum Christus concessit honestum, / exortando bonos, corripiendo malos. / Solsticium mundo dum dat brumalis origo, / subtrahitur mundo, iugitur et Domino. / Protegat hic plebes, sibi fida mente fidelis. / Nuncque tuendo suos post trahat ad superos'.

16. For comparative material, see the articles by Leah Rutchick and Leslie Bussis Tait in this volume.

17. For directedness as a choice, see Meyer Schapiro, 'On Some Problems in the Semiotics of Visual Art: Field and Vehicle in Image-Signs', in *Sign. Language. Culture* (The Hague: Mouton, 1970), pp. 487–502 (originally published in *Semiotica,* 1.3 (1969), 493–94); subsequent references are to the reprinted article. For kinesthesia as a means of apprehending experience, see Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo and Carol Pendergast, 'Introduction', in *Memory and the Medieval Tomb* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 1–15; Walter J. Ong, *The Presence of the Word: Some Prolegomena for Cultural and Religious History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967; repr. Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1986), pp. 168–73. For the column as site marker or *omphalos*, see Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints,* trans. by V. M. Crawford (1907; repr. South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 1961), pp. 25–36, on line at *The Internet Medieval Sourcebook,* ed. by Paul Halsall (<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/sbook3>); Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion,* trans. by Rosemary Sheed, originally published as *Traité d'histoire des religions* (New York and Scarborough, Ontario: New American Library and Meridian, 1958), pp. 231–34; and the article by Rocío Sánchez in this volume. According to Eliade, 'stones always draw their religious significance from the presence of God transfiguring them, from extra-human powers (the souls of the dead) embodied in them', p. 233. For further information on kinesthesia in connection with saints' burial sites, see the articles by Eduardo Carrero Santamaría, Stephen Lamia, Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras, and Daniel Rico Camps in this volume.

18. See above, note 15.

19. *Divus, -a,* as an adjective means *divine* or *deified*, 'often as epithet of dead or deified emperors'. Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951).

20. See below for further discussion of this monument.

21. As Calvin Kendall put forth, medieval inscriptions mediate between the sculpted imagery and its intended audience; Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p. 6.

22. Raimundo de Miguel, *Diccionario Etimológico Latino-Español* (Madrid: Saenz de Hubera Hermanos, 1929), s.v. 'Dominicus'.

23. The bracketed words were formerly visible. Férotin had a nineteenth-century facsimile of the epitaph in which the word *speculum* could be read; he also cites the seventeenth-century descriptions by Gaspar Ruíz de Montiano, 1615, *Historia de esta casa y sus filiaciones, y vida de N.P. Sancto Domingo de Silos,* Santo Domingo de Silos, Archivo monástico, MS 21; Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 295.

24. In photographs prior to 1927, there are buttresses at the centre of the north and east galleries; Constancio del Álamo Martínez, *Silos, cien años de historia (1880–1980)* (Silos: Familia Silense, O.S.B., 1983), p. 114. According to P. Román Sáiz, they were removed on 19 May 1927. In 1971, the foundations of these buttresses were visible during excavations in the garth; Álamo Martínez, *El claustro románico de Silos*, pp. 42, 46.

25. As Kathryn Horste pointed out, readings of capitals as linear narrative would not have been possible when, as at La Daurade in Toulouse, the scene is carved in sequence on all four sides of a capital; Kathryn Horste, 'The Passion Series from La Daurade and Problems of Narrative Composition in the Cloister Capital', *Gesta*, 21.1 (1982), 31–62 (pp. 53–54). For the reason cited above, it is not possible for a viewer to rotate around a capital *in situ*.

26. Evidence of the missing elements may be found not only in the pre-nineteenth-century descriptions cited above in note 23, but also in the version of the epitaph copied onto the fourteenth-century effigy of the saint. Inscribed in two lines, it reads: 'ORBI: QUE[M]: SPECULUM: XRI: CONCESSIT: HONESTUM: PROTEGAT: HIC: PLEBES: SIBI: FIDA: MENTE: FIDELES / HAC:TUMBA:TEGITUR:DIVA: QUI: LUCE: BEATUR: :DICTUS: DOMINICUS: NOMINE: CONSPICUUS:' This sequence most likely corresponds to the way the capital's inscription read when complete, from left to right. That it commanded sufficient authority to be recarved thus in the fourteenth century would suggest that this alternate reading satisfied its commemorative purpose.

27. A *cento* is a literary work composed of parts from other works. Rhyme and metre, as well as traditional format for epitaphs, identify the sequence of the verses in the manuscript as the proper version, most likely written by the author of Book I of the *Vita*, 591–96; Valcárcel, *Vita Dominici*, pp. 314–15. The predominant metrical form for epitaphs was the elegiac couplet, which the longer version follows consistently. The abacus version, however, is asymmetrical, composed of one elegiac couplet and two hexameters. In addition, the lines missing from the abacus constitute the less essential information, the date of the saint's death (at the winter solstice, 20 December, see below), and duplicating the prayer for protection. Valcárcel distinguishes between the two versions of the epitaph: the four-line version known from the abacus, and the longer eight-line version known from the manuscripts of the *Vita*—in his opinion the original version carved onto the saint's tomb. In photographs, Valcárcel, *Vita Dominici*, p. 647, rearranges the fourteenth-century epitaph to correspond to the manuscript sequence. This does not, however, correspond to the reality of the epigraph.

28. '[...] exortando bonos, corripiendo malos / Solsticium mundo dum dat brumalis origo / subtrahitur mundo, iungitur et Domino'.

29'Nuncque tuendo suos post trahat ad superos'.

30. 'Discoordination' as defined by Meyer Schapiro is: '[...] a grouping or division such that corresponding sets of elements include parts, relations or properties which negate that correspondence. [...] Such arrangements are not 'errors' of taste or artistic judgement [...] [but are] a negation of the usual order, [... a] conscious method of design, with its virtuosity in variation and intricate juggling of symmetrical schemes'. Schapiro, 'The Sculptures of Souillac', in *Selected Papers*, I: *Romanesque Art* (1939; repr. New York: Braziller, 1977), pp. 104, 106, 109. For lateral asymmetry, see idem, 'On Some Problems in the Semiotics', p. 495.

31. Onians, *Bearers of Meaning*, pp. 74–81; Willibald Sauerländer, 'Die gestörte Ordnung oder le chapiteau historié', in *Studien zur Geschichte der Europäischen Skulptur im 12/13 Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt: Heinrich, 1994), I, 431–56; see Isidore of Seville, below.

32. *Etymologies*, XV, 8, 15, and XIX, 10, 24. My references are to *Etimologías*, in *Biblioteca de autores Cristianos*, 2 vols, trans. by José Oroz Reta and Manuel-A. Marcos Casquero, bilingual edn (Madrid: La Editorial Católica, 1982), which uses the Latin text prepared by Wallace M. Lindsay published in Scriptorium Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis, 1911. Lindsay transcribed the word as *Epistolia*; however, Arévalo, whose version was published in the *Patrologia Latina*, renders the word as *epistylia*, the word used by Vitruvius. See *Etimologías*, I, 230–31, II, 246, n. 57. The sentence as translated above is from Onians, *Bearers of Meaning*, pp. 74–75.

33. Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. 'epistolium'. Isidore's image of lettered columns was developed further by Hrabanus Maurus, who crystallized Christian concepts of architectural symbolism. He wrote: 'The columns [...] with the help of the text [...] show the entry of the kingdom of heaven [...] the tops of the columns are the minds of the teachers of the faithful'. Onians, *Bearers of Meaning*, p. 75.

34. Miguel C. Vivancos Gómez, *Glosas y notas marginales de los manuscritos visigóticos del monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos*, Studia Silensia, 19 (Santo Domingo de Silos: Abadía de Silos, 1996), pp. 213–22; Ann Boylan, 'Manuscript Illumination at Santo Domingo de Silos (Xth to XIIth centuries)' (unpublished doctoral. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1990), pp. 32–40, 272–78; François Avril, and others, *Manuscrits enluminés de la Péninsule Ibérique* (Paris: Biliothèque Nationale, 1983), no. 25, pp. 17–20; Léopold Delisle, *Mélanges de paléographie et de bibliographie* (Paris: Champion, Libraire, 1880), pp. 103–07. The passages in question occur in the Silos manuscript, now in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, n.a.lat. 2169, fols 297r, 366r where the term *epistola* is used.

35. Perhaps the inscription encouraged the sort of intellectual rather than physical relationship with the saint put forth by Gregory the Great and discussed by Peter Brown in his essay in this volume.

36. Sometimes the epigraphers were the scribes of a given site; see summary of epigraphic practice by Vicente García Lobo, 'La epigrafía del claustro de Silos', in *Studia Silensia Series Maior I*, pp. 85–104 (p. 86).

37. Jean Leclercq, *Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. by Catharine Misrahi, 3rd edn (New York: Fordham University Press, 1982), pp. 72–73; Michael Camille, 'Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy', *Art History*, 8 (1985), 26–49 (p. 29, 33); idem, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), pp. 62–65; Ong, *The Presence of the Word*, pp. 45–46, 53, 58, 181, 186.

38. F. H. Bäuml, 'Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy', *Speculum*, 55 (1980), 237–65 (pp. 247–48); Leclercq, *Love of Learning*, p. 73; J. J. G. Alexander, *The Decorated Letter* (New York: Braziller, 1978), pp. 7–8; Camille, 'Seeing and Reading'. For kaleidoscopic structuring of letters, and for parallels between manuscript initials and other media, see Otto Pächt, *Book Illumination in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Kay Davenport (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 51–54, 63–64; for the concept of legibility as subservient to the visual expression of the content of words, see pp. 65, 68.

39. I am speaking of those who now serve as guides in the cloister, mostly lay individuals, who cannot truly decipher the inscription every time they conduct a tour. It is with great pride that the guides and members of the modern community demonstrate that they can read these words. This is not unlike the behaviour described by Bäuml, 'Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy', pp. 242–45.

40. For a review of attitudes to animal and monstrous imagery, see Camille, *Image on the Edge*, pp. 68–69; Conrad Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life: Reading, Art, and Polemics in the Cîteaux Moralia in Job* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 10–12.

41. Schapiro, 'Souillac', p. 123. Professor Schapiro was fond of repeating to his classes Stendhal's comment that in the Middle Ages all a man wanted was food, a leather jacket, and not to be killed. See below for discussion of Schapiro's argument that much of this type of ornament was 'secular' rather than 'theological' in its origin, and for additional discussion of harpies. Pérez de Urbel, *Claustro*, p. 82, also recognizes the projection of fear of violence onto the capitals' imagery. For a survey of hostility as an element in daily life, see Ong, *The Presence of the Word*, pp. 195–99. One example of this mentality is in Psalm 7. 2–3, which expresses a wish for protection from attack, visualized as a lion: 'Save me from all them that persecute me, [...] / Lest at any time he seize upon my soul like a lion, while there is no one to redeem me, nor to save'. For recent thinking on Souillac in tune with ideas presented here, see Carol Knicely, 'Food for Thought in the Souillac Pillar: Devouring Beasts, Pain and Subversion of Heroic Codes of Violence', *Revue de l'art canadienne, Canadian Art Review* 24.2 (1997 [2000]), 14–37.

42. Émile Mâle, *Religious Art in France. The Twelfth Century: A Study of the Origins of Medieval Iconography*, trans.by Marthiel Mathews (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 358–59; Richard Bernheimer, *Romanische Tierplastik und die Ursprünge ihrer Motive* (Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann Ag., 1931), pp. 117–19; Francis Klingender, *Animals in Art and Thought to the End of the Middle Ages*, ed. by Evelyn Antal and John Harthan (Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1971), pp. 36, 47, 266, 302–04, and *passim*; for animals as allegorical language, see Jan M. Ziolkowski, 'Literary Genre and Animal Symbolism', in *Animals and the Symbolic in Medieval Art and Literature*, pp. 1–23; and in the same volume, Kim, 'Man-Eating Monsters', pp. 42–43.

43. Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life*, p. 23, perhaps overstated the distinctiveness of the miniatures of the Citeaux *Moralia in Job*, since the contextual manipulation he identi-

fied in that example exists as well in many other cases. See Ziolkowski, 'Literary Genre and Animal Symbolism', p. 17: 'The trick for the interpretor of the symbol becomes to determine the code through which the symbol is to be deciphered'.

44. Mâle traced the sort of sculptured animal subjects under discussion here to imported textiles and ultimately to ancient Near Eastern art. Finding it 'strange, almost frightening, to encounter in our Romanesque churches this Eastern image created so many thousands of years ago', he is 'stirred by the symbols, so strange and so ancient [...]' but despite his response—or perhaps because he could not admit such pagan myths to Christianity—he maintained that 'the monsters have no symbolic meaning [...] they are poetic marvels, the vessels of dreams transmitted [...] from the East'. Mâle, *Religious Art: The Twelfth Century*, pp. 363, 347, 350.

45. Ibid., pp. 339–41.

46. An example is Ramiro de Pinedo, *El simbolismo en la escultura española* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1930).

47. Schapiro, 'From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos', pp. 51, 65; idem, 'On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art', in *Selected Papers*, I: *Romanesque Art*, pp. 6–7 (originally published in 1947). For recent discussions that separate 'sacred' from 'secular' imagery in architectural sculpture, see Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, *Marginal Sculpture in Medieval France: Towards the Deciphering of an Enigmatic Pictorial Language* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1995); eadem, 'The Margins of Society in Marginal Romanesque Sculpture', *Gesta*, 31.1 (1992), 15–24.

48. O. K. Werckmeister, 'Jugglers in a Monastery', in *Meyer Schapiro*, ed. by David Craven, special issue of *Oxford Art Journal* 17.1 (1994), 60–64; Michael Camille, '"How New York Stole the Idea of Romanesque Art": Medieval, Modern, and Postmodern in Meyer Schapiro', in the same volume, pp. 64–75 (pp. 70–74).

49. Camille, 'How New York Stole the Idea of Romanesque Art', p. 73; idem, *Image on the Edge*, pp. 62–65; idem, 'Seeing and Reading', pp. 36–37.

50. Jacques Bousquet, 'Problémes d'origine des cloîtres romans: Histoire et stylistique de l'époque carolingienne à Aurillac, Conques et Moissac', *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 7 (1976), 7–33, plus illustrations (pp. 8, 11–12, 16–18 and *passim*); Walter Horn, 'On the Origins of the Medieval Cloister', *Gesta*, 12 (1973), 13–52 (pp. 46–48); Paul Meyvaert, 'The Medieval Monastic Claustrum', *Gesta*, 12 (1973), 53–59 (pp. 53–54).

51. A fully developed argument in favour of this point of view is, unfortunately, beyond the scope of this article; a valuable compendium of recent scholarship is *Animals and the Symbolic in Medieval Art and Literature*, ed. by Houwen. For example, Steve Baker has challenged the label, 'insufficiently sophisticated' often applied to those who identify with animals, by describing such rejection as a 'literary equivalent of the empowered white male gaze'. Steve Baker, *Picturing the Beast: Animals, Identity and Representation* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press and St. Martin's Press, 1993), p. 124; cited by Lesley Kordecki, 'Losing the Monster and Recovering the Non-Human in Fable(d) Subjectivity', in *Animals and the Symbolic*, pp. 25–37 (p. 26).

52. Oleg Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament*, Bollingen Series, 38 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 207.

53. Ibid., p. 208. In Grabar's opinion, 'Vegetal or natural decoration is found everywhere. It may have meanings, but the charge of these meanings varies a great deal and is often quite low' (p. 210).

54. Kordecki, 'Losing the Monster', pp. 26–29.

55. Mircea Eliade, *Images and Symbols: Studies in Religious Symbolism*, trans. by Philip Mairet (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 15 (originally published as *Images et symboles* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1952)). Augustine was aware of the complexity and often contradictory nature of animal symbolism; see Ziolkowski, 'Literary Genre and Animal Symbolism', pp. 11–12. The literature on this topic is vast, thus I give only a few examples here in addition to other studies cited elsewhere in this article. For birds and lions, see Klingender, *Animals in Art and Thought*, pp. 80, 211, 215–16; M.-M. Davy, *Initiation à la Symbolique Romane* (Paris: Flammarion, 1977), p. 222; *Bestiare roman*, Les points cardinaux, 25 (La-Pierre-qui-vire: Zodiaque, 1977), pp. 87–100; Pinedo, *El simbolismo en la escultura española*, pp. 38, 140; Esperanza Aragonés Estella, *La imagen del mal en el románico navarro* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1996), pp. 114–15, 118–19; and Richard Bernheimer, *Romanische Tierplastik*.

56. Klingender, *Animals in Art and Thought*, p. 302.

57. Harpies and sirens are monsters with human heads, usually female, and the bodies of birds; because of this similarity, there is considerable overlap in their representation; *New Larousse Encyclopedia of Mythology*, trans. by Richard Aldington and Delano Ames, 2nd edn (London: Paul Hamlyn, 1968), pp.146–48; Isabel Mateo Gómez and Ana Quiñones Costa, 'Arpía o Sirena: Una interrogante en la iconografía románica', *Fragmentos*, 10 (1987), 38–47. Harpies are aggressive and filthy creatures associated with disruption and storms, whereas sirens are the seductive songstresses described above. Sirens may also be represented with fish tails due to their association with water, or with venomous serpent tails. In Hispanic folklore, bird-sirens merge with lamias, creatures with female heads and serpent bodies that tear children apart; *Etymologies*, XI, 3, 30–31; compare with XII, 4, 29; *Etimologías*, II, 52–53, 86–87. See Joaquín Yarza Luaces, 'Los seres fantásticos en la miniatura castellano-leonesa de los siglos XI y XII', *Goya*, 103 (1971), 7–16 (reprinted in *Formas artísticas de lo imaginario*, ed. by Joaquín Yarza Luaces (Barcelona: Editorial Anthropos, 1987), pp. 156–81 (pp. 163–64)); María Isabel Rodríguez López, 'Las sirenas: génesis y evolución de su iconografía medieval', *Revista de arqueología*, 19.211 (1998), 42–51. For the purposes of this article, in which the only type of siren is the bird-siren, I have elected to use the terms harpy and siren interchangeably.

58. This description combines elements from Isidore of Seville, see above, and the *Physiologus*, as in *The Bestiary: A Book of Beasts Being a Translation from a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth Century*, trans. by T. H. White (New York: Capricorn Books, 1960), pp. 134–35. See below for further discussion of the literary sources.

59. Translation from the Douay-Rheims version; in the Vulgate: 'et respondebunt ibi ululae in aedibus ejus, et sirenes in delubris voluptatis'.

60. This motif is repeated on capital no. 14 in the east gallery. The sirens being prevented from singing their seductive song can bring to mind some of Saint Benedict's precepts. 'On the spirit of silence', he cites the Prophet: 'I will guard my ways, that I may not sin with my tongue. I have set a guard to my mouth'. [...] 'Death and life are in the power of the tongue'. The Rule of Saint Benedict 6, 1–5,

in *San Benito: Su vida y su regla*, ed. by García M. Colombas, León M. Sansegundo, and Odilon M. Cunill, Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 115 (Madrid: La Editorial Católica, 1954), pp. 366–67; *The Rule of St. Benedict: Translated into English*, trans. by W. K. Lowther Clarke, Manuals of the Inner Life: A Pax Book (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, [1931]), p. 20. In addition, in Chapter 7, 12, 'On humility': 'Let him keep himself at every moment from sins and vices, whether of the mind, the tongue, [...] and check also the desires of the flesh'. *San Benito*, pp. 374–75; *The Rule of St. Benedict*, p. 22.

61. Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. 'corripio'. In an analysis of a later example of bird imagery, the point is made that birds were frequently viewed as 'rapacious flesh-eater[s]'; Priscilla Bawcutt, '"Nature Red in Tooth and Claw": Bird and Beast Imagery in William Dunbar', in *Animals and the Symbolic*, pp. 93–105: (p. 100). That this was understood in the early Middle Ages is apparent from the images of predatory birds from the ancient Animal Style of the Scythians through to the biting birds of Insular manuscripts such as the Book of Kells.

62. Animals are frequently the agents of saints. Klingender, *Animals in Art and Thought*, cites examples of deer aiding Saint Patrick in Ireland and Clovis in his attack on the heretical Visigoths, but such animal agents are not limited to deer; p. 119. See also Ziolkowski, 'Literary Genre and Animal Symbolism', p. 3.

63. O. K. Werckmeister, 'The First Romanesque Beatus Manuscripts and the Liturgy of Death', in *Actas, Simposio para el estudio de los códices del 'Comentario al Apocalipsis' de Beato de Liébana*, 1 (Madrid: Joyas Bibliográficas, 1980), pp. 167–92 (pp. 168, 172, 189–91); Meyer Schapiro, 'From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos', pp. 28–29 and p. 100, n. 215.

64. Klingender, *Animals in Art and Thought*, p. 231, fig. 140, illustrates Christ in Judgement with the souls of martyrs as birds, from Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS 8, fol. 191. For hawks as exemplifying the character of the elect, see Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life*, pp. 90, 124, n. 29. In the exegesis of the Koran, the hawk could represent the human soul; Manuel Casamar and Juan Zozaya, 'Apuntes sobre la uba funeraria de la Colegiata de Oña', *Boletín de Arqueología Medieval*, 5 (1991), 39–60 (p. 55).

65. *Etymologies*, XII, 7, 1; *Etimologías*, II, 104–05; White, *Bestiary*, s.v. 'Accipiter', pp. 138–39. Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life*, p. 124, n. 29, mentions that in the Moralia in Job the hawk refers to the renewed and virtuous people of the Gentiles (Moralia 31. 12, 93).

66. White, *Bestiary*, p. 105.

67. *Etymologiarum*, XII, 2, 5; *Etimologías*, II, 68–69.

68. 'Be sober and watch: because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, goeth about seeking whom he may devour' (1 Peter 5. 8). Pérez de Urbel, *Claustro*, p. 90; Aragonés Estella, *La imagen del mal*, pp. 88–89; Camille, *Image on the Edge*, pp. 63, 66–67.

69. This is an idea that O. K. Werckmeister and I have discussed in correspondence. See also Yarza, 'Los seres fantásticos', p. 11.

70. In ancient funerary art, these winged figures were sometimes represented as conducting the eidolon, the newborn soul of the deceased, away from its body. Gómez and Quiñones, 'Arpía or Sirena'; Teresa Chapa Brunet, *Influjos griegos en la escultura zoomorfa ibérica*, Iberia graeca, Serie arqueológica, 2 (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1986), pp. 229–30; Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (1964; repr. New York: Abrams, 1992), p. 20. Pérez de Urbel, who accepted that the harpies in the Silos cloister were meaningful, states that Tertullian counted harpies as *simplex ornamentum*, as opposed to images that might carry idolatrous meaning; he did not provide his source for this text, however; *Claustro*, p. 58. The closest I could come to such a phrase is the one in which Tertullian characterized seraphs and cherubs as *simplex ornamentum*: 'Sic et Cherubin et Seraphin aurea in arcae figuratum exemplum; certe simplex ornamentum'. *Aduersus Marcionem*, II, xxii, 1, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, I, 499. A search of the use of the term 'siren' by patristic authors demonstrates that these creatures were always viewed negatively.

71. I refer to the contemporary use of trademarks such as the Coca-Cola or Harley-Davidson emblems or the Campbell's soup can by artists such as Andy Warhol, and on items of personal adornment. The heart shape as a sign for love or affection is ubiquitous but nevertheless significant. For a different view of the effect of repetition, see Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life*, p. 26; and Grabar, *Mediation of Ornament*, p. 214.

72. See the article by Leslie Bussis Tait in this volume; see also Marcel Durliat in 'Les Cloîtres historiés dans la France méridionale à l'époque romane', *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 7 (1976), 67–74.

73. Barbara Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations* (1994; repr. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 31.

74. 'uirtute obedientie ceterarumque uirtutum floribus pollere meruit, quibus ornatus omnibus consodalibus immitandus apparuit'. *Vita* I, V, 144–46, Valcárcel, *Vita Dominici*, II, 202–03. For decor and ornamentum, see Gerardo Boto Varela, *Ornamento sin delito. Los seres imaginarios del claustro de Silos y sus ecos en la escultura románica peninsular*, Studia Silensia Series Maior, 3 (Santo Domingo de Silos: Abadía de Silos, 2000), pp. 31-36.

75. See fig. 1 for a list of the subjects on the capitals. The original limit of the north gallery is visible in the masonry break on the garth side between capitals 29 and 30, confirmed by the foundations uncovered in 1971; see Torres Carot and Yarza Luaces, 'Hallazgos románicos'. Judging from the masonry break and the crack in the Emmaus relief, the relief was moved and the gallery extended to the west when the cloister was expanded during a second construction campaign. It is at this point in the gallery that capitals from the first campaign are mixed with abaci from the second, suggesting that at least part of a previous western arcade existed and that its sculpture was reused. On this basis, I surmise that capitals 30 and 31 were originally part of the west gallery, and so the dragons of no. 30 were not intended to be in the north gallery. Capital 32, engaged with the pier, is likely to have been so previously. See Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo, '*Nova et Vetera* in Santo Domingo de Silos: The Second Cloister Campaign' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1986), pp. 45–47.

76. See the discussion in the previous pages above. In addition, see Thomas E. A. Dale, 'Monsters, Corporeal Deformity and Phantasms in the Romanesque Cloister of Saint-Michel de Cuxa: A Response to Saint Bernard', *The Art Bulletin* 83.3 (2001), 402-36.

77. In 1998, I had the privelege of participating in the defense of the doctoral dissertation by Gerardo Boto, now published as *Ornamento sin delito*. I was glad to see that we concur on many points, and I have added references to his work as appropriate. However in his own words, he would

not go so far as to ascribe specific meaning to the animals. This is where we differ.

78. There is much to say on this subject that is beyond the scope of this paper. It is my intention to develop my ideas more fully in my projected book on Silos.

79. F. Cabrol and Henri Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, 15 vols (Paris: Letourzey et Ane, 1907–53); s.v. 'Ad sanctos'. For the development of the practice, see Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 3, 9, 34–35 37; Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of our Death*, trans. by Helen Weaver (1977; repr. New York: Knopf, 1981), 29, 32–33; Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp. 11–21.

80. The chapel foundations were discovered in 1971, when alterations in the garden revealed its base. The excavation was not archaeological but for the purpose of lowering the garden to the same depth as the galleries; the galleries had been lowered 15–20 cm below the medieval level in 1954; Torres Carot and Yarza Luaces, 'Hallazgos románicos'; Álamo Martínez, *El claustro románico*, pp. 10–13, 17. Photographs published in the article by Torres and Yarza are now the only available documents, since the evidence was in part destroyed and then covered over by a new fountain. The original Finojosa tomb may be linked to the construction of the east and north galleries of the cloister by a mason's mark. That mark, an arrow that extends diagonally over the length of the stone, was found on the excavated base and can also be seen all over the interior wall of the north gallery and on part of the east gallery. In 1975, according to Álamo Martínez, p. 16, further excavations on the spot revealed a fragment of a base with the same type of feline head and the same profile as that of the bases of the east gallery. The proximity of this fragment to the site of the tomb is suggestive, but since it was not attached it cannot be definitively demonstrated that it belonged to the monument. Because the last known burial in the family chapel was in the mid-twelfth century, it is likely that the chapel, like the cloister, underwent alterations over time. For Miguel Muñoz de Finojosa, buried there *c.* 1158, see below, note 82. The tomb probably was dismantled in 1710 when the Neoclassical renovation of the monastery began. Nebreda, in Marius Férotin, *L'Histoire de l'abbaye de Silos* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1897), p. 299–300, for the tomb inscriptions; Ruíz de Montiano, 'Historia de esta casa', fols 22v–23r; Juan de Castro, *El glorioso thaumaturgo español, redemptor de cautivos, Santo Domingo de Sylos, hijo del patriarca San Benito, abad, y confesor, su vida, virtudes, y milagros. Noticia del Real Monasterio de Sylos, y sus Prioratos* (Madrid: Melchior Alvarez, 1688), p. 315; Miguel C. Vivancos Gómez, 'El claustro de Silos y las fuentes documentales', in *Studia Silensia Series Maior I*, pp. 81–83. Férotin, misguided by a pointed arch attached to the exterior wall of the east gallery, believed the Finojosa tomb to be later and in this corner; p. 91 and his plan, pp. 346–47, no. 36.

81. Álamo Martínez, *El claustro románico*, p. 16; Boto Varela, *Ornamento sin delito*, pp. 160–66.

82. See Silos documents of 20 January 1096–98 in Silos, 19 May 1097 in La Aguilera, and two documents of 30 September 1098 in Guadalajara, in Férotin, *Recueil*, pp. 30–36; Miguel C. Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación del monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos (954–1254)*, Fuentes Medievales Castellano-Leonesas, 50 (Burgos: Ed. Garrido Garrido, 1988), p. 38. For additional discussion, see Vivancos Gómez, 'El claustro de Silos y las fuentes documentales', pp. 81–83; Bernard F. Reilly, 'The Chancery of Alfonso VI of León-Castile (1065–1109)', in *Santiago, Saint-Denis, and Saint Peter*, ed. by Bernard F. Reilly (New York: Fordham University Press, 1985), pp. 1–40 (p. 20); Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065–1109* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 275, 281, 298, 330. The identification of Fernando Muñoz buried in the cloister with the Major Domo of the king derives from the thirteenth-century history of the family recorded in MS 12, Archivo monástico, Santo Domingo de Silos, fols 20v–21v. The story is published in Castro, *El glorioso thaumaturgo español*, pp. 310–316. This is another theme I plan to develop further in the future.

83. Torres Carot and Yarza Luaces, 'Hallazgos románicos', p. 188; Álamo Martínez, *El claustro románico*, p. 13.

84. Werckmeister, 'The First Romanesque Beatus Manuscripts and the Liturgy of Death', pp. 188–89; Bango Torviso, 'Atrio y pórtico'; idem, 'Enterramientos privilegiados'. For the Saint Gall plan, and Cluny II and III, where a place to the east of the monastic church serves as burial ground, see Wolfgang Braunfels, *Monasteries of Western Europe: The Architecture of the Orders*, trans. by Alastair Laing (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 39, 52, 55, 58. Abbots were often buried in the chapter house. For early Hispanic burial practice, see the article by Eduardo Carrero Santamaría in this volume.

85. The last burial documented in the Finojosa tomb is that of Miguel Muñoz de Finojosa around 1158; Vivancos Gómez, 'El claustro de Silos y las fuentes documentales', p. 82. The local roots of the family are attested to by other details of the family history, including the glorification of the legend of Muño Sancho de Finojosa—perhaps due to the sainthood of San Martín de Finojosa, Abbot of Santa María de la Huerta, where later family members were buried.

86. Dominique Iogna-Prat, 'The Dead in the Celestial Bookkeeping of the Cluniac Monks Around the Year 1000', in *Debating the Middle Ages: Issues and Readings*, ed. by Lester K. Little and Barbara H. Rosenwein (Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), pp. 340–62 (pp. 349–56).

87. See the article by Daniel Rico Camps in this volume.

88. *Vita*, I, VIII, 8–43; Valcárcel, *Vita Dominici*, pp. 46–49.

89. Onians, *Bearers of Meaning*, pp. 75–76.

90. I would like to thank Leah Rutchick for the information concerning the lack of burials within the Moissac cloister, and for the many fruitful conversations we have had on Moissac and Silos. Her ideas about commemoration at Moissac, some of which were presented in our 1999 session at Leeds, will be published as 'Time's Witness: Configuring Burial and Remembering the Dead in the Moissac Cloister'.

91. See Peter Brown's comments on the distinction in attitude towards Visigothic and other early medieval saints, and towards later saints' cults, in this volume. Of course the monastic community sought to imitate the saintly abbot's rigour; see passages in Domingo's *Vita*, such as I, V, 220–25; Valcárcel, *Vita Dominici*, pp. 208–09.

92. Lomax, 'Aspectos de la vida castellana'; Valdez del Álamo and Álamo Martínez, 'Témoins de la foi', pp. 20–21.

93. Werckmeister has suggested that the contents of the Silos *Beatus* support the idea of liturgical intercession as promoted by Cluny, the French monastery that spearheaded the imposition of the Roman rite in Spain; Werckmeister, 'First Romanesque *Beatus* Manuscripts', p. 189.

A Reliquary Capital at Moissac: Liturgy and Ceremonial Thinking in the Cloister

LEAH RUTCHICK

Justly famous for its large ensemble of Romanesque sculpture, the late eleventh-century cloister of the abbey of Saint-Pierre, Moissac, conserves today the material shell of a dramatic ceremonial setting to honour the abbey's patron saints, Peter and Paul. While in grandest scheme this setting may have encompassed the cloister, the church, and perhaps areas outside the monastic enclosure, greatest focus was in the southeast corner of the cloister itself. Just at this point in the original disposition of conventual buildings a sacristy lay along the east walkway and connected internally with the east end of church. The church in turn opened directly onto this corner through a doorway that today no longer exists (fig. 1).[1] Directly across from the doorway, in the magnificent arcaded structure for which the cloister is famous, a small but powerful concentration of imagery relates to the abbey's patron saints and especially to the apostle Peter, the traditional (older) patron of the abbey. Large-scale effigies of Peter and Paul are mounted on a continuous marble revetment attached to the inner adjacent sides of the corner pier in this arcade (figs 2–3), and capitals depicting the apostles in festal events are located on the first columns of the converging archways: the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul, celebrated jointly on 29 June, share the first capital to the east (figs 4–5); the liberation of Peter from prison (Acts 12. 3–11, celebrated 1 August) occupies the first capital to the south (figs 6–7).[2] But the most compelling item in this angled array of patron sculpture has yet to be mentioned.

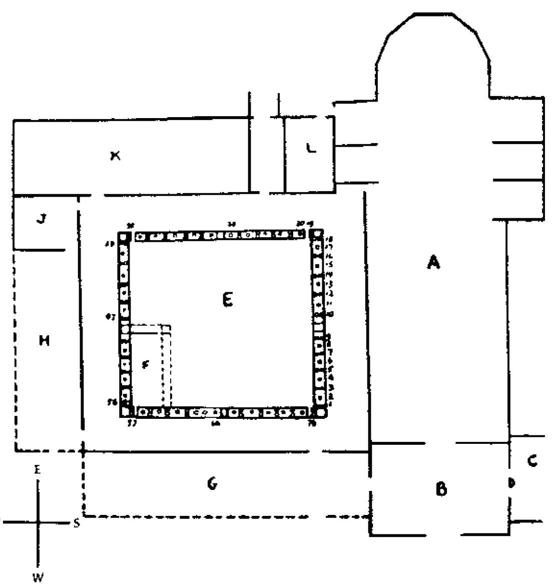

Fig. 1. Plan of the Moissac cloister, *c.* 1100 (after Meyer Schapiro)

PARTIAL LEGEND

Southeast pier: Paul on the south face, Peter on the east face

17	Capital of The Liberation of Peter
20	Captial of The Martrydom of Peter and Paul
F	Fountain house (destroyed)
K	Chapterhouse
L	Sacristy

A rectangular cavity appears on the south side of the martyrdom capital within the vignette of Paul's decapitation. Anecdotal tradition maintains that relics of both apostles were deposited into this cavity and that it was closed by a glass slab. Ruined during the Revolution, the capital with its enclosed relics until then would have been the object of liturgical attention on appropriate feast days.[3] Located beneath or

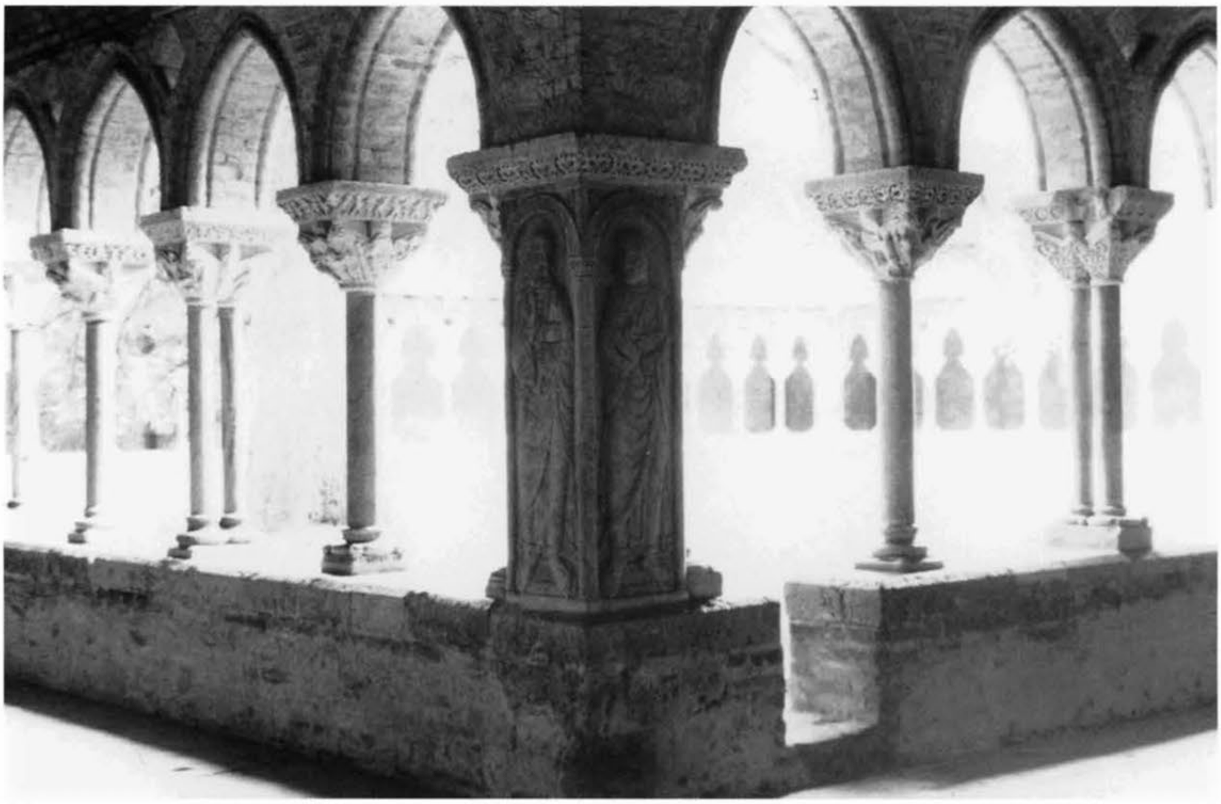

Fig. 2. Pier with Saints Paul (l) and Peter (r), capital 17 to left of pier, capital 20 to right, reliquary programme, southeast corner of cloister, *c.* 1100 (photo: author)

within a miniature carved altar in the vignette of Paul's decapitation, this purported relic depository compares well with recessed areas made for relics in altars, capitals, columns, walls, and stone blocks that have survived from the earlier Middle Ages. Moreover, its placement under or inside a miniature altar adds symbolic weight to the plausibility of its function as a reliquary shrine.[4]

The relic tradition and observed concentration of patron sculpture in the southeast corner of the arcade raise numerous questions, not least about the integrity of the current installation. If, as this essay shall affirm, the capitals are still in their original place, other issues of consequence must be considered. At stake is the programmatic manipulation of iconographic motifs in a cloister popularly thought to have only the vaguest semblance of iconographic organization.[5] Moreover, the translation of relics into an 'historiated' capital in the cloister's arcade was an act of historical and imaginative significance. Still a relatively new medium of expression in 1090s when the cloister was under construction, the historiated or narrative capital (as opposed to the iconic or foliate capital) amounted to a Romanesque variation of the oral traditional 'singer of tales', an individual able to recite epic stories entirely 'from memory', and whose strategies were passed, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, to jongleurs and troubadours.[6] When considered in this framework, figures carved on the capitals would be the speakers of the stories they depict, and thus on the martyrdom capital a voice for the relics within.[7]

The relics would not have been considered inert material items; or rather, because Western theology maintains the corporeal (not divine) status of holy relics, Peter's special role in the life of Christ meant that his bodily remains, filled with the Holy Spirit, would have been considered a preeminent conduit for the petitions of the Moissac community. For this reason, they would have required ritual veneration by the monastic community on a regular basis. Housed in the cloister's arcade and positioned across from a doorway that communicated with the choir and altar area of the church, I shall argue that the reliquary capital was a special focus of liturgical or paraliturgical ceremony to honour Peter on the anniversaries of his martyrdom (*Natale*), his liberation from prison (*Vincula*), and very likely on the anniversary of the

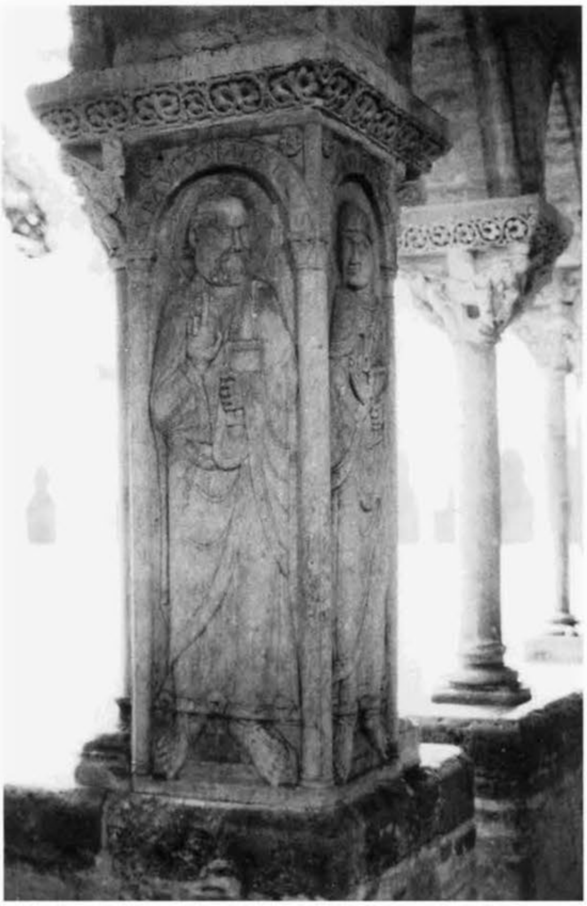

Fig. 3. Saint Paul, Saint Peter on southeast pier, and Martyrdom capital, *c.* 1100 (photo: author)

church's dedication (*Dedicatio*), on 6 November 1063. Though no written description of these ceremonies survives, evidence may be gleaned from other sources, to which I now turn.

Monastic Reform and the Production of Liturgical Manuscripts

Moissac's rise to prominence as a centre of cenobitic life in southwestern France began with its Benedictine reform in 1048. According to Aymeric de Peyrac, Abbot of Moissac (1377–1406) and chronicler of the abbey's history, Moissac was ripe for reform. As he expressed it, the church had become a 'den of thieves' when Pons, Count of Toulouse, invited the Benedictine abbot of Cluny, Odilo, to set it on a proper spiritual path.[8] Odilo's agent of reform was Durand, one of his own monks at Cluny. As the new abbot of Moissac, Durand introduced Cluniac liturgical and vocational customs to a monastic community, probably used to Visigothic practices. A union of Moissac with Cluny was declared in 1053, and then ratified by the fourth ecclesiastical council in Toulouse in 1059. This same council also elevated Durand to the bishop's throne.[9] He presided as Bishop of Toulouse and Abbot of Moissac until his death in 1071, arousing the enthusiasm of noble families to enrich the newly reformed monastery with donations of lands, vineyards, pigs, horses, mills, and churches with all their properties.[10]

In 1063, Durand dedicated a new church at Moissac in a magnificent ceremony attended by a throng of church dignitaries from the surrounding territories, including seven bishops whose names were inscribed on a plaque, probably contemporary with the event, that today is enwalled in the apse.[11] At this time also, charters record that Moissac adopted Paul as their second patron, following Cluny's example; Peter and Paul, already emblematic of Rome and papal power, were the favourite patrons of Benedictine establishments who wished to emphasize their direct submission to the pope (and thus independence from local episcopal jurisdiction).[12]

The abbey's prominence and prosperity continued under Durand's successors, Hunaud (1072–85) and Ansquitil (1085–1115). By 1100 Moissac had become one of the most powerful abbeys in southwestern France, with a complex and sophisticated liturgical culture now fully and intimately tied to Cluny's.[13] The abbey's scriptorium reached a high point in its development from about 1060 to 1120. During this period, it produced or brought to completion a number of liturgical and commentary manuscripts, some with high-quality illuminated initials and miniature paintings. Among the surviving liturgical manuscripts, one in particular provides important clues to the ceremonial function of the sculpture program in the southeast corner. This is the chant manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS n.a.lat. 1871, known as the Troper-Proser of Moissac.[14]

Familiar perhaps only to scholars of Gregorian chant and the history of early medieval music, this manuscript was catalogued most recently by the archivist and palaeographer Jean Dufour in his study of the Moissac library and scriptorium.[15] Dufour dates it to the latter part of the eleventh century on the basis of codicological and palaeographical analyses. I concur with this general date, though I would place it as late as the 1080s for different reasons. While it is possible that the Moissac Troper-Proser was made as a presentation book for the church dedication ceremony in 1063 or shortly thereafter, the quality of decoration in the manuscript is closer to the decoration found in other Moissac luxury manuscripts dated to the 1080s or last quarter of the eleventh century.[16] Thus BN, n.a.lat. 1871, which is systematically notated with Aquitainian neumes throughout the Troper section, constitutes a valuable witness of Moissac's singing tradition as practised at the monastery prior to and early in its reformed years, and it is one of only a few liturgical manuscripts from the abbey to have survived from the Middle Ages.[17]

The manuscript exists in two parts or sections. The first section contains texts and music for tropes to the traditional or base chants used in many parts of the Mass. The trope texts are versed additions or interpolations to these base chants, primarily antiphons, with the purpose of embellishing, praising, and recalling events appropriate to the particular feast day. The second part of the manuscript contains non-notated texts called proses or *prosulae,* which would be sung to melodies called sequences (though sometimes the proses are called sequences). Proses or *prosula* also praise and recount the saint's story, but in a more narrative voice than used for the tropes. They were added to the melisma or line of wordless song used to extend the final syllable of the word 'Alleluia', and like the tropes the proses are arranged according to the liturgical calendar.[18]

Leaving the musical notation of the tropes for music historians to analyze, it is possible to say a few things about its collection of texts with regard to the practice of chant at Moissac. Music historians have compared the chant texts in n.a.lat. 1871 with those found in similarly dated liturgical manuscripts from other religious houses. Thus it appears that many pieces in Moissac's trope repertory were known at other houses in southwestern France and correlate to a high degree with the trope repertory recorded in manuscripts from the library of Saint-Martial, Limoges.[19] However the Moissac Troper-Proser also contains chant found in manuscripts from Cluny, Saint Gall, and England, and a more extended inspection would probably reveal the migration of chant from still other locales.[20] In other words, that n.a.lat. 1871 contains texts common to the liturgy of the Roman church testifies to Moissac's participation in a shared liturgical tradition in southwestern France, and indicates the dissemination of chant from other regional traditions. This last mentioned aspect might be due to specific chant borrowings in some cases (with potential historical ramifications), or may just reflect the commonality of many tropes in the Roman Church. My earlier investigation of this manuscript also revealed that it contains pieces particular to Moissac, and it is this point in its cultural context that I would like to consider next.

Aspects of Musical Culture at Moissac

In the history of Christian liturgical song, the base chants of the Mass tend to be quite ancient in origin. They were handed on with little or no change from generation to generation to insure a uniform ritual observance in both Western and Eastern traditions. However, in the ninth and tenth centuries, a period of Church reform and consolidation in the West, the liturgy of the Mass was expanded in specific ways. The inclusion of two new text forms, the tropes and proses just mentioned, enabled the Church to magnify the ostentation and enhance the opportunities for praise in liturgical performance.

A similar creative period occurred in the eleventh century coincident with the well-known resurgence of reforming energies at this time.[21] The vocational and liturgical reorientation within the Moissac community after 1048, and the excitement surrounding their dedication of a new church in 1063 provided high points of energy from which much creative activity would have flowed. An extension of ceremonial to accommodate additional song would not be surprising in an atmosphere charged by 'new' organizational forms for monastic life and renewed vocational zeal. By the same token, an interest in elaborating or enlarging liturgical practice might provoke the composition of new chant pieces, such as that found in n.a.lat. 1871. In support of this scenario, liturgical and music scholarship identifies the eleventh century as a 'second great era of troping'.[22]

Local hagiography in the *Vita* of Saint Géraud lends additional vibrancy to this picture of the monastery as a centre of scribal, musical, and ceremonial practice in the mid-eleventh century. The *Vita* was written between 1121–28 by Bernard, archdeacon under Saint Géraud and 'one of Géraud's companions'.[23] The author tells us that Géraud entered Moissac as a child from a local family of good standing. He learned quickly, proved to have great spiritual understanding, and became a teacher much beloved for his wisdom. Géraud became the *armarius* and chant master at Moissac, but at some point he moved to La Daurade, Moissac's priory in Toulouse, where he performed similar services. Apparently Géraud's reputation brought him to the attention of Bernard de Sédirac, Archbishop of Toledo and Papal Legate of Urban II, when Bernard was in Toulouse to convene a Church council in 1090. Bernard returned to Toledo with Géraud to retrain or improve his cathedral in the Roman liturgical forms (replacing Visigothic forms only in 1085).[24] It appears that Géraud's success with ecclesiastical reform in Toledo led to his installation as Archbishop of Braga (today in northern Portugal) in 1096, where he faced a major task of diocesan reorganization much as Durand had faced a generation earlier in Toulouse. Géraud died in 1109 and was soon thereafter canonized. Notably, some medieval Braga manuscripts contain chant from Moissac which can be traced to Géraud's administration.[25] They testify to the vitality of the ceremonial environment at Moissac when Géraud was a novice and influential young teacher, for surely it was this ambiance of liturgical edification and piety that Géraud wished to recall and even re-enact when he arrived in distant Braga as, among other things, the ambassador of Benedictine vocation.

Ceremonial Thinking and the Idea of Cloister Programs

It is a truism to say that ceremonial pervaded the organized life of the Moissac community. Following Cluny's custom of ceaseless prayer, which in the tenth century meant singing 170 psalms per day, was a demanding task. It was an obligation of the religious life that bent every thing and everyone to its goals, so it is not surprising that ceremonial, in saturating the church and the oratory, would seep into the cloister:

> The expansion of the liturgical ritual at Cluny was accompanied by the ritualization of activities outside the choir as well. The normal activities of everyday life—waking, dressing, sitting and eating—became ceremonialized. Occupations that had once been necessary but had subsequently become superfluous were retained in ceremonial form. Ritual, dependent as it was on symbol and gesture, was also behind the Cluniac propensity toward extravagant garb and splendid ceremonial objects.[26]

Exacting attention to details of behaviour, sincerity of intent, formulated speech, anticipated and delineated phases of action from beginning to end—these are features of social ritual writ small and large in a monk's daily routine. While more relaxed, individual activities of a mundane nature would have occurred in the medieval cloister, such as washing, fetching water for other activities, reading, and even scribal work, the Rule of Saint Benedict leaves no doubt that constant vigilance was required of all monks to maintain the proper attitude of piety at all times. It was an attitude of *humilitas* and *reverentia*, continuing for Benedictine communities in the eleventh century an attitude similar to the *reverentia* considered by Peter Brown for a more generalized population in the sixth century.[27] For instance, in the chapter 'On Humility' (*De Humilitate*), we learn that there are twelve stages or steps to the 'highest summit of humility' through which it is possible to 'attain [. . .] exaltation in heaven'. (*RB* 7.5) At the twelfth and last step of humility,

> [. . .] a monk always manifests humility in his bearing no less than in his heart, so that it is evident at the Work of God, in the oratory, the monastery or the garden, on a journey or in the field, or anywhere else. Whether he sits, walks or stands, his head must be bowed and his eyes cast down. Judging himself always guilty on account of his sins, he should consider that he is already at the fearful judgment. [. . .] (*RB* 7.62–63)

In another chapter, 'The Tools for Good Works' (*Quae sunt instrumentum bonorum operum*), the author reminds the monk of the things that will bring success in shaping a collective devotional life, and in one passage he asserts:

> Your way of acting should be different from the world's way; the love of Christ must come before all else. You are not to act in anger or nurse a grudge. Rid your heart of all deceit. Never give a hollow greeting of peace or turn away when someone needs your love. Bind yourself to no oath lest it prove false, but speak the truth with heart and tongue. (*RB* 4.20–26)

In the chapter, 'On Reverence in Prayer' (*De reverentia orationis*), we read:

> Whenever we want to ask some favor of a powerful man, we do it humbly and respectfully, for fear of presumption (*non praesummimus nisi cum humilitate et reverentia*). How much more important, then to lay our petitions before the Lord God of all things with the utmost humility and sincere devotion (*puritatis devotione*). We must know that God rewards our purity of heart (*puritate cordis*) and tears of compunction, not our many words. Prayer should therefore be short and pure, unless perhaps it is prolonged under the inspiration of divine grace. (*RB* 20.1–4).

These passages are interesting because they indicate parameters of a deeply ingrained orientation that all Benedictine monks were to share. At least ideally, the prescribed attitude of *humilitas* and *reverentia* translates the ritual imperatives of a Benedictine's vocation into a way of thinking about all individual and collective actions. The Rule governs both attitude and approach, and it unites them in what I would like to call the process of ceremonial thinking, a process akin to visual cognition that uses elements of ecclesiastical ceremony and ritual (gesture, procession, genuflection or prostration, speech, song, objects, aromas) to represent or create meaning in a performance context.[28] At Moissac, I believe, thinking through and with the elements of their ritual-centred life produced a kind of working knowledge among members of the community—at once a visceral and muscular, spatial, temporal, and intellectual knowing.

As I am formulating it, this kind of knowing-about and approach to treating problems through a ceremonial framework would be one type of monastic *mentalité*. At Moissac, perhaps due to the personalities there and to the particular historical circumstances at play in the late eleventh century, it became a creative force that propelled them to invest the cloister not only with the largest number of figure carvings and historiated capitals yet installed in this type of building project, but also to organize the sculpture in meaningful, or programmatic, ways.[29] This last point needs some expansion, as scholars conventionally have dismissed the idea of organized iconographic thought in the cloister, or they have believed any iconographic programs to be beyond certification, due to a campaign of refurbishment carried out by the abbot Bertrand de Montaigut (1260–95).[30] At some point during Bertrand's abbacy he replaced the original round arches with the pointed arches we see today. This, it is speculated, would have occasioned the wholesale dismantling of capitals and impost blocks from the columns. Presumably in the chaos that would accompany such an undertaking, the workers could have or would have jumbled the sequence of sculpture throughout the galleries.[31] Even admitting the best of circumstances, some deviation may have occurred.

But how reasonable is this scenario? Its apparently inescapable logic relies on certain assumptions regarding the nature of programmatic structure, how a rebuilding campaign would have proceeded, and the knowledge of earlier intentions that would still be available at the end of the thirteenth century.

There is every reason to think that the abbot-in-office, Bertrand de Montaigut, was as interested in conserving the original order of the sculpture as he was in improving the monastery's temporal and material status. As protector of the monastery's legacy, Bertrand energetically pursued the return of priories and other church properties allegedly usurped from earlier administrations, and just as energetically pursued the restoration and expansion of the abbey's buildings.[32] Moreover, it is unreasonable to assume that a campaign of refurbishment in the cloister would go forward in a disorganized fashion. The masons were not alienated, brutish louts, incapable of systematic working practices. Nor should we assume that use of the cloister would have been suspended during this time. It makes more sense to think that work proceeded section by section, perhaps quadrant by quadrant centred on the piers. This would reduce disruption to the daily routine and minimize the possibility of replacing the sculptures in a different order.

Even if the sculptors of the capitals did not appropriate the linear format of the arcade to effect iconographic programs, it does not mean the sculptures were installed haphazardly. The capitals in the cloister occur as single iconographic events, each depicting a single story or at most two separate stories, nor is a narrative ever continued from one capital to the next. Consequently, no amount of reorganization will (re)produce evidence of serial deployment within the *de facto* sequential format. But this should not be seen as a deficiency of technical skill or lack of imagination. Far from it. The original stone carvers used other means to convey thematic or topical ideas greater than those provided by individual sculptures.[33]

We have only to look at the sculpture in the northwest quadrant to realize how important location was for organizing the imagery. A magnificent arcaded fountain house, today destroyed, once occupied this corner in the garden (fig. 1). It sheltered a fountain reputed to have miraculous waters capable of healing lepers. In this context, the apostle pier figures (Andrew and Philip) set a theme of almsgiving and miracle-working for the apparently disparate capitals along the north gallery, and supported an Easter theme in conjunction with capitals along the west walkway—both 'programs' in accord with the theme of healing waters. Inasmuch as the fountain house itself could have served as a centre for liturgical and/or other ritual activities, this arcaded structure added a dramaturgical and performative dimension to the corner area, powerfully programmed for collective and individual reflection.[34]

Ceremonial Thinking, Ceremonial Setting: The Reliquary Capital

The capital depicting Peter's and Paul's martyrdoms in the southeast corner of the arcade draws on and contributes to the iconographical tradition of these stories in medieval art, though my interest in this carving lies elsewhere.[35] I am more interested in its use as the focus of liturgical performance and devotional practice, and its value for the study of cloister sculpture generally. Let us look at this capital more closely.

Peter's crucifixion on the north side of the capital (fig. 4) counters the execution of Paul on the south (fig. 5); Nero enthroned on the west opposes the apotheosis of the apostles' souls on the east. This strategy of opposites permits the sculptor to present the two martyrdoms as separate but simultaneous, following the custom of celebrating their martyrdoms in the liturgy on the same day, 29 June. The sculptor has depicted Paul with his hands bound and his eyes swathed by a long veil (in one account of Paul's martyrdom the veil or scarf is given him by Plautilla, a fervent follower; in another account it comes from Perpetua, a pious one-eyed woman whom Paul meets as he walks to his execution). An angel on the left grasps the scarf tied around his eyes as Paul leans forward to receive his martyrdom from the ax-wielding hands of the executioner, and a Roman court official, or *lictor*, stands as Nero's witness.[36] But in this composition the sculptor has innovated. Rather than show Paul kneeling on the ground as described in written versions of his passion, the sculptor has interpolated a ceremonial detail from the setting of the Mass and has introduced a new detail, a miniature tomb or *enfeu*.[37] The sculptor conveys Paul's ultimate triumph with elegant concision: he will die and be reborn in Christ over an altar which is simultaneously a sacrificial board and a sepulchre, actualized by the cavity cut into the limestone block below.

Indeed, the temptation to see this cavity as a repository for Paul's relics is irresistible and there is no reason to think that relics of both Peter and Paul were not interred together. But why, if the main relics were those of Peter, did the sculptor sequester them in Paul's vignette? Was there something so sufficient about the way he represented Peter's crucifixion that it precluded the inclusion of a relic cavity? And what could have motivated this use of the capital in the first place?

The prismatic inner walls of the sepulchre-cavity show the hand of a mason/sculptor and are not the result of later damage or vandalism to the capital, though the capital was severely damaged, probably at the time of the French Revolution (Paul's head was struck off and the other figures were hacked). Evidently the Moissac artisan planned the composition of the vignette around this opening; he seized an opportunity to place the apostle's head, altar, and cavity in dramatic alignment, thus producing a satisfying solution to the problem of how to include an actual reliquary space within the narrative field of the capital. One can only assume that he could not or would not adjust the vignette of Peter's martyrdom to accommodate the deposit of relics on that side.

Certainly the composition of Peter's martyrdom is symmetrical, centred, and rigid; it is highly ceremonial and dramatic. An inverted cross spans the entire field vertically and horizontally, soldiers stand behind the cross to either side holding hammer and nails in similar gestures of amazement. In creating more of an iconic display than a (narrative-like) depiction of an event in time, the sculptor succeeds in fixing the viewer's eyes on Peter's body. Unlike Paul's beheading, which encourages the eye to wander from figure to figure, detail to detail,

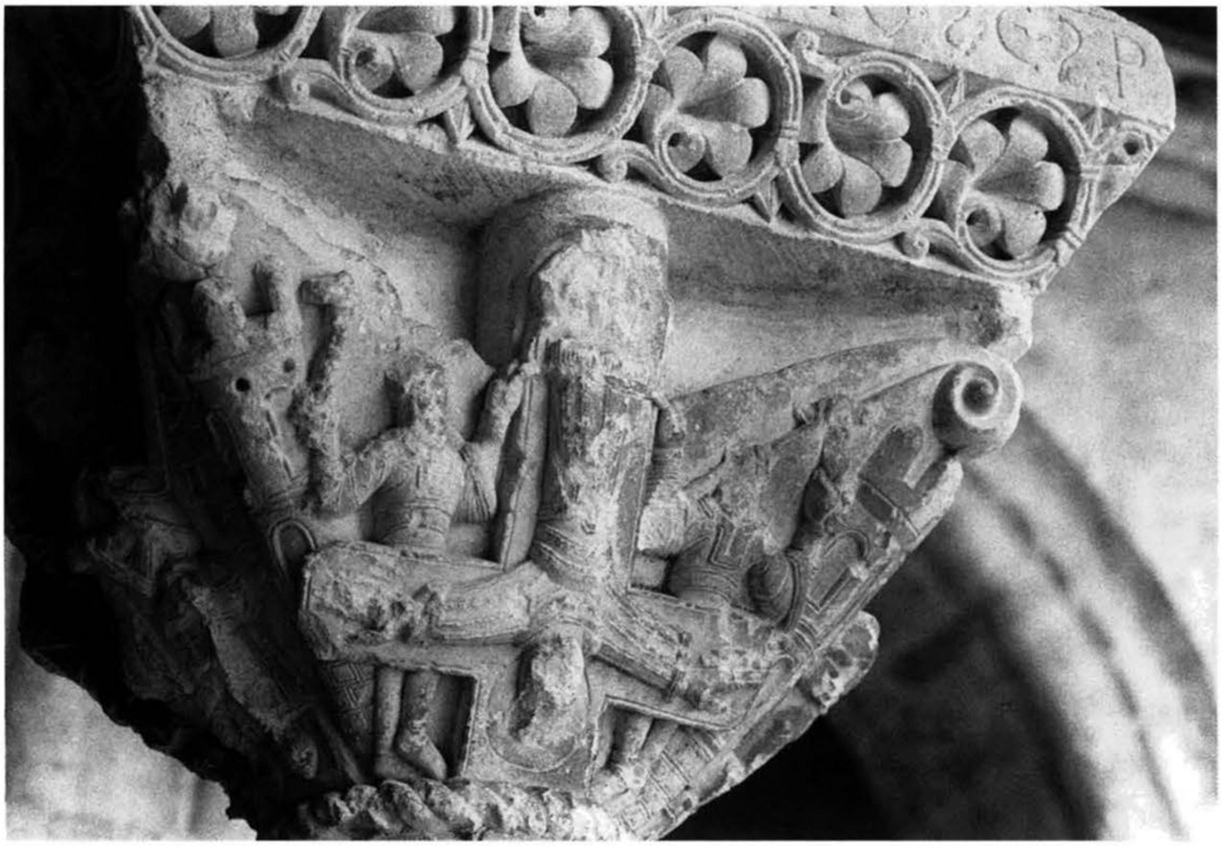

Fig. 4. The Martyrdom of Peter, capital 20, east gallery, Moissac, cloister, *c.* 1100 (photo: author)

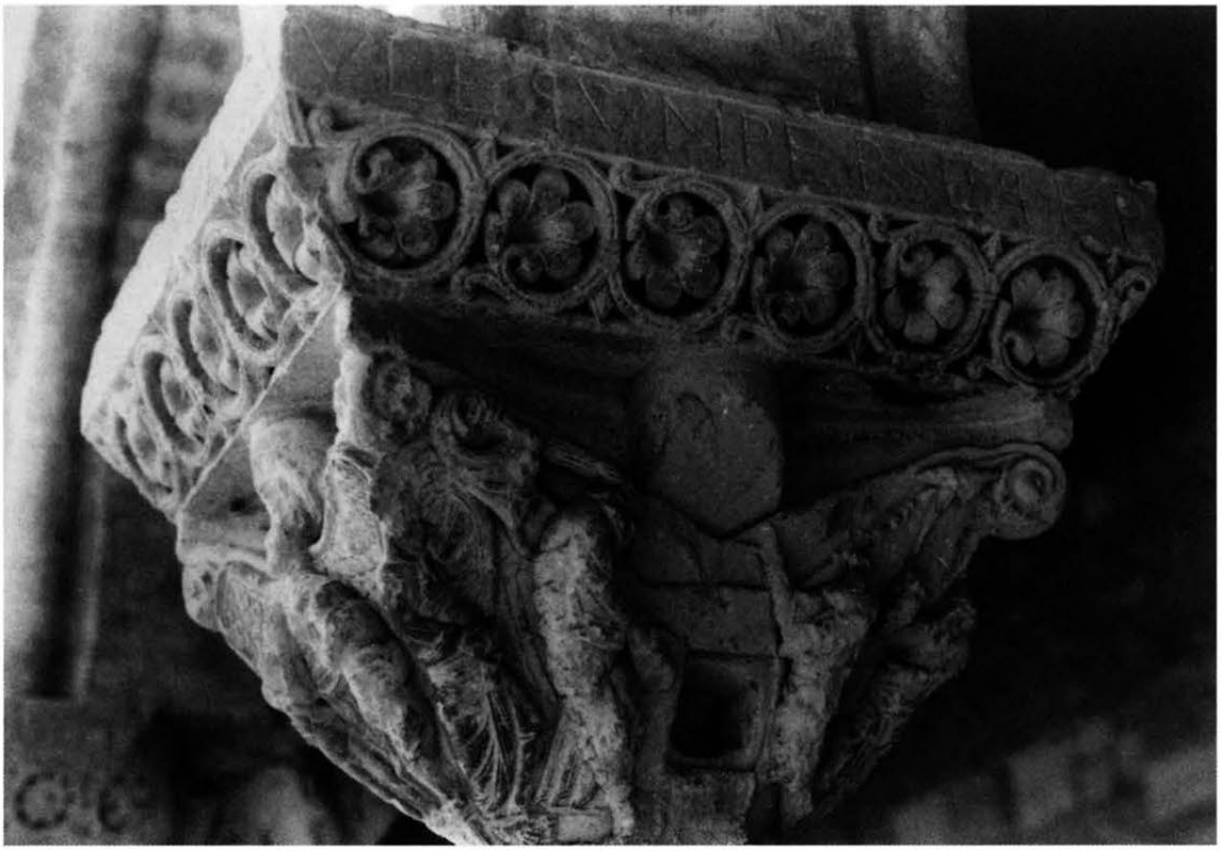

Fig. 5 The Martyrdom of Paul, capital 20, east gallery, *c.* 1100 (photo: Daniel Smartt)

this composition demands unwavering attention be given to the central figure, and for this reason would have offered its monastic viewers a certain (voyeuristic, leading to empathetic) intimacy with the patron. In contrast, the relief of Peter on the corner pier, though it is more nearly life-like in height, breadth, and contouring, would actually have discouraged any thought of intimate bonding, for the monk was taught to keep his eyes cast down and bow his head in the presence of his spiritual superiors. Moreover, the altar in Paul's vignette was a ready-made narrative detail that the sculptor could exploit for purposes of relic interment. But unlike Mass altars, there was no need to consecrate this miniature altar with holy relics. What, then, led the Moissac community to shelter relics of their patron in a cloister capital? What might they gain from such emplacement?

Relic Fervour: Urban II at Moissac

In 1095, Urban II set out from Rome on what historians describe as a preaching tour to gather popular support for an armed invasion of the Holy Land with the aim of reclaiming Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre, Christ's tomb, from Islamic control. In Burgundy, in a field near Clermont, Urban presided over a mass rally in which he made his first public call for a crusade. Urban admonished his flock that making an armed pilgrimage to the land of Christ's birth, ministry, and death, fighting the infidel and possibly losing their lives in a battle to liberate the Holy City would be the ultimate sacrifice for which they would gain the reward of heaven. To consolidate his 'call' to arms, Urban followed this sermon with an extensive tour of the provinces. After many months on the road, Urban arrived in Toulouse at the beginning of May, 1096. On 7 May he confirmed Moissac's possession of over forty priories and churches in several dioceses, thereby settling any previous and/or continuing contests of authority in Moissac's favour. Given the pope's stature and mission, and the sweeping authority of his announcement, one would like to think that he proclaimed Moissac's primacy in a public forum or in the context of a solemn Mass in the cathedral of Saint-Etienne. Although the bull he issued on this matter is laconic where we would like it to be verbose, the pope no doubt would have made a dramatic appearance with entourage and ostentatious display—these acts of presentation giving enormous prestige to Moissac as well as the named churches whose representatives may well have been in attendance. But authority and public prestige were only the first gifts that Urban bestowed upon the monastery.

A few days later, Urban travelled the short distance from Toulouse to Moissac, some 45 km. to the northwest. Perhaps he viewed this as a brief respite from his arduous tour. At any rate, in 1096 the new cloister very likely was in planning, with construction of the conventual buildings possibly underway and perhaps some work in progress on the arcade, if not the sculpture as well. The area north of the church may have been a bit grimy and noisy for the visiting pope, but there must have been an atmosphere of tremendous excitement as the monks' future residence began to take shape over the older complex. And what a future residence this would be, with neatly laid out, interconnected galleries, an exquisite fountain house, and an elegant arcade laden with monumental sculpture of exceptional workmanship presenting the jewels of monastic wisdom. On 13 May, Urban bestowed upon the monks a precious relic of the True Cross. His act is corroborated in a charter of the abbey dated 1101, which records the restoration of two churches to Moissac by one Gauzbert, excommunicated for simony as a result of this usurpation. As this charter states, it is thanks to the intervention of Urban II, *'ut altaris ad crucem consecrato'* ([who] had consecrated the altar to the cross), that Gauzbert returns the churches to Moissac and declares loyalty to the abbot Ansquitil.[38] The consecration date itself is attested by a later calendar of the abbey in a fifteenth-century Breviary of Pierre de Carmaing (Abbot of Moissac), now in New York, at the Morgan Library (M 463). Next to 13 May is written *'dedicatio altaris s[an]ct[e] crucis'*.[39] Did Urban reconsecrate the main altar with a piece of the True Cross, or did he place it in a secondary altar? We know the main altar continued to hold Peter's relics after Urban's departure, for two later charters, dated 1105 and 1107, record acts that were confirmed over the altar of Saint Peter.[40] Wherever it was located, the new Cross relic was meant to supplement the abbey's access to the divine in a powerful and dramatic way, and we should see Urban's visit as an extremely potent event in the life of the monastery. His presence on the abbey grounds, his enormous dignity, and his exhortations to raise a *militia Christi*

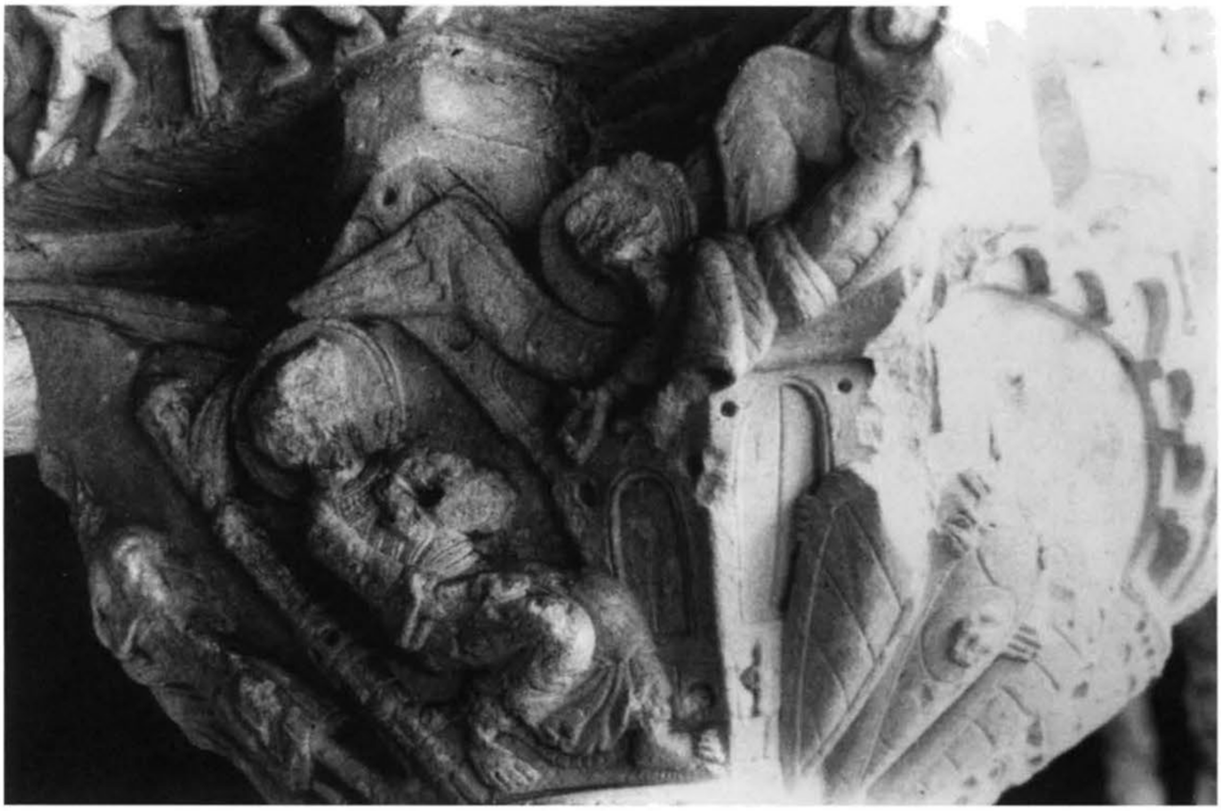

Fig. 6. Peter in Chains with Angel, capital 17, south gallery, *c.* 1100 (photo: author)

may well have inspired the famous capital of armed pilgrims in the north arcade.[41]

But more broadly speaking, Urban's gift of a piece of the True Cross (no doubt calculated to secure the abbey's support in bringing local nobility to his cause) and the high-profile ceremony of investing it in a new altar would have excited pious emotions and created a climate of raised expectation for the veneration of holy relics, which apparently the abbey held in abundance. According to an original thirteenth-century document from the abbey, Moissac possessed the relics of many apostles and early martyrs, and claimed a surfeit of Peter pieces: '*Una e maxillis beati Petri apli et de quinque digitis ejus et brachiis ejus et aliis reliquis ejus*' (one part from his jaw bone, a number of his fingers or toes, his arm, and other of his remains). Of Paul's relics they possessed two types: '*Espatula beati Pauli apli et vestimento ejus*' (his shoulder and [some] of his vestments).[42]

Chant and the Relics of Saint Peter at Moissac

Was it at this time that the monks began to seek new routes of access to the holy through their patrons' relics? The Morgan Breviary of Pierre de Carmaing, just mentioned, indicates that Moissac celebrated their relics of Peter in a special ceremony on 24 September, the *Exceptio reliquarum Sancti Petri Moysiaci*.[43] *Exceptio*, or *excepio*, should be translated as a 'taking up' or 'taking out' of the relic of Saint Peter. It is a careful choice of words, for the usual word would be *translatio*, suggesting a permanent transfer of relics. Just this word is used in the Morgan Breviary for the *Translatio Sancti Martini* (4 July) and the *Translatio Sancti Benedicti* (11 July). In other words, the *Exceptio* feast may commemorate a temporary removal, display, and return of the relic (or relics) to the same place within the monastery, rather than a dispersal from or to another church. That it also marks the removal of one or some of Peter's relics from a reliquary in the main altar or from the sacristy to a cloister capital is conjectural but not improbable, given the physical evidence of the capital itself. Resplendent colours very likely clothed the fine figure carving, the carefully crafted *enfeu* probably was sealed by a glass slab, and the capital was installed in a place of honour at the head of the east walk near the sacristy and entry to the choir, the most auspicious corner of the cloister.[44] All in all, the capital was a

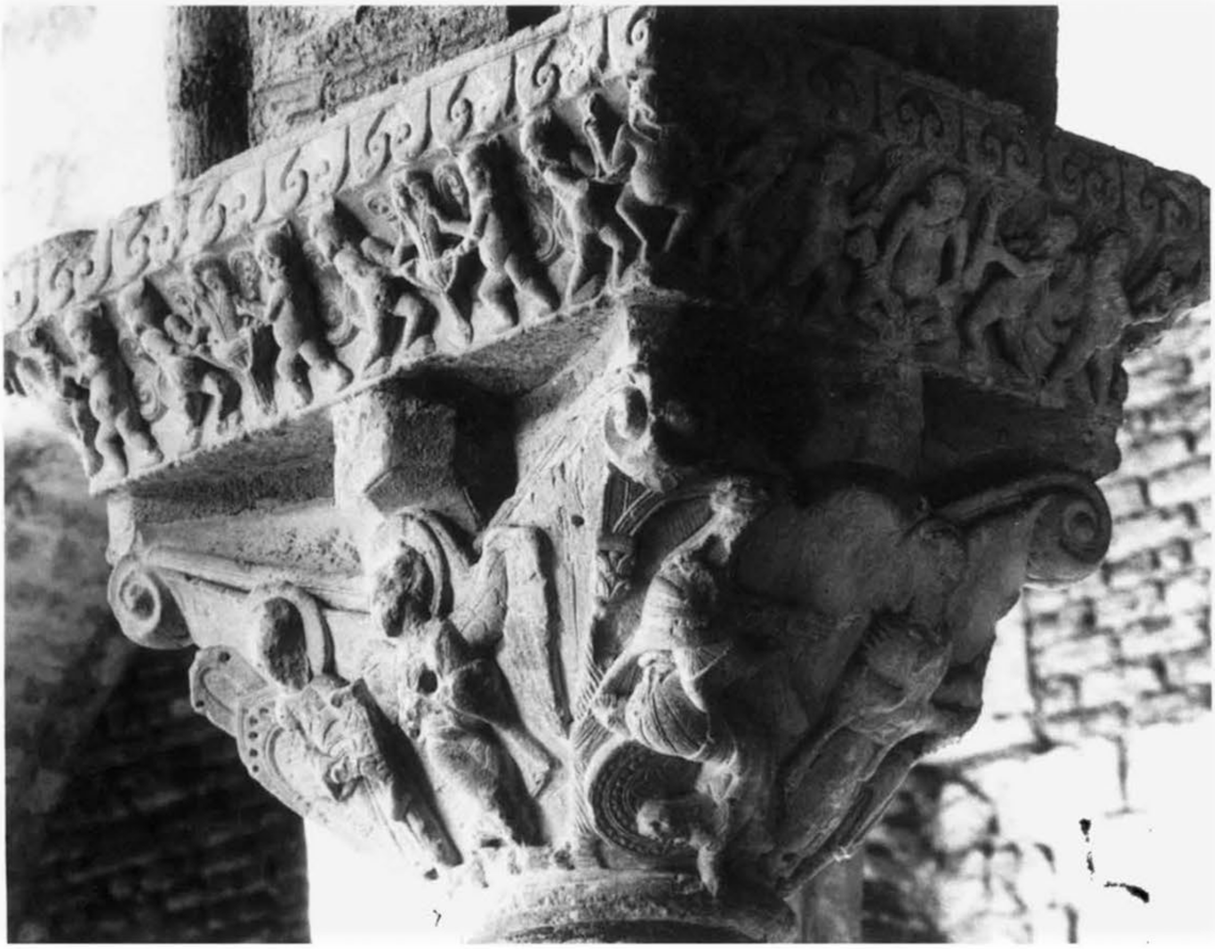

Fig. 7. Peter and Angel outside the Prison, capital 17, south gallery, *c.* 1100 (photo: James Austin)

worthy vessel for apostle relics. It is eminently plausible that the Morgan Breviary records a feast created in the last years of the eleventh century whose purpose was to renew the ostentation of a 'movement' of relics into this capital in the cloister, highlighted by a processional tour of church, cloister, and (perhaps) beyond.

The reliquary capital was not alone in its glorification of the apostle patrons. In addition to the pier-reliefs already mentioned (figs 2 and 3), the capital on the first column of the south walk depicts the liberation of Peter from prison, as recounted in Acts 12. 7–11 and commemorated in the liturgy on 1 August. One of the cloister's most captivating carvings, this capital represents the Arrest of Peter under the left volute (as seen from the gallery), juxtaposed with a view of Peter in prison. He sits behind an elaborately fenestrated, miniature tower under a round-arched high ceiling, his ankle visibly chained to the stone wall with an angel of the Lord rushing in from above (fig. 6). On the opposite side of this capital, Peter and the angel stand on a road outside the prison at the moment of Peter's deliverance (fig. 7). Peter holds a scroll inscribed with letters that are almost entirely effaced today, but which were still legible at the end of the nineteenth century when Ernst Rupin was writing his monograph on Moissac. Rupin reported that he saw the letters N S V Q M D A E H, the first letters of the words that Peter utters when he finds himself miraculously outside the prison walls: 'Nunc scio vere quia misit dominus angelum suum. Et eripuit me de manu Herodis'.[45] These phrases would be familiar to Moissac monks as the first two lines of a three-line passage at Acts 12. 11, 'Now I know truly that an angel of the Lord has come to deliver me from the hand of Herod', continuing, 'and from all expectation of the Jewish people'. Its abbreviation on Peter's scroll would not only recall this sacred event in Peter's life. Monks would have recognized in these words the Introit antiphon to be sung on both of Peter's feast days: not just his Liberation, *ad vincula*, but his Martyrdom, *natali Petri*, also.

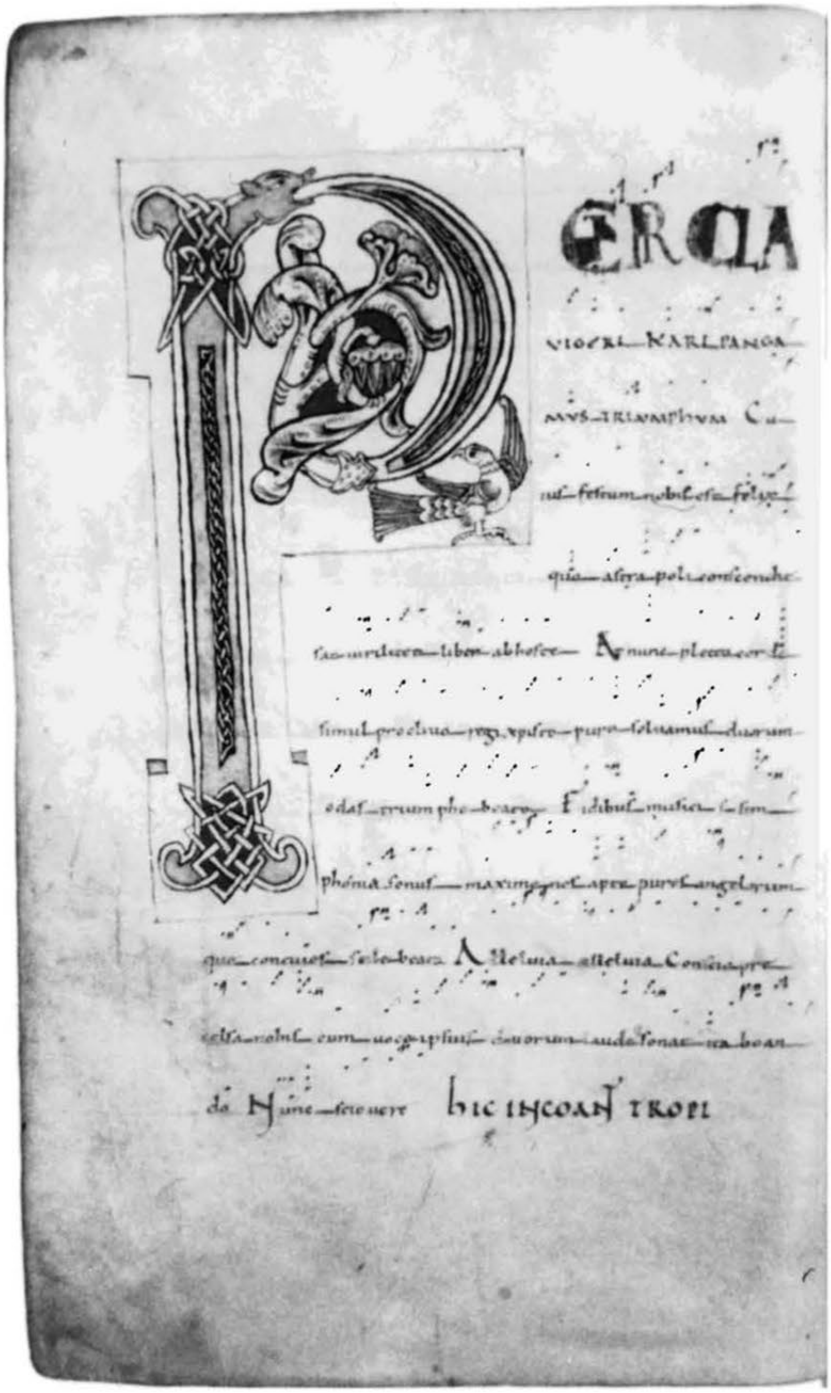

Fig. 8. *Moissac Troper-Prosper*, Introit Trope for Peter, 1100 (Paris, BN, n. a. lat. 1871, fol. 24v) (photo: Bibliothèque National de France)

The Moissac Troper-Proser, n.a.lat. 1871 confirms Moissac's adherence to the church custom of using *Nunc scio vere* as the Introit antiphon for Peter's liturgical celebrations. Notated tropes for Peter's martyrdom begin on folio 24v (the *titulus* is written on the last line of fol. 24) with the text *Petri clavigeri kari pangamus triumphum* (Peter, beloved key carrier, we celebrate [your] triumph) (fig. 8). This is one of the Troper-Proser's 'unique' texts that may well have been composed at the abbey around mid-century. Selected as the primary Introit trope, the scribe gave it a sumptuous presentation: a spectacular initial 'P' is followed by enlarged, decorative letters for the first line, and the trope text and music fill the entire sheet (the trope is framed by the margins of this sheet). This incipit decoration for Peter is the most impressive example of its kind in a manuscript filled with extravagant initials and colourful titles, rivalling the decoration of initials in a pair of luxury homily manuscripts from the Moissac scriptorium, also dated to the 1080s. Without a doubt, the time, artistry, and material resources invested in copying and decorating this trope made it a worthy gift to the patron, just as the performance of the liturgy was regarded as a (sacrificial) gift to God.[46]

At the conclusion of the opening trope, the scribe has written the incipit of the antiphon, *Nunc scio vere*. The choir sings this antiphon, and then the regular Introit tropes begin, as the scribe clearly indicates on the very last line: *Hic inchoanti tropi*.[47] Tropes to the antiphon *Nuncscio vere* follow on fol. 25r with the psalm indicated (*Domine Probasti me*; Psalm 138), followed by additional troped material referring to Peter's liberation from prison. It concludes on fol. 25v with tropes to the Offertory and Communion. After copying the tropes for several other feast days, the scribe returns to *natali Petri* material with the Introit trope, *Dum duceretur Petrus apostolus ad crucem* (While Peter the apostle was being led to the cross), on folio 43. Like the *Petri clavigere kari* trope, *Dum duceretur* has no other text witness than the Troper-Proser, and so it may be considered unique to Moissac. This second Moissac trope also attaches to the *Nunc scio* antiphon, as expected. Because the antiphon refers to an event in the story of Peter's liberation and the trope itself describes the scene in which Peter is crucified, including a dialogue between Peter and his flock, the act of singing the trope and its antiphon in the church would conflate the two liturgical celebrations.

A similar concatenation of the feast days is elicited in the cloister by the inscription of *Nunc scio vero* on the capital of Peter's Liberation. The introduction of this particular incipit into the depiction of an historical event brings the story and the apostle into the present moment; that is, the past of this story is recreated in the present at the moment the inscription is read: reading and speaking, not to say intoning, the words makes them 'real'. Specifically, the past is reenacted through liturgical song—this is the commemorative work of the liturgy and this is what the capital 'sings' to us as viewers. This is also what we as viewers 'sing' when we read the inscription or simply view the 'story' in its arcaded location; the commemorative work of this historiated sculpture, its ability to remind us of past events, is heightened dramatically by the antiphon incipit, which introduces a liturgical (or ritual) reality on top of the anecdotal. Moreover, the liturgical aspect of the Liberation capital connects it perfectly and programmatically with the reliquary aspect of the Martyrdom capital.

While it is possible to argue for a programmed liturgical 'reading' of the Martyrdom and Liberation capitals entirely on the basis of their particular location near the sacristy and choir entry, and especially because they are symmetrically adjacent to the ceremonial figures of Peter and Paul on the corner pier, this construction seems detached, vicarious, an intellectual exercise on the part of the cloister's planners. Though this type of program could have its own vitality (and I think this is rather more the case in later cloisters), something more dynamic than a passive recall of parallel liturgies is at work. Just as the stories of martyrdom and liberation entwine within the liturgy itself but are separated by the passage of time, so the capitals are linked with each other through a web of liturgical ritual and singing practice (a phenomenon represented by the antiphon incipit) around a corner, across a space mediated by the imposing figures of the apostles themselves. The addition of antiphon incipit and relic cavity to the respective capitals makes their liturgical link much more insistent and the possibility of liturgical performance in this space much more real. The corner takes on the dimensions of a deliberated setting, with Peter and Paul the *in situ* directors of a dramatic space.

Conclusion: Setting and Ceremony

The presence of new tropes to the Introit in the Moissac Troper-Proser indicates quite clearly that Moissac monks engineered an expansion of ritual performance for Peter on the days of his Martyrdom and Liberation. Further evidence of their musical industry is a lengthy sequence for Peter *ad Vincula*, on fols 144–48 of BN, n.a.lat. 1871, *Psalle iam turba sacra angelorum carmina* (Play now with tumultuous sound the sacred songs of the angels). Apart from n.a.lat. 1177, the so-called Moissac Troper of 1100, no other text witness for this piece is known, and thus it may be considered an internal product of the abbey.[48] *Psalle iam turba* alerts us to a vigorous imagination among the monks, delighting in the tangibility of song sounds.[49] Many monastic communities shared this interest in the musical elaboration of ceremonial for their particular patrons, and we know that after 1000 monastic centres in France began to create new tropes for their own liturgical uses.[50] This process of prolonging and enriching the liturgy through new music can be connected with greater zeal for the spiritual discipline of liturgical performance within a broad movement of church reform in the eleventh century, though the aesthetic pleasure of singing exquisitely phrased verses in melodic unison was also pertinent.[51]

Nurtured by Durand in his dual role of abbot and bishop, and continued under Hunaud and Ansquitil, the reforming spirit remained strong at Moissac. It put the abbey at the forefront of reforming policies in southwestern France, such as the consolidation of churches and other properties seized unjustly (as it was claimed) by lay lords,[52] resistance to the oversight of local bishops and lay abbots,[53] and the forcible reform of priories and churches in its own area, first under Durand and then under Hunaud.[54] Within the devotional sphere of the monastic community, the idea of enriching their spiritual life with newly composed or specifically adapted musical forms was encouraged at Moissac by a vocational culture favourable to the elaboration of the liturgy on the one hand, and eager for scriptural and commentary literature from Patristic sources on the other.[55] As already suggested, the addition of new musical forms to the Moissac liturgy implies an extension of ceremonial forms. This probably meant an expansion of processions, since the longer the processional the more opportunity for song; but it could also mean additional ceremonials.

Opportunity for processional routes extending would not be lacking. The abbey had a close, indeed intimate, relationship with the small church of Saint-Ansbert (today, the disused church of Saint-Martin), which sheltered the relics of this seventh-century abbot (the earliest in a line of Moissac's abbot-architects). Saint-Ansbert's church was located a short walking distance from the monastery's walls, and it may have been staffed by a priest from the Moissac community. I have suggested elsewhere that the church of Saint-Ansbert could have served as a processional station on great feast days.[56] But even within the monastic enclosure, processions could use the space of the cloister from time to time. For example, some medieval Cluniac customaries indicate that all the monks were to assemble two-by-two in the cloister in hierarchical order prior to the start of Mass.[57] As they proceeded into the church, they would be singing the Introit antiphon with its tropes. Music historians note that the Introit materials were variable in performance length; one might skip verses or even repeat a trope as needed, depending on the length of the procession.

Benedictine customaries also indicate that monks were to proceed around the cloister itself at the start of the liturgical day, even before they sang the Office of Prime; in some places the custom was to bless each doorway, stopping at the door of the chapter house, the kitchen, the refectory, and so on as they 'made a circuit' in stational procession around the cloister. These customs would apply even if the cloister consisted of only two or three walkways, as seems to have been the case at Moissac before Ansquitil's plans for a magnificent four-sided ambulatory residence were realized.[58]

Other ceremonies of an august nature that extended into the cloister include Rogations (with three days of processions) and *Mandatum*, the special cloister ceremony of footwashing held during Holy Week. There may have been processions in the cloister on other occasions relative to the customs of a particular house. Such local customs would turn around whatever particulars were at hand, such as the treasures or relics that a particular house possessed. At Moissac, the particular features requiring special observance would be Peter's relics in the southeast corner and the fountain of miraculous waters in the northwest corner.[59] The fountain house may have been included in the liturgy of Initiation rites, of tonsuring, and perhaps other celebrations during Eastertime, as the capital of the Triumph of the Cross (with veiled and unveiled depictions) next to the corner pier implies (fig. 1, no. 58).[60]

This raises the fascinating possibility that one of the motivations for a new cloister at Moissac was to accommodate the need for a 'better' processional space. Indeed the very ostentation of the cloister—with its marble-carved apostle pier figures at every corner, intricately carved and extensively inscribed capitals, the arcaded enclosure and its fountain of miraculous waters—was, beyond all known measure, also a means of elaborating the religious vocation. From this perspective, the music, the cloister, and even the (idea for a cloister filled with historiated) sculpture were products of a similar type of creativity, a creativity which earlier I termed the process of ceremonial thinking.

This is not to say factors of a more mundane nature were not part of the decision to build a new cloister and fill it with monumental sculpture, including many foliate and ornamental capitals.[61] But if we ask how they made choices for the plan of the cloister, and to some extent why they made these choices, we are asking about the creative, imaginative process. In the 1090s, there were no models for what the Moissac community wanted to do with the cloister space. There were precedents, even very prestigious precedents in the cloisters of Cluny and Montecassino, but no cloister combined all the elements that are found in the Moissac cloister. In point of fact, they had to assemble precedents from visual and material tradition and adapt them in medium, material, size, position, technique, subject, composition, and so forth. Since ceremonial was such a dominant part of Benedictine life, it stands to reason that a ceremonial mode of thinking would inform all other modes of thinking including that of chant composition and cloister planning.

Fortunately, it has been possible to uncover an exemplary, prior use of ceremonial thinking in the production of tropes and proses for their patron saint, Peter. Having argued for their composition in the 1050s or around 1063 (perhaps a period of first blush enthusiasm for honouring their patron with new Benedictine habits), I think we see the effect of ceremonial thinking in the subsequent 'confection' of the cloister around 1100, and even more vividly in the careful preparation and installation of the reliquary capital in the southeast corner of the arcade, with all its implications for ceremonial attention and liturgical performance.

Ceremonial thinking certainly was involved in their *inventio* of the *Exceptio reliquarum Sancti Petri Moysiaci* feast day; this 'taking up' or 'taking out' of the relics of Saint Peter at Moissac implies that the liturgy for the day included a processional to pay homage to the relics of their patron in the cloister. I have not identified a processional for the *Exceptio* in the abbey's surviving manuscripts (plausibly this feast would post-date the surviving music manuscripts, and there is no evidence of a later addition). However, there is a fully notated processional chant in another manuscript from the Moissac scriptorium that was produced probably in the late 1090s or around 1100. Paris, BN, lat. 2819 is a composite codex containing several texts of different genres but copied by the same hand. On fols 79–85 it preserves the music and text for a processional probably meant for the church of Saint-Maurin, Agen (*De adventu Domini: missus est angelus gabrihel*).[62] Processionals, for the present purpose, may be defined as 'special ceremonies celebrated before or after the Mass on certain feasts. [...] The chants sung during the ceremonies are mainly elaborate Antiphons, [...] Responsories and Hymns'.[63] In fact, a large repertory of hymns from the abbey survives in the mid-eleventh-century Hymnal of Moissac, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, de Rossi, M. 205, including numerous hymns to Peter and Paul.[64] These hymns, and possibly others never written down or recorded but now lost, would be available for multiple purposes, including a processional ceremony to honour the patrons with new song on a new day celebrating the taking up of the relics of Saint Peter.

By the time the cloister was finished, Ansquitil and his chapter were clear about how to use the space in the southeast corner. Its breadth, its immediate access to the church choir, and other logistical conveniences held potential for assembling the congregation of monks at different times and for different purposes.[65] Placing the figures of Peter and Paul on the pier in this corner might be expected: it salutes their primacy as a foundational pair in Church history, and affirms Moissac's jurisdictional/juridical ties to Rome. But bracketing the apostle figures with the reliquary capital and the antiphonally charged Liberation capital was a practical and elegant and imaginative solution to the problem of optimizing the abbey's cache of relics and enlarging (or improving) the area in which the monastic communitys could practise the liturgy (the cloister as an extension of the church). Releasing some of their relics to the cloister sacralized the whole arcaded structure, and indeed the whole cloister space. Not only were the Moissac monks under the spiritual guidance of the apostolic community in their new residence; with Peter's relics at a prime place in the arcade, they could claim a powerful intimacy with this apostle, their beloved key-carrier.[66] What better way to honour the blessings they had received from their patron and to insure these blessings would continue to flow through their vocational life?

As Christ's representative, Peter's commission to grant or deny access to heaven made his accessibility a highly desirable and yet very dangerous gift to the monks.[67] What could the monks give to Peter? Already they had made songs of praise and had redefined their own lives under the strictures of the Rule. Whatever worldly motivations may have been in place for undertaking the cloister project, and assuredly there were some, the decision to include Peter's relics in a patron program in the southeast corner would be a petition to resolve those worldly factors in the liturgical joy of ceremonial performance. In this context, the cloister itself was a gift of supplication, the petitioner's price for the opportunity to enter heaven. It's as simple and complex as that.

NOTES

This article draws on research accomplished for my doctoral dissertation, 'Sculpture Programs in the Moissac Cloister: Benedictine Culture, Memory Systems, and Liturgical Performance' (University of Chicago, 1991), and subsequent conference papers on this topic. I do not provide here an iconographic analysis of the reliquary capital, nor a final analysis of its contextual significance. Rather, I locate the capital in a creative process that I call ceremonial thinking, and draw some conclusions about how it would have participated in the larger scheme of monastic vocation at Moissac. The Moissac cloister itself is one of the most complex monumental environments from the Middle Ages that we can know today. It challenges our capacity to articulate the breadth and depth of material imagination and imaginative enterprise. Ceremonial thinking, as I present it, offers an appropriately reflexive way to grasp the protean quality of this place and its art in operation.

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1. Meyer Schapiro published a plan of the cloister as it would have looked in 1100 in 'The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac I', *Romanesque Art* (New York: George Braziller, 1997), pp. 131–200, nn. 1–97, 254–61 (p. 134).

2. I assume the present placement of these capitals is their original placement, despite some reworking to the arcade in the thirteenth century; see my argument on this question at a later point in this essay. See also my earlier discussion of this problem, in 'Sculpture Programs in the Moissac Cloister', pp. 76–81. In addition to the apostles' martyrdoms, the capital includes a vignette of the apotheosis of the apostles' souls in the arms of an angel, and a scene of Herod enthroned next to a miniature tower with a detached head appearing in an upper window (not shown).

3. As discussed later, the celebration of both martyrdoms on 29 June is a historical fiction promoted in Rome by papal design. Regarding the relic tradition, two nineteenth-century historians of Moissac report this tradition: Ernest Rupin, *L'Abbaye et les cloîtres de Moissac* (Société Archéologique de la Corrèze, 1897; repr. Treignac: Les Monédières, 1981), p. 250; and Adrienne Lagréze-Fossat, *Études historiques sur Moissac*, 3 vols (Paris: J.-B. Dumoulin, 1870), III, 291. In Rupin's words, 'On voit sur la face méridionale, entre le martyr et ses bourreaux, une petite cavité, mesurant cinq centimétres sur les côtes. Cette cavité, que recouvrait un verre, renfermait les reliques des deux saints apôtres. Le chapitre de l'abbaye, le jour de la fête de ces beinheureux, venait tous les ans, en procession, encenser ces restes précieux. Les troubles révolutionaires firent disparaître à la fois et les reliques et l'honneur qu'on leur rendait' (p. 250).

Deriving from these two antiquarian sources are the comments of Marcel Durliat in 'Les Cloîtres historiés dans la France méridionale à l'époque romane', *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 7 (1976), 67–74 and illus.; and Marguerite Vidal, 'Le Culte des saints et des reliques dans l'abbaye de Moissac', *O Distrito de Braga*, 4 (1967), 7–18 (p. 9). See also Rutchick, 'Sculpture Programs in the Moissac Cloister', p. 290, n. 389.

4. Henri Leclercq, 'Autel', in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétien et de liturgie*, 11 vols, ed. by Fernand Cabrol and Henri Leclercq (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1907), I, cols 3155–89; Geoffrey Webb, *The Liturgical Altar*, 2nd edn (Westminister, MD: The Newman Press, 1949), pp. 38–39; Pierre Dourthe, 'Typologie de l'autel, emplacement et fonction des reliques dans la péninsule Ibérique et le sud de la Gaule du Ve au XIe siècle', *Bulletin monumental*, 153.1 (1995), 7–22. See also the important contributions of Elisabeth Declercq, 'La Place des reliques dans le mobilier liturgique et l'architecture d'après les *Gesta Karoli Magni* de l'abbaye de Lagrasse', *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 14 (1983), n.p; and Harad Keller, 'Reliquien, in Architekturuteilen beigesetzt', *Beiträge zur Kunst des Mittelalters, Festschrift für Hans Wentzel zum 60. Geburtstag* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1975), pp. 105–14. Evidence for the use of a carved capital as a repository for relics inside an altar is reported by B. Bernard, 'Découverte de reliques dans l'autel de l'église de Valcabrère', *Bulletin monumental*, 52 (1886), 501–08.

5. Raymond Rey, *La Sculpture romane languedocienne* (Toulouse and Paris: Édouard Privat and Henri Didier, 1936), pp. 126–27; idem, *L'Art des cloîtres romans* (Toulouse: Édouard Privat, 1955), pp. 37–67; M. F. Hearn, *Romanesque Sculpture: The Revival of Monumental Stone Sculpture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982), p. 123; see also a more extended discussion of this point in Rutchick, 'Sculpture Programs in the Moissac Cloister', pp. 81–90, esp. pp. 82–84 and n. 123.

6. The classic discussion of oral traditional performance is Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1960). For application to medieval epic narrative, see also Eric Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. by Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953). For an introduction to mnemonic systems available in the Middle Ages, see Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960); and Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). For some comments on the effective use of mnemonic strategies by troubadours, see Gerald A. Bond, 'Arresting Subjects: Ælfgyva and the Coloring of History', in *The Loving Subject: Desire, Eloquence and Power in Romanesque France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), pp. 18–41 (p. 25); for the interface of troubadours with clerical and monastic culture in the very period of the Moissac cloister, see the chapter 'Craft and Power: William of Poitiers, Courtesy, and the Impersonation of Wit', ibid., pp. 99–128. See also Leo Treitler, 'Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant', *The Musical Quarterly*, 60 (July 1974), 333–72.

7. This is a projection of the viewer incited by the mimetic qualities of the sculpture. Narrative imagery incites monks to reiterate the stories depicted in low voice. I infer this phenomenon from a variety of sources, but the fundamental work is Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. by Catherine Misrahi, 2nd rev. edn (New York: Fordham University Press, 1977), pp. 87–96 and *passim*; cf. Rutchick, 'Sculpture Programs in the Moissac Cloister', pp. 202–08.

8. The Chronicle of Aymeric de Peyrac has survived in two manuscripts. The longer and primary copy is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 4991-A, dated after 1431 and before the manuscript left the abbey for Paris in 1678. A short section, unfinished in itself but possibly dated to Aymeric's own time, is found in Paris, BN, MS lat. 5288, fols 61r–65v. The longer copy of Aymeric's Chronicle consists of three parts: a history of the popes, a history of the kings of France, and in the last part, a history of the abbots of Moissac (fols 152v–167r) and a history of the counts of Toulouse; the shorter text copies a section of the abbots' history only (fols 152vb–162ra, according to the editor, cited below). The major source for Aymeric's text has been Rupin's monograph, *L'Abbaye et les cloîtres de Moissac*. Rupin's comments on the state of the abbey prior to its Benedictine make-over may be found under the entry for Abbot Étienne, pp. 44–46, supported with quotes from the Chronicle (p. 44, n. 1). See also the most recent history of the abbey, Axel Müssigbrod, *Die Abtei Moissac 1050–1150, Zu einem Zentrum Cluniacensischen Mönchtums in Südwestfrankreich* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1988), pp. 37, 75–161. After my initial study of the cloister was completed, an edition and translation into French came to my attention. Régis de la Haye discusses the two manuscript sources and makes many valuable comments in the introduction to *Chroniques des Abbés de Moissac: Aymeric de Peyrac*, ed., trans., and annotated by Régis de la Haye (Maastricht and Moissac: Régis de la Haye, 1994), pp. 7–22. The long copy, lat. 4991-A, is dated 1450 by Jacques Hourlier, 'L'Entrée de Moissac dans l'ordre de Cluny', in *Moissac et l'occident au XIe siècle. Actes du Colloque international de Moissac, 3–5 mai 1963* (Toulouse: Édouard Privat, 1964), pp. 25–33 (p. 25, n. 1).

9. Durandus=Durand (de Bredon). See Rupin, who cites Aymeric de Peyrac, *L'Abbaye et les cloîtres de Moissac*, pp. 46–48. Rupin mentions another confirmation of the union of Moissac and Cluny in an earlier council in Toulouse, in 1055 (p. 48). For a review of the dates and personalities involved in the institution of reform at Moissac, see Hourlier, 'L'Entrée de Moissac', pp. 25–33; see also a succinct history of the abbey by Jean Dufour, *La Bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1972), pp. 3–11.

10. A discussion of Moissac's temporal properties based on charters of the abbey comprises the introduction to Marie-Christine Lefebvre-Becq, 'Les plus anciennes chartes du monastère de Moissac' (unpublished thesis, École des Chartes, 1974), currently held in Paris at the Archives Nationales under the shelfmark, ABXXVIII 206, pp. 3–48. The thesis consists of four volumes that contain a typewritten edition, transcription, and analysis of some 430 charters, including some originals, some that survive only in much later copies, and those mentioned in earlier cartulary lists but which are now lost. See also the discussion of Moissac's charters in Dufour, *La Bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac*, nos 20–22, pp. 19–20. A cartulary of Moissac, assembled by Jean de Doat in the seventeenth century, is kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale, in the Collection de Doat, vols 128–29, and has been the main source of access to Moissac's charters. For a narrative description of the donations of churches and lands to Moissac during Durand's time (1048–72) and that of his successors, Hunaud (1072–85, d. 1110), Ansquitil (1085–1115), and Roger (1115–31); see Rupin, *L'Abbaye et les cloîtres de Moissac*, in the context of each abbot: pp. 46–57 (Durand), pp. 57–62 (Hunaud), pp. 62–70 (Ansquitil), pp. 70–75 (Roger). Rupin also provides a separate list of Moissac's priories in 'Dictionnaire géographique des possessions de l'abbaye de Moissac', ibid., pp. 181–98.

11. An engraving of the plaque is reproduced and transcribed in Rupin, *L'Abbaye et les cloîtres de Moissac*, pp. 50–51.

12. Independence and immunity were privileges granted to all Benedictine communities allied with or subsumed by Cluny. Cluny received these privileges in its foundation charter of 909, a fact widely cited in the literature; see Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound: Cluny in the Tenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), pp. xvii–xviii, 43, 126, n. 43; C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (London and New York: Longman, 1984), pp. 76–77, 80–81. For the association of Peter and Paul to Rome, see *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd edn, ed. by E. A. Livingstone (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 1261. Clement, *Epistle to the Corinthians 5* (*c.* 95 AD), specifically links Peter's and Paul's martyrdoms, and Leo the Great (Bishop of Rome, 440–461) vigorously promoted this tradition. See H. W. Tajra, *The Martyrdom of St. Paul: Historical and Judicial Context, Traditions, and Legends*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 2 ser., 67 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1994), pp. 167–77, 194–97.

13. Although claiming independence from Cluny's direct oversight in their everyday affairs and claiming a large degree of regional autonomy, Moissac still proclaimed loyalty to Cluny. The depth of their union as a religious body with the community of monks at Cluny is noted by Axel Müssigbrod, 'Quellen zum Totengedächtnis der Abtei Moissac', *Revue Bénédictine*, 97 (1987), 253–58. He demonstrates that Moissac's necrology assumed a newer form in 1073 (at Hunaud's election), when there is a massive adoption of names from Cluny's necrology. Their intercessory prayers would henceforth include the entire community of Cluny, living and dead. In practical terms, this influx of Cluniac names completed the shift from a locally focused liturgy to a much larger, confraternal perspective, a shift of identity at

the heart of their religious life. See also Müssigbrod's definitive study of this document (Paris, BN, MS lat. 5548) with Joachim Wollasch, *Das Martyrolog-Necrolog von Moissac/Duravel, Facsimile-Ausgabe* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1988).

14. Dufour, *La Bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac,* no.103, pp. 149–50.

15. Dufour, *La Bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac;* idem, 'La Composition de la bibliothèque de Moissac à la lumière d'un inventaire du XVIIe siècle nouvellement découvert', *Scriptorium,* 35 (1981), 75–226; idem, 'Manuscrits de Moissac antérieurs au milieu du XIIe siècle et nouvellement identifiés', *Scriptorium,* 36 (1982), 147–73 and illus.; idem, 'Les Manuscrits liturgiques de Moissac', *Les Cahiers de Fanjeaux,* 17 (1982), 115–38.

16. Rutchick, 'Sculpture Programs in the Moissac Cloister', p. 35. In this earlier study, I dated BN, n.a.lat. 1871 to the third quarter of the eleventh century (p. 292). However, 1075 is perhaps too early for a *terminus post quem,* given the quality of some decorated initials in the manuscript. Assigning it to the 1080s introduces other problems. The potentially disruptive effects of Moissac's occupation of the church of Saint-Sernin in Toulouse from 1081–82/3 must be taken into account. Their prolonged excursion into the politics of Toulousian ecclesiastical reform may have impeded book production in the Moissac scriptorium, it may have had no effect on the scriptorium's production, or its aftermath may actually have spurred production. Moissac's occupation of Saint-Sernin ended with their papal censure, and the Troper-Proser may have been created to consolidate their liturgical tradition and restore the monastery's reputation as a worthy centre of the spiritual life. For a discussion of this censure in relation to the genesis of the cloister, see Rutchick, 'Sculpture Programs in the Moissac Cloister', pp. 339–42.

17. See Dufour, 'Les Manuscrits liturgiques de Moissac', pp. 117–21.

18. For an overview of these forms, see Richard H. Hoppin, *Medieval Music* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978), pp. 122–42; John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050–1340* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 80–90 and *passim;* David Hiley, 'Plainchant Transfigured: Innovation and Reformation through the Ages', in *Antiquity and the Middle Ages: From Ancient Greece to the 15th Century,* ed. by James McKinnon (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1990), pp.124–29. For a more detailed analysis of the trope and sequence, see Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990), pp. 429–42, 442–64.

19. The fundamental work on manuscripts from the Limoges 'school' remains Jacques Chailley, *L'Ecole musicale de Saint-Martial de Limoges* (Paris: Les Livres Essentiels, 1960); and idem, 'Les Anciens tropaires et séquentiaires de l'école de Saint-Martial de Limoges (Xe–XIe s.)', *Études Grégoriennes,* 2 (1957), 163–88; but see also Sarah Fuller, 'The Myth of "Saint Martial" Polyphony: A Study of the Sources', *Musica Disciplina,* 33 (1979), 5–26; Richard L. Crocker, 'The Repertory of Proses at Saint Martial de Limoges in the 10th Century', *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* 11 (1958), 149–64; Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, *La Décoration des manuscrits à Saint-Martial de Limoges et en Limousin du IXe au XIIe siècle* (Paris and Geneva: Droz, 1969).

20. Trope compendia consulted in my investigation include the following: *The Winchester Troper,* ed. by W. H. Frere, The Henry Bradshaw Society, 8 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1894); Ulysse Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum. Catalogue des chants, hymnes, proses, séquences, tropes en usage dans l'église latine depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours,* 6 vols (Leuven: Impr. Lefever, 1892–1921); idem, *Poésie liturgique traditionelle de l'église catholique en occident* (Tournai: Desclée, Lefebvre et Cie, Editeurs Pontificaux, 1894), II; Guido Maria Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi,* 55 vols (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland,1886–1922), VII; *Prosarium Lemovicense: Die Prosen der Abtei St.Martial zu Limoges, aus Troparien des 10., 11. und 12.Jahrhunderts,* IX: *Sequentiae Ineditae: Liturgische Prosen des Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1890; repr. New York and London: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1961); vol. XLVII, *Tropi Graduales: Tropen des Missale im Mittelalter,* I: *Tropen zum Ordinarium Missae,* with Clemens Blume and Henry Marriott Bannister (1905); vol. XLIX, *Tropi Graduales: Tropen des Missale im Mittelalter,* II: *Tropen zum Proprium Missarum,* with Clemens Blume (1906). For a longer discussion of the Limoges manuscripts and Moissac chant pieces, see Rutchick, 'Sculpture Programs in the Moissac Cloister', pp. 293–325.

21. In the domain of the visual arts, the eleventh century saw the first concerted use of monumental sculpture to decorate doorways, the first appearance of a Romanesque 'style', and the programmatic deployment of monumental sculpture. The translation of many themes familiar from manuscript illumination to the new medium of stone carving required often innovative representational solutions. Among the many books and articles published on monastic and church reform in the eleventh century, in an article by Jean Leclercq, he asks, 'how did they [i.e. monks and clerics] write history' in the period from 1049–1122 (a period dominated by the reforms set in motion by Pope Gregory VII); see 'L'Historiographie monastique de Léon IX à Callixte II', in *Il monachesimo e la riforma ecclesiastica (1049–1122). Atti della quarta Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola 23–29 Agosto 1968,* Pubblicazioni dell Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Contributi, ser. 3, varia 7 (Milan: Vitae e pensiero, 1971), pp. 271–302. In the section 'Histoire et réforme' (pp. 298–301), Leclercq considers the idea of hagiography as a widespread type of historical writing. This particular genre is very well represented in Moissac's library, and also describes the kind of narrative found on the historiated capitals in the cloister (including capitals of Christ's *Vita*), leading to the interesting point that the monks may have thought of themselves engaged with (and in the forefront of) historical writing.

22. The phrase is attributed to Leon Gautier in the discussion of E. Catherine Dunn, 'The Origin of the Saints' Plays: The Question Reopened', in *Medieval Drama: A Collection of Festival Papers,* ed. by William A. Selz, Festival Papers, 3 (Vermillion, SD: The Dakota Press, University of South Dakota, 1968), pp. 46–62 (p. 49).

23. Dufour, *La Bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac,* p. 8, 15, 79; idem, 'Les Manuscrits liturgiques de Moissac', pp. 117–18; see also Rutchick, 'Sculpture Programs in the Moissac Cloister', pp. 31–35; Müssigbrod, *Die Abtei Moissac,* p. 151.

24. Géraud's *Vita* was copied at Moissac in the first half of the early twelfth century. It is bound into Paris BN, MS lat. 5296 C. See Dufour, 'Manuscrits de Moissac', XII, pp. 164–65.

25. The Missal of Mateus and the Pontifical of Braga; see Dufour, 'Les Manuscrits liturgiques de Moissac', pp. 118, 132, nn. 34, 35.

26. Barbara H. Rosenwein and Lester K. Little, 'Social Meaning in the Monastic and Mendicant Spiritualities', *Past and Present,* 63 (May 1974), pp. 4–32.

27. The Rule of Saint Benedict exists in many translations and editions. I have used, RB 1980: *The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes and Thematic Index*, ed. by Timothy Fry, O.S.B. (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1981). P[eter] R. L. Brown, 'Relics and Social Status in the Age of Gregory of Tours', The Stenton Lecture, 1976 (Reading: University of Reading, 1977), pp. 3–22 (p. 8).

28. For visual cognition, or thinking with and through the elements of the visual arts, see the early discussion by Rudolf Arnheim, *Visual Thinking* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969); idem, *Art and Visual Perception: A Psychology of the Creative Eye* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974). For the idea of ritual as a vehicle for creating meaning, see the work of Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine, 1969); idem, *Drama, Fields and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1974).

29. On the notion of *mentalité* in historical studies, see the essay by Jacques Le Goff, 'Mentalities: A History of Ambiguities', in *Constructing the Past: Essays in Historical Methodology*, ed. by Jacques Le Goff and Pierre Nora (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 166–80. Also useful is the introductory essay by Colin Lucas, 'Introduction', ibid., pp. 1–11, for a discussion of the new methodology associated with Marc Bloch, Georges Lefebvre, and others, including Le Goff and the so-called *Annales* school. For a consideration of Moissac as the earliest cloister with a large ensemble of historiated sculpture, see Durliat, 'Les Cloîtres historiés dans la France', pp. 61–74 and illus. See also the discussion of Moissac's contribution to a dialogue on the architectural and decorative development of cloisters with Cluny and Montecassino in Rutchick, 'Sculpture Programs in the Moissac Cloister', pp. 117–24. For a discussion of historical circumstances and their role in the genesis of the cloister, see ibid., pp. 339–42. This argument is expanded in an article currently in preparation, 'Time's Witness: Configuring Burial and Remembering the Dead in the Moissac Cloister'. See also, Linda Seidel, 'Medieval Cloister Carving and Monastic Mentalité', *The Medieval Monastery* (Medieval Studies at Minnesota, 2), ed. by Andrew MacLeish (St. Cloud, MN: North Star Press of St. Cloud), pp. 1–15.

30. See note 5 above.

31. Rupin, *L'Abbaye et les cloîtres de Moissac,* p. 107 and n. 5; Schapiro comments briefly on this thirteenth-century campaign in his essay, 'Romanesque Sculpture in the Moissac Cloister I', p. 137, referring to Rupin; for comments about erecting wooden vaulting over the galleries in the nineteenth century, see Schapiro, 'Romanesque Sculpture in the Moissac Cloister I', p. 257, n. 48. However, in the typewritten version of Schapiro's dissertation, 'The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1935), which he submitted to Avery Library, Columbia University, years after his actual graduation in 1929, Schapiro addresses the question of the sculpture's possible rearrangement (p. 254, n. 1). I reproduce his remarks, quoted in my earlier study 'Sculpture Programs in the Moissac Cloister', pp. 80–81: 'This apparent disorder is not due, as has been suggested, to the reconstruction of the cloister in the XIIIth century, when the present pointed arches replaced the Romanesque, nor to the use of earlier materials among those of the XIIth century. The Gothic abbots understood the themes represented, and would surely have respected a significant arrangement had one existed. That we behold the original sequence is evident from two facts: that in the south gallery capitals, which are distinguished from all others by a different style of carving, the subjects are similarly unrelated; and that the capitals attached to the piers (and so cut that they must always have been so attached to them) present no iconographic sequence'. I argue this point slightly differently in the text following suggesting (by way of a preview) that an important motivator for maintaining the original order of sculpture was the propriety of tradition and the abbot's role as its conservator.

32. Thereby succeeding Ansquitil and Roger in the line of outstanding abbot-architects, beginning with the second and third abbots of Moissac, Ansbert and Léotade, who are credited with completing the first monastery in the seventh century; Rupin, *L'Abbaye et les cloîtres de Moissac*, pp. 27–32.

33. The ambulatory setting of the sculpture was exploited for exegetical and meditative purposes. I propose how this worked 'programmatically' on the basis of the mnemonic structure of the narrative format specifically employed on the Moissac capitals (Rutchick, 'Sculpture Programs in the Moissac Cloister'). The narratives, presented in discrete vignettes to monastic viewers, recommended themselves to memory and became objects of ingestion, digestion, and regurgitation—to use monastic images for memorizing and recalling/reiterating scriptural passages: see the invaluable account given by Jean Lerclercq, *The Love of Learning*, p. 90 and *passim*.

34. For a discussion of programmatic sculpture groups in the northwest corner and along the north arcade to the central pier, see Rutchick, 'Sculpture Programs in the Moissac Cloister', pp. 267–71.

35. Some iconographical aspects are noted in the context of manuscript antecedents by Laura L. Franklin, 'Moissac: The Martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 88 (December 1976), 219–22. Of great interest, though beyond the scope of my discussion in this article, is the inscription on the impost block above the Martyrdom-Reliquary capital: Martirio : S[an]c[tu]s : Pe / tre [for Petrus] Martirio P / aule [for Paulus] Saule: Sa / ule Qui[id] M[e] P[e]rseq[u]er[is]. Distributed around the block in such a way as to highlight a (complex) play of oral/aural/visual factors, the inscription combines the impersonal 'titulus' form with a highly dramatic transcription of the voice of God the Father (Acts 9. 4). For a discussion of an inscribed capital, see the article by Elizabeth Valdez del Alamo in this volume.

36. Franklin, 'The Martyrdom', p. 221.

37. The martyrdoms of Peter and Paul occurred on different dates, in different places, and by different means, but in certain narrative accounts they have been linked as occurring on the same day since the later fifth century. See Tajra, *The Martyrdom of St. Paul*, pp. 141–42, 148–49, 150–51 and *passim*. On the other hand, Eusebius already spoke of them as a pair in his *Ecclesiastical History* (*c.* 325 AD), and they were celebrated together in the liturgy as early as the mid-third century, though this feast pays greater attention to Peter (pp. 178–79, 189), a point borne out in some Patristic sermons (pp. 194–97), and evident in the Moissac Troper-Proser, as well. Paul is the centre of attention on the following day, 30 June, for the *Commemoratio Sancti Pauli* (recently discontinued).

38. On Urban's visit to Moissac, see René Crozet, 'Le Voyage d'Urbain II en France (1095–1096) et son importance au point de vue archéologique', *Annales du Midi*, 49 (1937), 42–69 (pp. 53, 59–60); idem, 'Le voyage d'Urbain II et ses négociations avec le clergé de France', *Revue historique*, 7 (1937), 271–310 (p. 303). The charter of 1101 is recorded in Dom Claude Devic and Dom Joseph Vaissete, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, ed. by E. Roschach, A. Molin-

ier, and others, repr. edn (Osnabrück: Otto Zeller Verlag, 1973), III, 485. The original Moissac charter of 1101 exists today in the Archives Départmental de Tarn-et-Garonne in Montauban, shelf mark G 698. It has been edited and published by François Galabert and Clovis Lassale, *Album de paléographie et de diplomatique* (Toulouse: C. Lassale, 1912–33), pl. 1, n.1; see also the remarks on this charter by Jean Dufour, *La Bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac,* no. 23, p. 103; and more recently, it has been transcribed and analyzed by Marie-Christine Lefebvre-Becq, 'Les plus anciennes chartes du monastère du Moissac', II, no. 160, pp. 479–82. The altar dedication is mentioned and its charter evidence noted by Louis d'Alauzier, 'Le Bréviaire de Pierre de Carmaing', *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de Tarn-et-Garonne*, 95 (1969–70), 19–40 (pp. 24–25, and n. 10), and the charter is catalogued by Jean Dufour, as above, no. 23, p. 103.

39. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, M 463, calendar on fols 253–258; the calendar is transcribed in Louis d'Alauzier, 'Le Bréviaire de Pierre de Carmaing', pp. 29–40.

40. It is unlikely that the patron's relics were delegated to a secondary altar. The charters were studied in Lefebvre-Becq, 'Les plus anciennes chartes du monastère du Moissac', II, no.169 (dated 1105), pp. 501–02, stipulating the act was made 'over the altar of Saint Peter and book of the Holy Gospels', and no. 176 (dated 1107), pp. 512–13. On this charter of 1107, see also Dufour *La Bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac,* no. 28, p. 104. At least one earlier charter mentions the altar of Saint Peter, see Lefebvre-Becq no. 98, p. 326, dated 1077. A further study of Lefebvre-Becq's comprehensive edition of Moissac's charters (ninth to twelfth centuries) may add to this list. My notes indicate two other charters were confirmed in the chapter house: *in capitulo Moysiacensi firmavi*, Lefebvre-Becq, 'Les plus anciennes chartes', no. 109, p. 356 (dated 1081), and *in capitulo Moisiacensi*, no. 131, pp. 406–07 (dated 1085; Lefebvre-Becq notes it is the first act signed by Ansquitil as abbot); one act confirmed 'over the altar of Saint Julien' (presumably located in the chapel of this name, location unknown), no. 137, pp. 420–21 (dated 1088); and a donation made to the oratory of Saint Mary, dated 986: '*infra claustra super altare Sancti Philiberti*', (in the cloister over the altar of Saint Philibert), no. 24, pp. 137–40. It should be noted that these charters were confirmed in conventual buildings that existed prior to the construction of the Romanesque cloister discussed in this article. The oratory of Saint Mary may have been located in the eastern wing along with the sacristy and chapter house after 1122 (a chapel of Saint Ferréol was added); see Rutchick, 'Sculpture Programs in the Moissac Cloister', pp. 109–13, 344–46.

41. See Schapiro, 'Romanesque Sculpture in the Moissac Cloister I', figs 80–81.

42. Montauban, Archives départmentales, G585; published by Camille Daux, *Pèlerinage et confrérie de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle*, as Appendix I: 'Inventaire des reliques vénérées à Saint-Pierre de Moissac à l'époque des pèlerins de Santiago', in *La Pèlerinage à Compostelle et la Confrérie des Pèlerins de Monseigneur Saint-Jacques de Moissac* (Paris: Champion, 1898), pp. 304–05.

43. The Martyrology-Necrology of Moissac/Duravel, lists an *Exceptio* feast for Duravel (a priory of Moissac) on 12 May: 'Ipso die apud durauel, exceptio reliquiarum sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Jacobi, et sancti Vincentii martiris, et sancti Maxentii presbiteri et confessoris gloriosi in miraculis'. Wollasch, *Das Martyrolog–Necrolog*, p. xviii. See also Louis d'Alauzier, 'Un Martyrologe et un obituaire de l'Abbaye de Moissac', *Bulletin de la Société Archélogique de Tarn-et-Garonne,* 85 (1959), 8–14 (p. 10).

44. For the glass slab, see note 3 above.

45. Rupin, *L'Abbaye et les cloîtres de Moissac*, pp. 242–43.

46. Johannes Quasten, *Music and Worship in Pagan and Christian Antiquity*, trans. by Boniface Ramsey, O. P. (Washington, DC: National Association of Pastoral Musicians, 1983), pp. 59–62; J. Gelineau, S. J., 'Music and Singing in the Liturgy', *The Study of the Liturgy*, ed. by Cheslyn Jones, and others (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 440–54.

47. *Petri clavigeri kari* is technically a trope even though it is not intercalated with the antiphon. As noted, the antiphon is sung after this prefatory piece and before the other tropes. In general, the Introit ceremony in the Roman liturgy consists of a (usually grand) prefatory piece, such as the Moissac preface, with the antiphon and several tropes to be sung, each in their turn with the Introit antiphon. There are different ways in which this is done: a line of the trope may be followed by a line of the antiphon, or the entire trope precedes the entire antiphon, or some other variation is used. Depending on the length of the service, the monks would sing all or just some of the tropes in their repertory. The psalm designated for the feast day follows the tropes to the Introit antiphon, and sometimes the psalm itself is also troped by the same antiphon. This whole Introit section is followed by the Kyrie, Gloria, and (sometimes) Collect—all subsumed under the rubric of 'Entrance ceremonies'. The Kyrie and Gloria sections also have tropes to their respective antiphon, but (by the eleventh century, and this is the case at Moissac) they do not have a separate prefatory trope (as with the Introit). In early church liturgies, the entrance ceremonies accompanied the priest's procession to the altar, and could be extended or shortened as necessary. For a concise, general overview, see Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, pp. 120–24.

48. Cf. Henry Marriott Bannister, 'Un Tropaire-Prosier de Moissac', *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses,* 8 (1903), 554–81, 2 pls (pp. 560–61). For BN, n.a.l. 1177 see Dufour *La Bibliothèque et le scriptorium*, no. 101, pp. 148–49.

49. Granting the use of certain conventions in phrasing and choice of vocabulary, the text of this sequence redounds with loud praise sounds. On the notion of musical mimesis (whereby sounds represent the reality to which they refer), see Stevens, *Words and Music*, pp. 299–303, 372–409, and *passim*. Numerous Office hymns for Peter, and for Peter and Paul, were copied into the Hymnal of Moissac, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, de Rossi, MS 205, dated mid-eleventh century by Dufour, *La Bibliothèque et le scriptorium*, no. 106, p. 151. I have not had an opportunity to examine this manuscript nor to determine if it contains hymns made in the abbey (however, on this, see Dufour, 'Les Manuscrits liturgiques de Moissac', pp. 124–25). Camille Daux, 'L'Hymnaire de l'abbaye de Moissac aux Xe–XIe siècles', *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de Tarn-et-Garonne,* 27 (1899), 17–45; Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica*, II: *Hymnarius Moissaiacensis: Das Hymnar der Abtei Moissac im 10. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Fues's Verlag (R. Reisland), 1888). Another hymn to Peter and Paul was inserted into a copy of Josephus's *De bello Judaico*, Paris, BN, lat. 5058, fol. 165v, a Moissac manuscript dated to the end of the eleventh century. See Dufour, 'La Composition', p. 222 (listed as *Hymnus in laudem sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli*). The Josephus manuscript itself is catalogued in Dufour, *La Bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac,* no. 89, pp. 140–41. These hymns would belong to a repertory for use in the Offices of the Hours on the patrons' feast days.

50. Above, note 22. See also Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, pp. 164–66.

51. Hoppin finds expressions of delight in the act of singing the melodies and words of praise in the verses of medieval sequences (proses) themselves; *Medieval Music*, pp. 168–70. Aesthetic pleasure was a problem for ecclesiastical leaders from the time of the early Church. On their cautious and even prohibitive attitude toward instrumental music in the Church and permissible types of singing, see Quasten, *Music and Worship*, pp. 59–75, 92–94. A charming story mentioned by E. Catherine Dunn describes a prior's ultimately fruitless attempt (in the Norman French monastery of Crux, about 1085) to keep monks from singing the 'new and fashionable type of musical chant in honor of St. Nicholas'; 'The Origin of the Saints' Plays', pp. 47–49.

52. Urban II's bull of 1096 confirming Moissac's rights over some forty priories and properties was only one symptom of their interest in establishing a kind of reforming hegemony over regional churches. Durand's successor, the abbot Hunaud, adopted a policy of acquisition that is detailed in one of the abbey's charters. His goal was to restore all property improperly seized from Moissac. This would have been justified by principles of reform, whereby the abbeys claimed the status of independence as religious houses, free from the predatory actions of lay and episcopal powers. This important charter of Hunaud's *'rachat'* is edited and analyzed by Lefebvre–Becq, 'Les plus anciennes chartes', no. 88, pp. 289-94 (dated 1073/74); another version of this charter exists in the collection of Doat, vol. 128, fol. 108.

53. As a Cluniac foundation, they acknowledged only papal authority. Durand was Bishop of Toulouse, and Moissac was in the diocese of the Bishop of Cahors, with whom they had, at times, a contentious relationship. On the question of lay abbots at Moissac, a continuing and thorny problem for them, see the fundamental work by Elisabeth Magnou, 'Introduction de la réforme grégorienne à Toulouse', *Cahiers de l'Association Marc Bloch de Toulouse*, 3 (1958), 1–87; eadem, 'Abbés séculiers ou avoués au XIe siècle', in *Moissac et l'occident au XIe siècle,* pp. 123–32.

54. In about 1062, Durand as Bishop of Toulouse attempted to reform the (heretofore very powerful) abbey of Lézat (just west of Toulouse, with Catalan and Spanish connections) by the forcible intervention of Moissac monks and imposition of a 'Cluniac trained' abbot. The Lézat monks fled *cum cartulis et privilegiis* (with their charters and privileges), only to return defiantly ten years later when the *'abbé imposé'* died; see the valuable article by Paul Ourliac, 'L'Abbaye de Lézat vers 1063', *Moissac et l'occident au XIe siècle,* pp. 167–76. In a more notorious and widely reported intervention in 1082, Moissac monks under Hunaud attempted to convert the (independent, canonical) church of Saint-Sernin, Toulouse, into a Benedictine establishment. In this attempt at 'reform', Moissac also was not successful. On Saint-Sernin, see Elisabeth Magnou's publications, 'Introduction de la réforme' and 'Abbés séculiers'; and for more bibliography, Rutchick, 'Sculpture Programs in the Moissac Cloister', pp. 339–42.

55. A substantial number of manuscripts in Moissac's library contain texts of Patristic commentary and exegesis; see Dufour's publications listed in note 15 above.

56. The abbey's relationship to the church of Saint-Ansbert is explored in Rutchick, 'Time's Witness'. A more general statement of processional liturgy in the cloister is eadem, 'Sculpture Programs in the Moissac Cloister', p. 330.

57. The church was interested always in prefacing ceremonial rituals with another ceremonial action, so that, to use an example already provided, the Mass is introduced by three 'entrance ceremonies', beginning with the Introit. The Introit itself is given special attention: it begins with an antiphon and the first trope, and depending on the season, the Introit itself might be preceded by a procession, and the procession might begin with psalmody outside the church (or in the cloister), or at some substitute place (the reference here is to 'Collects' in the stational liturgy of Rome). The *Quem quaeritis* dialogue, it is now thought, would have been performed in one of these pre-Introit assemblies, thereby introducing yet another liturgical preface to the Mass. For a discussion of pre-Introit ceremonies, see the comments by Timothy J. McGee in 'The Liturgical Placements of the *Quem quaeritis* Dialogue', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 29 (1976), 1–29. The Moissac Troper-Proser contains the *Quem quaeritis* text on fol. 120v.

58. The earlier cloister may have consisted of two or three walkways only: a walkway along the north wall of the church and walkway extending from the east end of the church northward, connecting to the kitchen and refectory building on the north side of the cloister; perhaps another walkway in front of this ancient refectory (today destroyed). An earlier west walkway is in doubt. The claims for and against this walkway are summarized in Rutchick, 'Sculpture Programs in the Moissac Cloister', pp. 111–13, and pp. 343–46; Schapiro, 'The Sculptures of Souillac', in *Romanesque Art*, pp. 102–30 (p. 129 n. 34), in the context of speculations about the date of Moissac's domed church (taken down in the fifteenth century), notes that 'the foundations of the preceding Romanesque church (mid-eleventh century [i.e. Durand's church]) did not extend as far as the present narthex and porch'. Schapiro places the narthex and porch 'in the first third of the twelfth century'. According to Schapiro, the porch was a project that may have started during Ansquitil's term (d. 1115), but Roger completed it ('Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac I', p. 137). Thus we tentatively may conclude that the earlier cloister was not fully enclosed. A recent Swiss dissertation unavailable to me thus far, may shed light on the architectural evidence for the plan of the earlier cloister; see Stephan Trümpler, 'Neue Forschungen zu Moissac', *Das Münster*, 43.2 (1990), 166–67.

59. The water from the cloister's fountain, located in the arcaded fountain house already mentioned, was reputed to cure lepers. It is mentioned in the fifteenth-century Chronicle of Aymeric de Peyrac; see Rupin, *L'Abbaye et les cloîtres de Moissac*, pp. 70–71. One should also note that the fountain was closed in the early twelfth century, allegedly to prevent contagion among the monastics. To satisfy the public's thirst for a source of miraculous powers however, the abbey acquired the relics of Saint Cyprian, and displayed them in procession through the town on various occasions; see the history of this saint's cult at Moissac, in Maurice Bévenot, 'St. Cyprian and Moissac: A Thirteenth-Century Sequence', *Tradito,* 19 (1963), 147–66 and 2 pls.

60. On a possible cult of this curative fountain, see Rutchick, 'Sculpture Programs in the Moissac Cloister', p. 173, n. 240.

61. Factors motivating the project for a new cloister at Moissac are discussed in the last section of 'Sculpture Programs in the Moissac Cloister', already cited in note 16. The question is considered further in 'Time's Witness'.

62. On fol. 85v, the same scribe wrote and notated a brief *Vita* of Saint Maurin, also called a *historia*. This final piece has led scholars to attach the manuscript as a whole to that Agennais church, while proposing either the Moissac or Agen scriptorium for its origin. From my own examination of this manuscript and its decoration, it seems likely that a

Moissac scribe copied all of the texts and that either he or another Moissac monk was responsible for the decorated initials, and perhaps also for the enigmatic drawing of two men struggling that is attached as a bifolia after Saint Maurin's *historia*. The project may have been a commission from the Agen house, but for whatever reason it remained at Moissac.

63. Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, pp. 30–31.

64. See above, note 49. A longer study would cull selections, prayers, and blessings from this and other Moissac manuscripts.

65. A passageway to the exterior of the cloister originally opened between the sacristy and chapterhouse. This provided for rapid communication between the cloister and the abbot's house and private chapel, more or less directly opposite the east wing (fig. 1). Also worth remembering is the fountain house with its source of miraculous water, located diagonally across the courtyard in the northwest corner. It is tempting to speculate that the community would have integrated these symmetries of topography into a processional ceremony, perhaps bifurcating at the northwest corner and reuniting in the southeast corner in mimesis of antiphonal singing.

66. The ornamental capital immediately to the north of the Martyrdom-Reliquary capital, no. 21 in the east arcade, carries a continuous inscription of alphabets and a psalm incipit on all four sides of the impost block. Epitomizing the principle of complexity in simplicity, this masterpiece of monastic experience belongs to the patron programme inasmuch as the inscribed alphabet, as it is represented on the impost, evokes a central event in the medieval ceremony of church dedication. I will address this topic in a future publication.

67. In Matthew 16. 19 it is reported that Peter was given the keys to the Kingdom of Heaven with the power to bind and loose souls on earth. Peter could open the doors of the Church to all righteous people, but keep them barred against errant souls. To have such a powerful presence in the cloister would be comforting and unnerving at the same time!

Cloister as Shrine to a Patron Saint: Perpetuating the Memory of Saint Pontius at Saint-Pons-de-Thomières*

LESLIE BUSSIS TAIT

In the year 937 Raymond Pons, Count of Toulouse, had the relics of his name saint, Pontius, translated from Cimiez to the abbey of Saint-Pons-de-Thomières that he had recently founded in Languedoc.[1] Written sources make clear that, from its origin, the monastery was concerned with establishing and promoting the cult of this legendary apostolic saint. Moreover, an extensive series of marble cloister capitals depicting various episodes in the life of Saint Pontius and the manner in which their compositional elements are arranged suggests that the cloister was a virtual shrine to its patron saint. These capitals comprise the focus of the present study.

While images of saints are frequent in cloister sculpture, the cycle from Saint-Pons-de-Thomières is exceptional as it occupies nearly a quarter of the extant capitals.[2] Comprehensive cycles are, in fact, more commonly found on shrines and altar decoration in metalwork, enamel, and ivory, such as the *Golden Altar of Saint Ambrose* (*c.* 850), the *Arca of San Millán* (*c.* 1115–20), the *Châsse of Saint Martial* (Musée du Louvre, Paris; *c.* 1165–75), and numerous Mosan shrines.[3] As Barbara Abou-El-Haj has pointed out, research concerning historical conditions and functions of extended political hagiographies at specific sites has only just begun.[4] Saint-Pons-de-Thomières offers a valuable example of this phenomenon in architectural sculpture. The patron saint series at Saint-Pons-de-Thomières surpasses the general significance of saints as *exempla* in monastic art. Scenes are included that are neither in the saint's *vita* nor in his *passio*; instead, they suggest a plurality of associations that are relevant to the monks, custodians of this third-century martyr.

The church and the monastic buildings of Saint-Pons-de-Thomières were severely damaged by violent attacks during the Wars of Religion in the sixteenth century, and this is evident on many of the surviving capitals.[5] Vivid reports of the pillage described by witnesses during the inquest of 1572 suggest the sumptuousness of the medieval reliquary of Saint Pontius and other saints housed there: 'relicquieres d'argent en grand nombre et de grand prix', 'grands reliquières d'or, d'argent. [...]'[6] Several earlier documents refer to the relics themselves. A charter written while Guillaume IV, Count of Toulouse, was staying at the monastery en route from Rome in 1079 provides evidence of this rich depository and his family's continued largesse. In this document, Guillaume confirmed not only prior family donations, but also granted new endowments in recognition of the monks' display of hospitality. Significantly, he signed this charter on the high altar of the abbey church in the presence of the relics of Saint Pontius.[7] This is one of many generous donation charters issued by the counts of Toulouse and other local aristocratic houses. The monastery was quite prosperous, particularly under Abbot Frotard (1061–99) who was a papal legate during the Gregorian reform. Among notable twelfth-century members of the monastery, we find Pons de Melgueil, who would become Abbot of Cluny in 1109, and Ramiro, who after some forty years as a monk at this institution would be called to the throne

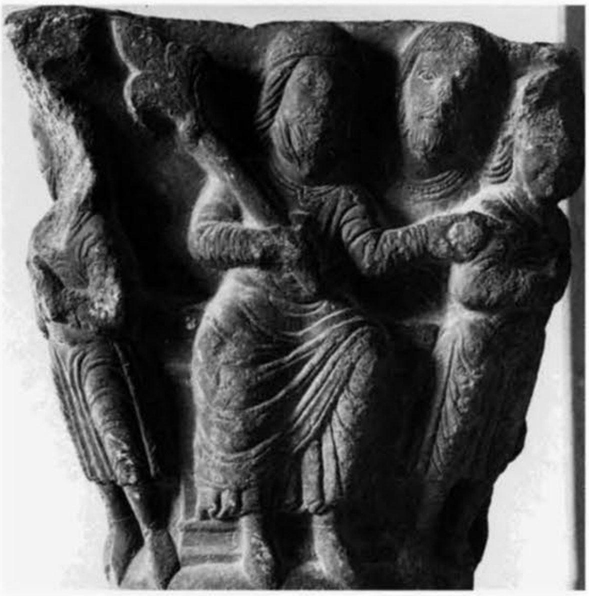


Fig. 1. Governor Claudius Commanding Torture on Rack, martyrdom capital 1, 1160s. Société Archéologique de Montpellier, Musée languedocien (photo: author)

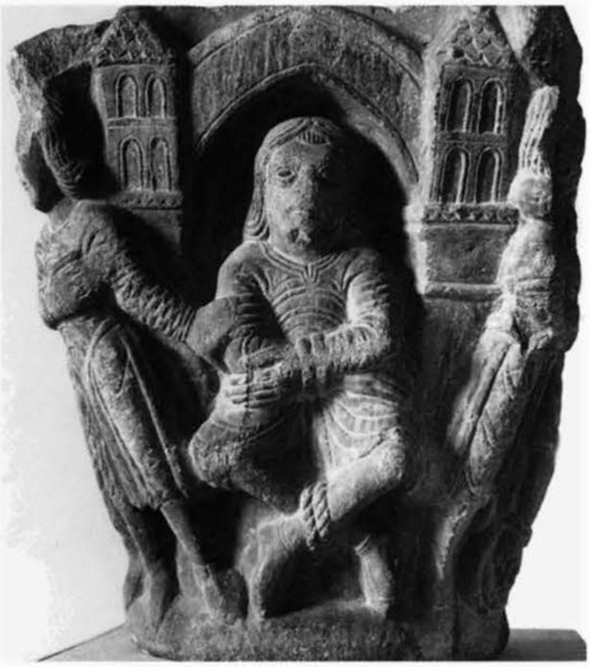


Fig. 2. Pontius in Prison, martyrdom capital 1, 1160s. Société Archéologique de Montpellier, Musée languedocien (photo: author)

of Aragon in 1135. In 1318 the abbey was raised to the status of cathedral and among its illustrious bishops we note Alexandre Farnese, who would become Pope Paul III in 1534.

The cult of Saint Pontius of Cimiez was widely diffused in southern France and Catalonia, and primarily concentrated in Provence.[8] Saint-Pons-de-Thomières is the western-most location, and a major centre of the cult. One sees an even wider dispersion of the veneration of this saint in Benedictine martyrologies.[9] The *Passio* of Saint Pontius, probably written in the sixth century but alleging to date from the third, states that the tomb of this holy martyr became an object of extraordinary devotion in Cimiez. Located today in a suburb of Nice, the church of Saint-Pons-de-Cimiez was rebuilt beginning in the sixteenth century and no longer retains much material evidence of the cult. There are, however, eighth- and ninth-century remains of the tomb of Saint Pontius reassembled in a nineteenth-century commemorative altar.[10] Despite the earlier significance of Cimiez, geography and historical circumstance favoured another site. It was not Cimiez, but rather Saint-Pons-de-Thomières, that was situated on one of the secondary pilgrimage routes to Santiago de Compostela.[11] The abbey certainly would have been the locus of veneration to Saint Pontius by faithful travellers who might also have availed themselves of its hospitality on their way to Compostela.

Capitals from the façade and the cloister of Saint-Pons-de-Thomières are now dispersed in collections throughout France, England, the United States, and Canada. Perhaps as many as seven capitals depict the patron saint (figs 1–16). I have discussed elsewhere the four distinct stylistic and thematic groups of the cloister sculptures in the context of iconographic themes and dates of the various campaigns.[12] For the purpose of this essay, suffice it to say that one of these four distinct stylistic groups is this patron saint series together with another capital representing Christ and the Apostles; this group may be dated to the decade of the 1160s. In addition, an early thirteenth-century capital displays the Baptism of Pontius and his Refusal to Worship an Idol (figs 15, 16).[13]

The images are, for the most part, rooted in hagiographic tradition, both textual and visual. They depict episodes described in the *Passio* as well as other scenes that have not been satisfactorily identified in the earlier literature.[14] One of these capitals I interpret as Saint Pontius personifying the monastery itself (fig. 14).[15] Throughout the series, Pontius is commemorated as a martyr who has made the ultimate sacrifice for his faith, and as a staunch defender of the 'true faith' against adversaries. This

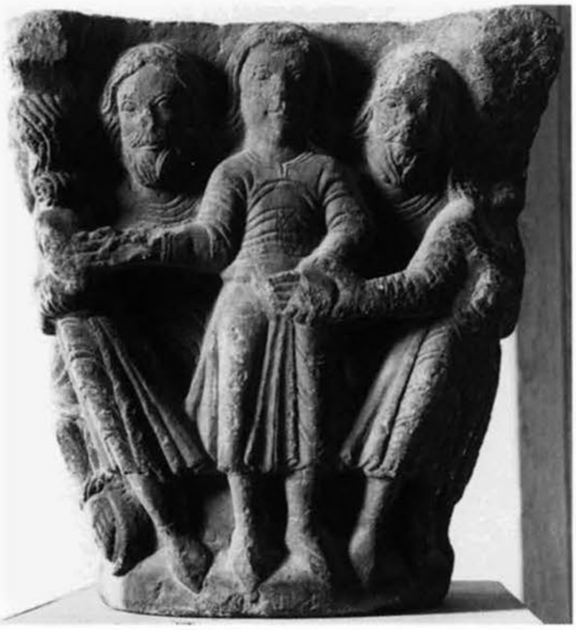


Fig. 3. Pontius Led to Torture, martyrdom capital 1, 1160s. Société Archéologique de Montpellier, Musée languedocien (photo: author)

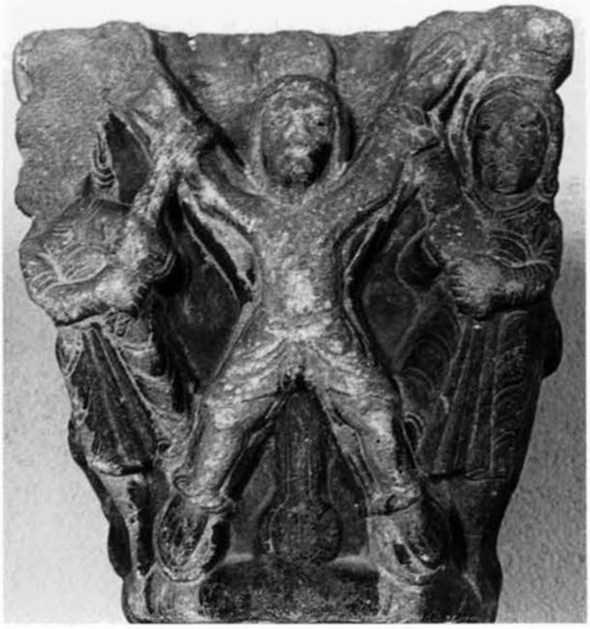


Fig. 4. Pontius on the Rack, martyrdom capital 1, 1160s. Société Archéologique de Montpellier, Musée languedocien (photo: author)

aspect is especially relevant at our site considering the key role the abbots of Saint-Pons-de-Thomières played in the combat against heresy, particularly against the Cathari, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Rather than follow the chronological sequence of the *Passio*, I shall begin with the martyrdom scenes for two reasons. Firstly, as is appropriate to hagiographic cycles, it is the typological and Christomimetic aspects that are stressed in these particular capitals, as opposed to a linear and narrative progression. Secondly, the three martyrdom capitals are most uniform in their compositional elements.

The first martyrdom capital shows the Roman governor Claudius ordering various tortures to be prepared for Pontius who is chained in prison for his refusal to worship pagan idols (figs 1, 2).[16] Significantly, the saint in prison is shown bound hand and foot similar to the way sacrificial animals and the Pashal Lamb are often depicted. He is frontal and vulnerable. The architectural framework used only on this side of the capital will reappear in another capital over an animal sacrifice, formally linking these two scenes (fig. 5). Pontius is then led to his torture on the rack (fig. 3) where he appears calm and unwavering in his faith (fig. 4). According to the *Passio*, as Pontius is stretched on the rack, he tells the governor that in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ he believes that the instruments of torture will not harm him; the rack miraculously breaks and is reduced to dust, but we do not see this event on the capital.

Governor Claudius, furious at being foiled, ordered two bears of extraordinary size to be led into the amphitheatre; this is the subject of the second martyrdom capital (fig. 6).[17] Witnesses to the torture fill both long sides of the double capital (fig. 7). According to the *Passio*, instead of attacking Pontius, the bears attacked the torturers. Then, turning to Pontius, the bears dared not approach him nor lick his feet, but instead laid down at a respectful distance, and protected him. Rather than follow the *Passio*, the carver has chosen to follow hagiographic convention; what we see are diminutive animals licking the feet of Pontius (fig. 8). The composition typologically recalls scenes of Daniel in the Lions' Den, and images of saints, such as Saint Menas, who are flanked by wild animals that are miraculously tamed in the holy presence.[18]

The governor finally commands that Pontius be led to a cliff above the bank of the river Paillon on the outskirts of Cimiez, that his head be cut off, and the body thrown below. On the third martyrdom capital, we see the governor Claudius raising his hand in command (fig. 9).[19] Witnesses, once more, fill both long sides of the capital (fig. 10). Pontius is again in a frontal posture, now on his knees as the large sword swoops

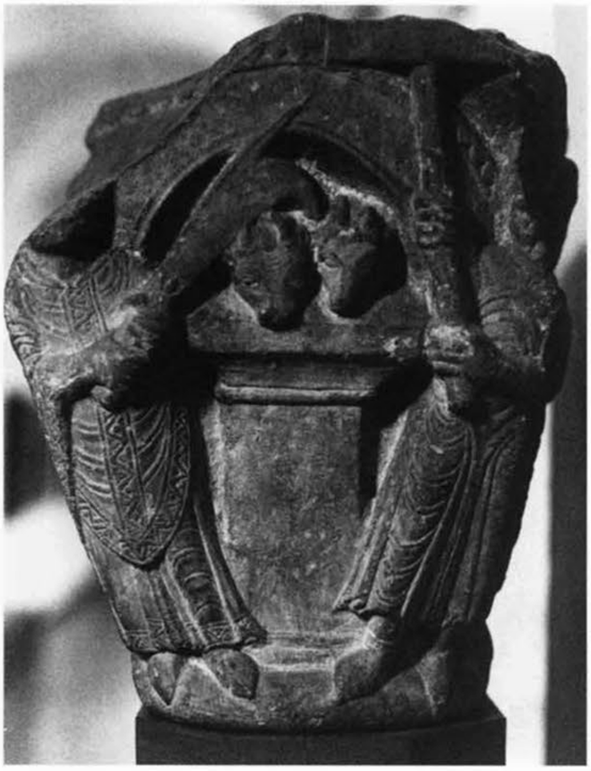


Fig. 5. 'Old Testament Sacrifice', capital, 1160s. The William Hayes Fogg Art Museum, Gift of A. Kingsley Porter (photo: author)

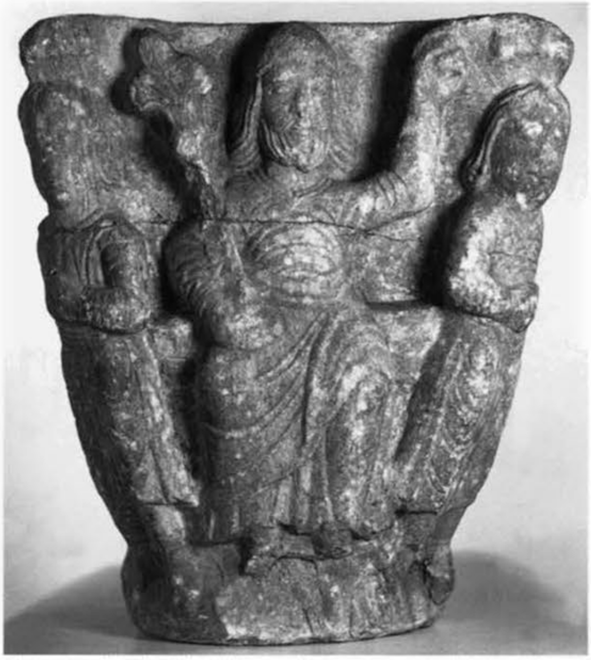


Fig. 6. Governor Claudius Commanding Torture of Pontius, martyrdom capital 2 (double), 1160s. The Toledo Museum of Art, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey, 29.203 (photo: The Toledo Museum of Art)

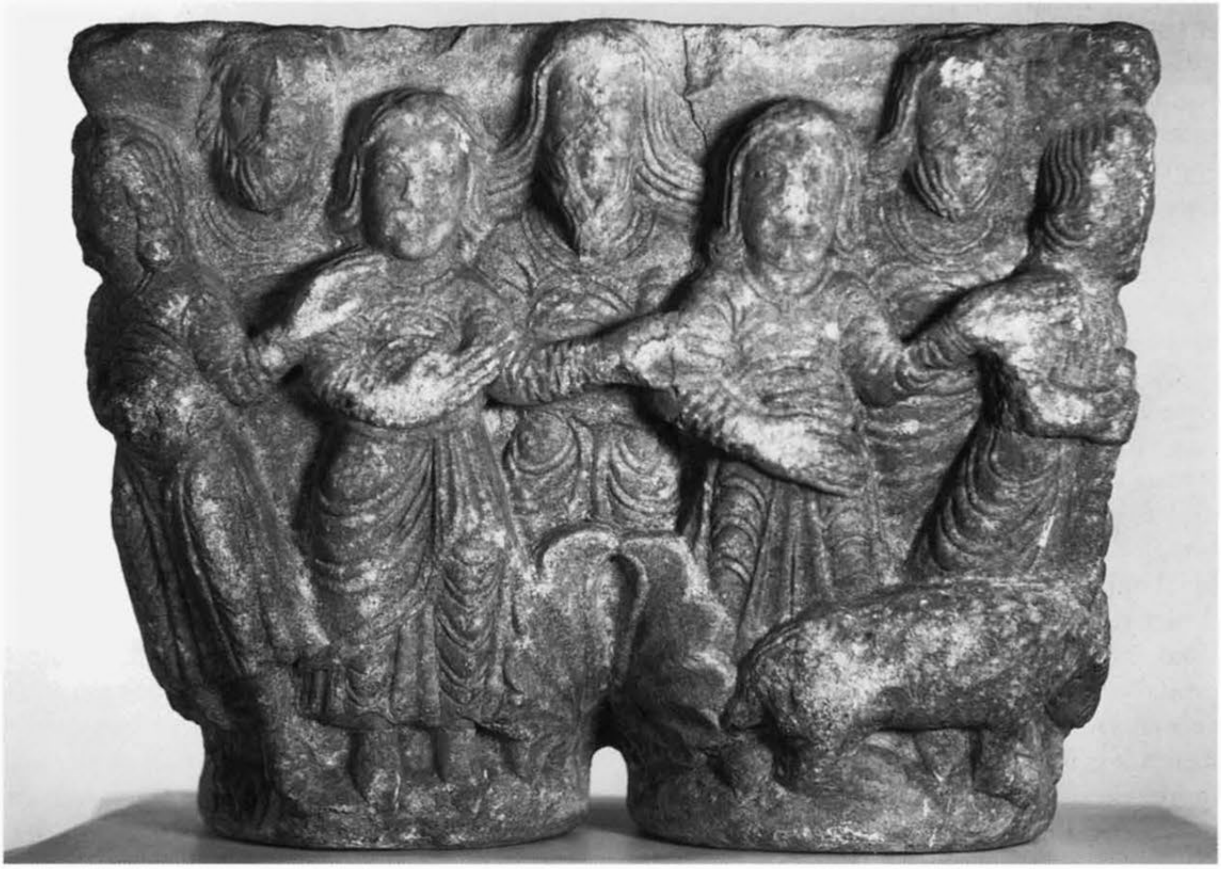


Fig. 7. Witnesses, martyrdom capital 2 (double), 1160s. The Toledo Museum of Art, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey, 29.203 (photo: The Toledo Museum of Art)

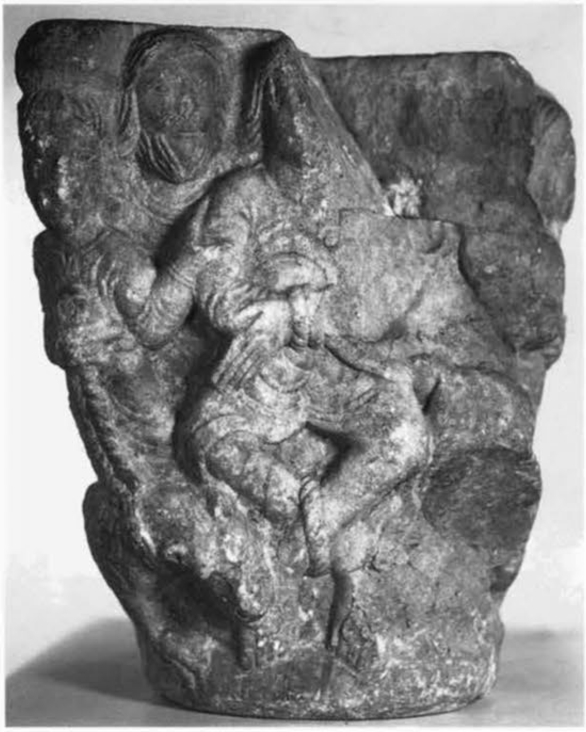


Fig. 8. Pontius with Bears, martyrdom capital 2 (double), 1160s. The Toledo Museum of Art, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey, 29.203 (photo: The Toledo Museum of Art)

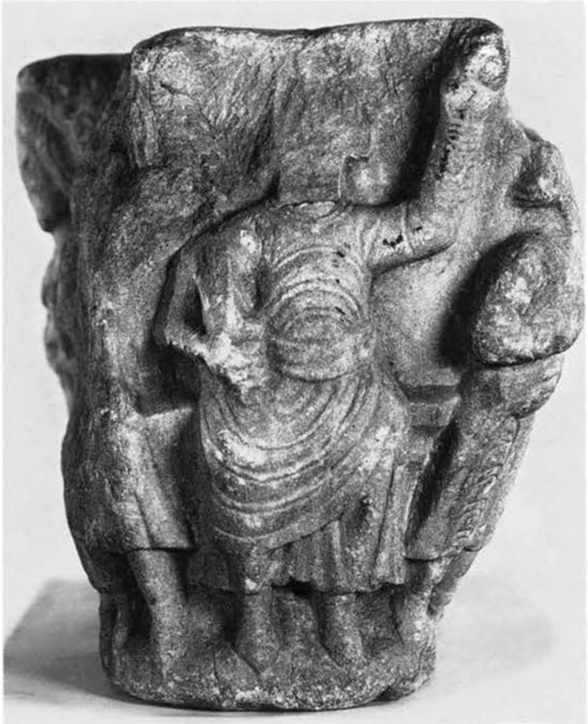


Fig. 9. Governor Claudius Commanding Torture of Pontius, martyrdom capital 3 (double), 1160s. The Toledo Museum of Art, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey, 29.207 (photo: The Toledo Museum of Art)

down toward his neck (fig. 11). The overall disposition of figures and the executioners' gestures in this scene are quite similar to elements that appear on the sacrifice of animals capital which has already been discussed (fig. 5). This capital itself was mentioned in connection with another Pontius capital—that of the saint in prison—for their common motif of a centrally placed, arched framework. On each of these capitals the two standing figures frame the central image, and the diagonal of the blade slices the neck of the victim.

In each of the martyrdom capitals Pontius is repeatedly shown in a frontal posture (figs 2, 8, 11). The saint's image tied with rope at his wrists and ankles is nearly identical on the Rack and Bears capitals (figs 2, 8). In the beheading scene his hands are prominently pressed together in prayer, as we shall also see in the Baptism scene (figs 11,15). These gestures and postures not only visually connect for the viewer the discrete scenes but also evoke an image of the saint as sacrifice. Such a message is emphatically suggested by the saint's torture on the rack, creating a visual reference to yet another capital in the cloister that shows Christ with arms outstretched on the cross.[20] The martyrdom scenes stress in their content and composition the intrinsic imitation of Christ's Passion and the martyr as typological reference to Christ.[21] Saint Pontius, as a martyr, is seen as one with the crucified and risen Christ; he had offered to God the same testimony of fidelity.[22]

The frontal pose of many of the figures, particularly the ever-present witnesses to the scenes of martyrdom whose faces stare out at the viewer, heightens the solemnity of these images. Their gaze actively engages the empathetic viewer, including the monastic viewer, in a direct parallel with these sculpted witnesses (figs 3, 7, 10). The word martyr, we may recall, means witness, and so the association of Pontius's frontality in these capitals with that of the witnesses of the narrative is not coincidental. This parallel likely would have invited the monastic viewers to participate as witnesses also.[23] Although we do not have any archaeological evidence to determine the original placement of the capitals, these compositions suggest that they were intentionally carved to be seen in proximity to each other, so that witnesses from one capital would face scenes in the next. Similarly, the governor Claudius could be seen relating to the action around a particular capi-

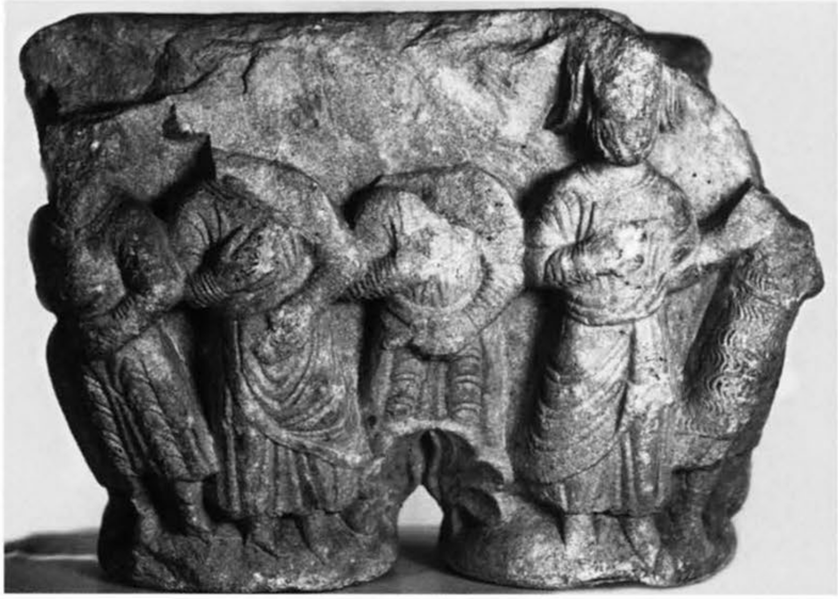


Fig. 10. Witnesses, martyrdom capital 3 (double), 1160s. The Toledo Museum of Art, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey, 29.207 (photo: The Toledo Museum of Art)

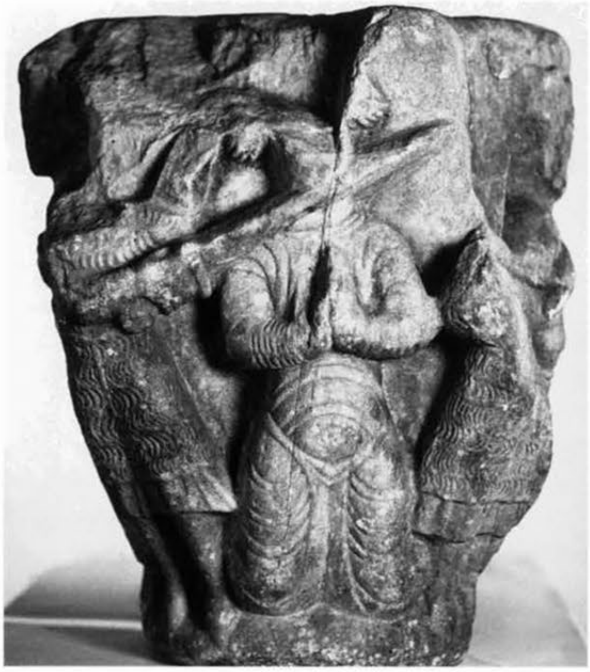


Fig. 11. Pontius Beheaded, martyrdom capital 3 (double), 1160s. The Toledo Museum of Art, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey, 29.207 (photo: The Toledo Museum of Art)

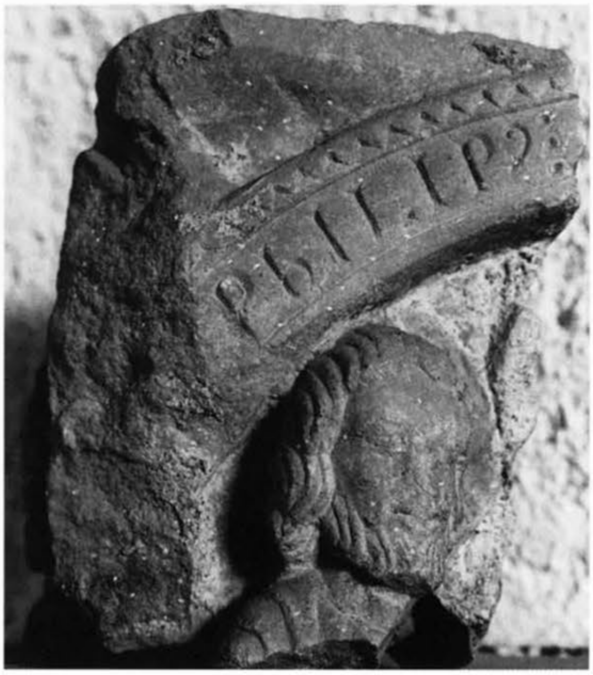
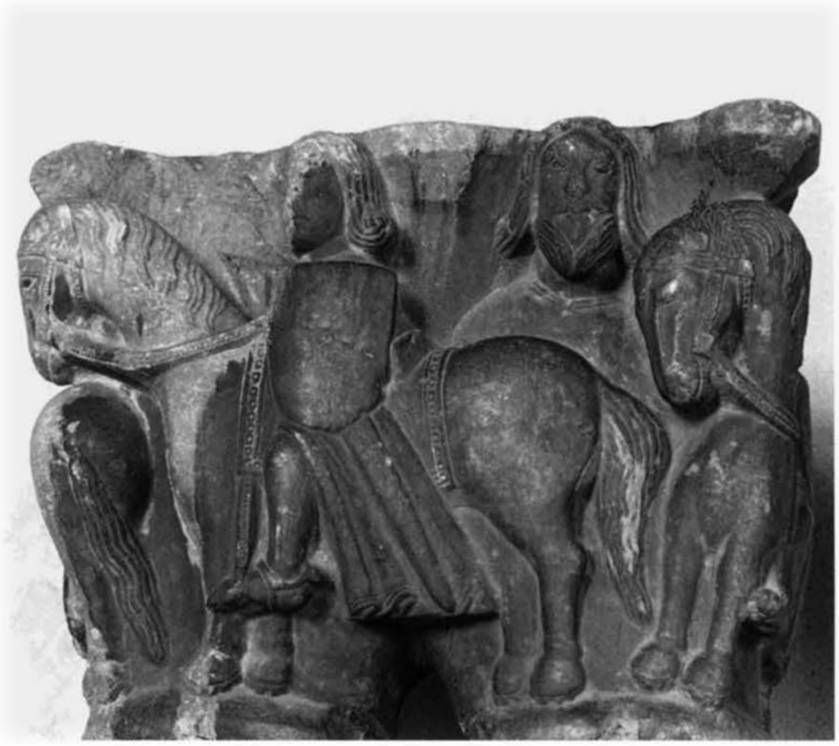


Fig. 12. Pontius Converts Emperor Philip, fragment of capital, 1160s. Saint-Pons-de-Thomières, Chapelle des Penitents (photo: author)

tal, as well as relating to an adjacent one. The physical relationship between similar compositional elements carved on these capitals thus creates a vicarious interactivity across the interstices of the capitals themselves. This, in turn, invites visual involvement on the part of monastic observers, akin to the visual and meditative engagement that would occur with any spectator contemplating scenes depicted on a shrine, ultimately supporting the scrinial nature of the cloister of Saint-Pons-de-Thomières.

In each of the three separate martyrdom capitals we consistently see Governor Claudius commanding the saint's torture thereby emphasizing the secular ruler's obstruction of the mission of the Church (figs 1, 6, 9). All representations of the pagan ruler include his attributes of secular power: throne, crown, and sceptre.[24] Pontius's faith in Christ's triumph over such adversity is illustrated in his confident stance (fig. 4). Such depictions of temporal power and the saint as both victim and confident

Fig. 13. Knights on Horseback, capital (double), 1160s. Société Archéologique de Montpellier, Musée languedocien (photo: author)



hero deliberately parallel scenes of Christ before Pilate as is standard in hagiographic tradition.[25] Every saint's martyrdom is an imitation of the Passion of Christ, and this concept would be familiar to any contemporary viewer of these capitals.

In addition, the image of Governor Claudius could easily be associated with such local nobility as Roger II Trencavel, Viscount of Béziers and Carcassone, who was implicated as a supporter of the heretics.[26] There were long-standing tensions between the Trencavel family and the monastery of Saint-Pons-de-Thomières, and their respective positions regarding heresy in the region. Both Abbot Raymond of Saint-Pons-de-Thomières and Viscount Roger II Trencavel were among those present at the 1165 debate between Catholics and heretics at Lombers. It was probably during the decade of the 1160s that the patron saint capitals were installed in the cloister, and it was this viscount who would sack the monastery of Saint-Pons-de-Thomières in 1170. In the context of the growing animosity between the Church and dissenting movements during the time these capitals were carved, a visual allusion to the struggles in which the monastery was engaged is not unlikely.

The twelfth-century series of capitals contrasts hostile actions of Governor Claudius with the acceptance of Christianity by two Roman emperors, converted by our saint, a father and son both named Philip. A fragment of another capital shows remnants of upper portions of figures (each on a different side of the capital) and the inscription 'PHILIP(US)', a reference to these imperial conversions (fig. 12).[27] During this episode in the *Passio,* there is a lengthy discussion condemning pagan gods after which Pope Fabianus acknowledges Pontius's conversion of the emperors who are then baptized. Subsequently, the pope and Pontius, on order of the newly Christianized emperors, attack all the statues of pagan gods in the great temple and tear the building down. This destruction of the temple had been prophesied to the saint's mother before his birth. All those witnessing the spectacle are converted and baptized. But, after the death of Philip, his successors revert to persecuting the Christians. Pontius is then dispatched by the pope beyond the Roman frontier to the town of Cimiez (Cimelam) located at the foot of the Alps, where Claudius is governor of the Gauls. Pontius, brought before the tribunal, is singled out among the other Christians for the trouble he had caused in Rome. At this point Claudius orders Pontius to worship the pagan gods, and it is his refusal that precipitates the martyrdom scenes discussed above.

Now let us consider one capital not described in the *Passio*. The subject is usually identified as 'The Crusade'. Three sides of this double capital depict men on horseback carrying shields (fig. 13).[28] The fourth side shows a figure I have

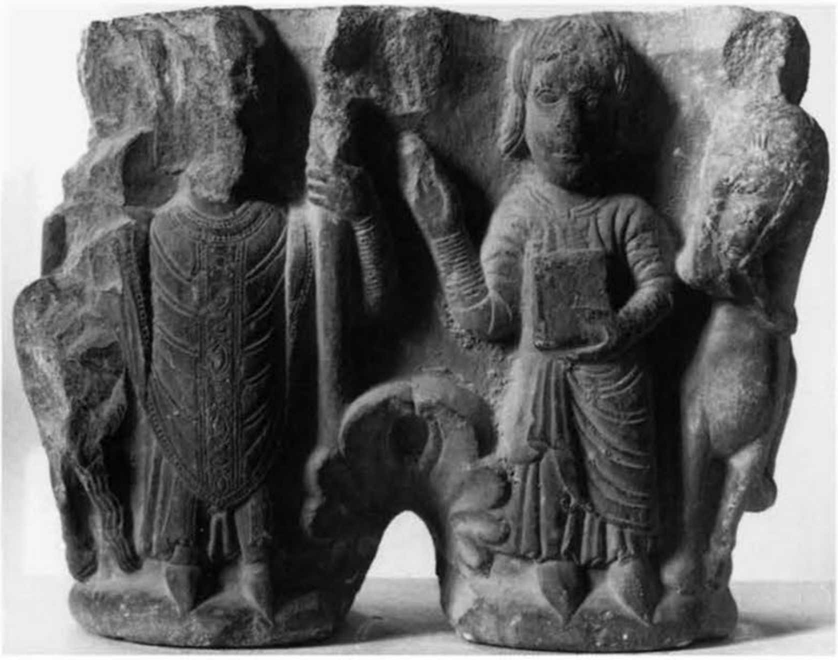


Fig. 14. Saint Pontius as Defender of the Monastery, capital (double) 1160s. Société Archéologique de Montpellier, Musée languedocien (photo: author)

identified as Saint Pontius as he bears the same facial features, hairstyle, garments, and shoes that characterize his representation on the other capitals (fig. 14). He holds a book in his left hand and raises his right hand in a speaking gesture towards the figure on the left who may be a bishop or a pope. Clearly this figure wears a chasuble and carries a crosier. In addition, although his head is damaged, there are traces of a mitre upon it. The three other sides of the capital suggest preparation for military defence. Saint Pontius's alliance with such action here corresponds with his steadfast resistance to pagan secular authorities and refusal to worship idols as seen in the *passio* capitals. These carvings also invite association with contemporary circumstances. In this context, the monks at Saint-Pons-de-Thomières could equate their own struggle with local secular authorities to that represented in the sculpture. As mentioned above, Roger II Trencavel, a supporter of the Cathari, violently attacked the monastery. He was eventually excommunicated for not cooperating with papal legates sent to stamp out heresy in this region.

Another dimension of the iconography of this capital is to interpret the saint as a personification of the monastery, a common topos in monastic literature. In donation charters, the language often specifies that the gift is awarded to the patron saint, with the monastery acting as agent for the holy personage.[29] In their *vitae*, stories abound with saints punishing those who trespass against the relics or harm the monastery in some way. Certainly any physical attack on the monastery would be interpreted as offending the patron saint himself, for the monastery actually embodies the saint.[30]

Such an association could function even by projecting contemporary problems onto capitals carved in the past. In the thirteenth century, when the monastic community supported the crusaders sent by the pope to combat the Albigensian heresy, they could certainly have recalled Pontius's struggle with Claudius and their predecessors' struggle with Roger II Trencavel. To the thirteenth-century monks, this twelfth-century capital might assume a new significance, that of the pope authorizing the monastery of Saint-Pons-de-Thomières to take action in this religious battle. The men on horseback evoke the notion of the monks themselves as *milites Christi*, soldiers of Christ, and defenders of the true faith, as the crusaders themselves were considered. That the monks at Saint-Pons-de-Thomières viewed the life and martyrdom of their patron saint as intimately linked with the combat against heresy is corroborated by a thirteenth-century inventory of their library.[31] This inventory lists three *vitae* and *passiones* of Saint Pontius, one of which is bound within the same volume as Saint Hilarius's treatise against heretics, thus demonstrating that the monks considered these texts to be related in some way.[32]

This is further supported by an additional capital, produced in the thirteenth century, repre-

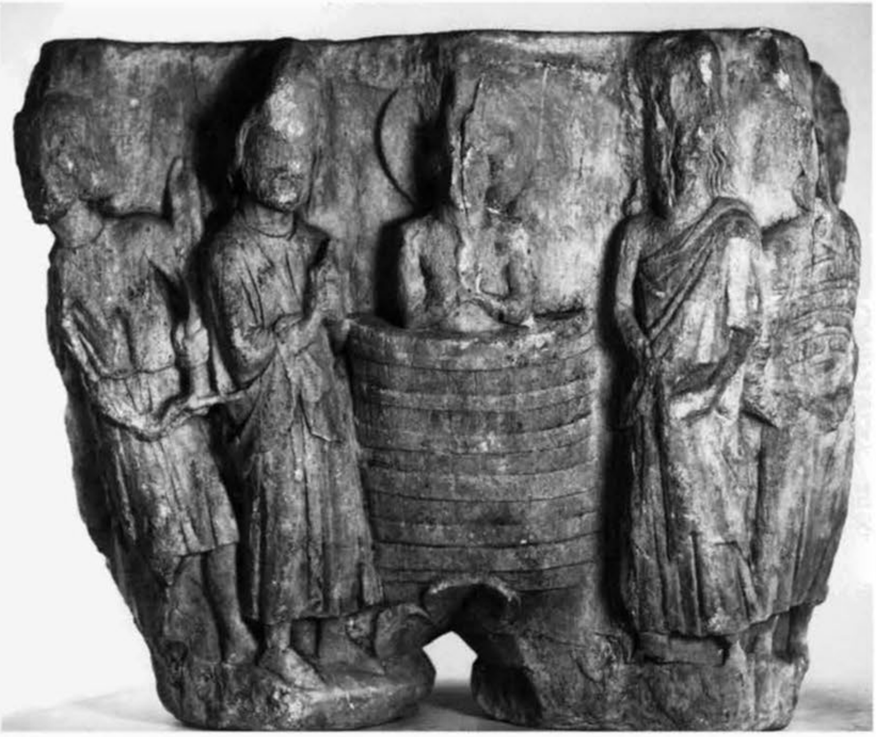


Fig. 15. Baptism of Pontius, capital (double), early thirteenth century. The Toledo Museum of Art, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey, 29.205 (photo: The Toledo Museum of Art)

senting scenes from the saint's life. On the central axis of this double capital, the nimbed Pontius, hands joined in prayer, is immersed in a wooden vat in the scene of his own baptism (fig. 15). Two of the figures accompanying him may be his father, praying with his son, and the saint's companion Valerius, the purported author of the *vita*. Events not represented on surviving capitals but included in the *vita* underscore the significance of this episode in relation to the saint's combat against idolatry and his support of ecclesiastical authority. While en route to his tutor, Pontius hears Christians gathered in the presence of Pope Saint Pontianus chanting the psalms and saying 'Our God is in heaven. [...] The statues of the pagans, works of man, are only of gold and silver. They have mouths but will never speak, [...] they have feet but will never walk. [...]' Pontius enters, witnesses the service, and engages the pope in a lengthy discussion about disavowing pagan idols. An emotional conversion takes place when Pontius recognizes the falsity of the cult of idols. He then returns home and converts his father Marcus after another discussion regarding the uselessness of pagan gods. Subsequently, the father, with the aid of Pope Saint Pontianus and Pontius, breaks all the idols in his home. He receives baptism with his son and his entire household.

It is interesting that this double capital pairs the Baptism with the Refusal of Pontius to Worship an Idol, located on the other long side (fig. 16). Pontius's refutation of pagan idols receives repeated attention throughout the *Passio*.[33] Here, in the capital, a small calf, identifiable by its cleft hooves, stands on an altar. On the left, Pontius holds a book and raises an arm towards heaven. He faces the governor Claudius, shown again with crown and sceptre, who points to the animal on the altar. The gestures of the two men indicate their disagreement over where worship should be directed—towards the celestial or the terrestrial realm. The image is unusual for not showing the idol as a human figure as is most common in medieval art.[34] By presenting the idol as a calf, the carver deliberately creates a parallel with another capital in the Saint-Pons-de-Thomières cloister, one which represents the episode of the Golden Calf from the Book of Exodus.[35] The parallel is underscored by the shared style of those two capitals. They are both from the group carved in the early thirteenth century, and in all likelihood by the same artist. The other capitals in the Patron Saint series are stylistically different from this one which is unique for its affinity with the Moses cycle. The sculptor of the Moses series appears to have linked deliberately the two cycles to suggest thematic as well as typological parallels between Moses and Saint Pontius.[36] Both are defenders of the true faith; as idol destroyers,

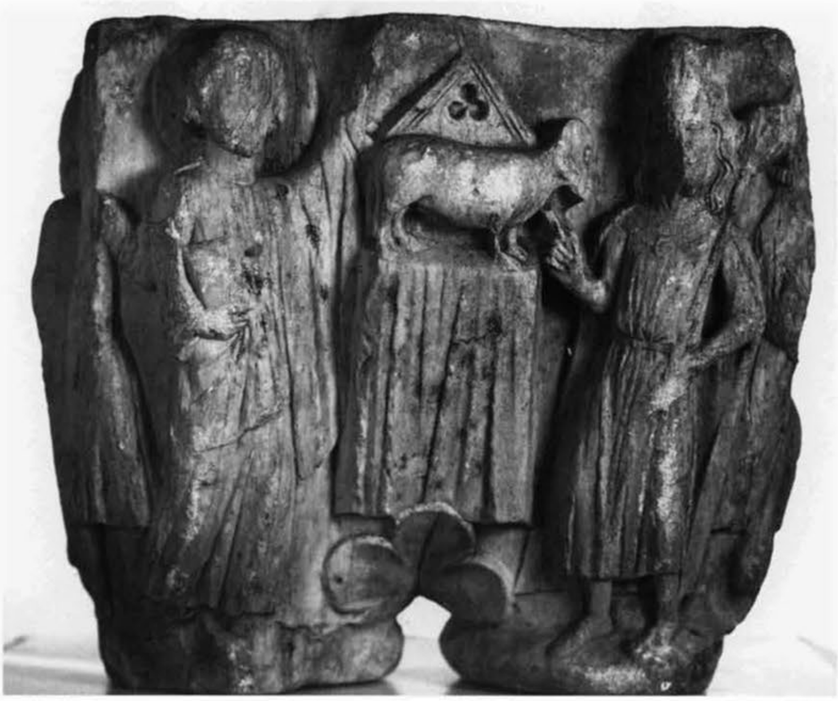


Fig. 16. Pontius Refusing to Worship Idol, capital (double), early thirteenth century. The Toledo Museum of Art, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey, 29.205 (photo: The Toledo Museum of Art)

their triumph over the enemies of that faith is explicitly depicted.[37]

I do not wish to suggest a narrow reading of these capitals as depicting a particular historic moment. It would be too limiting to think of a single, restricted interpretation especially since cloister decoration tends to be deliberately evocative in nature, offering multiple associations for those living with these images. I have discussed elsewhere the abundant cross-references of different iconographic themes among the various Saint-Pons-de-Thomières cloister capitals.[38]

Some scholars have been tempted to date the Patron Saint capitals to a post-1170 campaign, considering them as replacements for various elements destroyed in Roger II's attack.[39] It would be more expansive an interpretation to see these carvings as relevant at many points in the history of the monastery. The special resonance they would have held in the second half of the twelfth century would be just as valid if they dated before the 1170 attack, since in the wider context, longstanding tensions had already existed between some local nobility and the abbey. Thus, the capitals could express a militant stance that contributed to events leading to Trencavel's siege rather than reflecting a response to it.

Seen as a group, the patron saint series of capitals at Saint-Pons-de-Thomières emphasizes the monastery's position within the ecclesiastical hierarchy. These capitals also reinforce the abbey's strong connection to Rome, since it was exempt from any ecclesiastical control other than the pope.[40] Having been sent from Rome by the pope to perform an apostolic mission, Pontius would have maintained a position in the hierarchical succession of authority, which passed from Christ to the apostles, to the pope, then to Saint Pontius himself, and ultimately to the monks of Saint-Pons-de-Thomières. The apostolic emphasis can be related to the theme of the *vita apostolica* that was a central theme in monastic literature of the twelfth century and into the thirteenth.[41]

By perpetuating the memory of their patron saint and evoking ways in which the monks could identify with his struggle, the carvings turned the cloister into a shrine to Saint Pontius. Their daily interactivity with this shrine through the *vita contemplativa*—meditating upon the passion of Pontius—and the *vita activa*—emulating their hero's fortitude against their enemies—enhanced not only their monastic lifestyle but also the cult of their patron saint. In addition, Pontius's resistance to enemies of the faith, parallelled in the Moses capitals, served as a constant reminder of the monk's role in the continuum of Church history. The monks of Saint-Pons-de-Thomières were well aware of the importance of holy men, those dead and those alive, as defenders of their sacred precinct.

NOTES

* For their generous comments and diligent editing, I am indebted to Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo and Stephen Lamia. For their assistance in my study of the sculpture for this article or for providing me with photographs, I am grateful to the following: the staff of the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, MA; Jean Nougaret, Conservateur de la Patrimoine, D.R.A.C., Montpellier; François Pomarède, Conservateur des Collections, Société Archéologique de Montpellier; Jean-Claude Richard, Directeur du Recherche au C.N.R.S., Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert; Claire Granier, Archives, Mairie de Saint-Pons-de-Thomières; and Patricia Whitesides, Toledo Museum of Art. For their hospitality during my research trips, I wish to thank Claudie Carrère and Isabelle Le Masne de Chermont. I owe thanks to my colleagues at the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University for their support, and to the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University for a Spears Grant that enabled me to complete this article.

1. Claude Devic and Joseph Vaissete, notes added by Emile Mabille and Auguste Molinier, *Histoire générale de Languedoc* (cited hereafter as *HGL*) (Toulouse: Privat, 1872), III, 118–19, V, no. LXV. This is the document, dated 15 August 937, that contains the text for the dedication of the church founded by Raymond Pons the previous November. The translation of the relics of Saint Pontius is presumed to have occurred at this time although the document does not specifically mention this event.

2. There are thirty-five capitals and fragments thereof that I consider to have come from the Saint-Pons-de-Thomières cloister. For the most complete discussion of all the sculpture from the site see Leslie Bussis, 'Sculpture from the Church and Cloister of Saint-Pons-de-Thomières' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1990). Numerous saints are depicted on the capitals of Moissac cloister, including one of the patron saint (see the article by Leah Rutchick in this volume). More extensive hagiographic cycles include Saint-Trophime, Arles, which offers an interesting parallel to the Saint Pontius cycle, and Saint Orso, Aosta.

3. *L'Altare d'Oro di Sant'Ambrogio* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 1996); *The Art of Medieval Spain, AD 500–1200* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Abrams, 1993), pp. 260–66; *Enamels of Limoges, 1100–1350* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Abrams, 1996), pp. 109–11; see also pp. 116–18, and 174–77 for the Châsse of Sainte Valerie, and the Châsse of Saint Calminius.

4. Barbara Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints. Formations and Transformations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 2–3.

5. For the most recent discussion of the history of the site, see Leslie Bussis-Tait, 'Histoire du Monastère de Saint-Pons-de-Thomières', *Études Héraultaises*, 26–27 (1995–96), 23–38.

6. Archives Nationales, G.8, 1337, pièce 14, série B; Joseph Sahuc, *Enquête sur la prise de la ville de Saint-Pons (1567)* (Le Vigan: E. C. Bavsinger, 1909). Not only did much destruction of the buildings, furnishings, and archives take place during the Wars of Religion, particularly the attack of 1567, but also in 1791 there was a public burning of books, registers, and various papers constituting the chapter archives. See Joseph Semat, *La Ville et le pays de Thomières* (Saint-Pons: chez l'éditeur, 1898). All liturgical manuscripts from Saint-Pons-de-Thomières are lost except for one work, a martyrology of the fourteenth century (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 5259). See Antoine Maubon, *Les Livres liturgiques de diocèse de Montpellier* (Montpellier: A. Firmin et Montane, 1895).

7. '[...] and of several other saints preserved there'. *HGL*, III, 427; V, no. CCLXXVIII, n.1. The date of this charter is 15 May, the feast day of Saint Pontius in the present-day liturgical calendar. In the early manuscript sources (ninth to fourteenth century), it is usually given as 14 May, although sometimes it is 11 May. Guillaume IV's visit to the monastery appears deliberately timed to coincide with this important liturgical celebration. *AA.SS.*, Mai III, records the *vita* of Saint Pontius on 14 May.

8. Claude Passet, *La Passion de Pons de Cimiez ('Passio Pontii') Sources et Tradition* (Nice: Belisane, 1977); Georges Laguerre, 'Saint-Pons de Cimiez', *Provence historique*, 17 (1967), 396–432.

9. 'The saint was therefore in some way part of the Benedictine sanctoral': Passet, *Passio*, p. 60.

10. Denise Fossard, 'Le Tombeau carolingien de Saint Pons à Cimiez (Alpes-Maritimes)', *Cahiers archéologiques*, 15 (1965), 1–16; Passet, *Passio*, pp. 205–12.

11. Annie Shaver-Crandell and Paula Gerson, *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela: A Gazetteer* (London: Harvey Miller, 1995); Jean Secret, *Saint-Jacques et les chemins de Compostelle*, 2nd edn (Paris: Editions Fernand Lenore, 1981), p. 36; L. Vazquez de Parga, J. M. Lacarra, and J. Uria, *Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela* (Madrid: Escuela de Estudios Medievales, 1948–49), II, 45–47. The map accompanying Elie Lambert's article 'Le Livre de Saint Jacques et les routes des pèlerinage de Compostelle', *Revue géographique des Pyrénées et du sud-ouest*, 14 (1943), 5–33, indicates Saint-Pons-de-Thomières on an alternate route, but he does not mention the site in his text.

12. Bussis, 'Sculpture from the Church'; eadem, 'The Non-Homogenous Cloister: Consciousness of Style at Saint-Pons-de-Thomières', paper delivered at 26th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, May, 1991.

13. This capital is in the Toledo Museum of Art, accession no. 29.205. See Leslie Bussis Tait, 'Four Double Capitals from Saint-Pons-de-Thomières', in *Gothic Sculpture in America*, II: *The Museums of the Midwest* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), pp. 371–72. For the patron saint series, see Bussis, 'Sculpture from the Church', pp. 112–22, 160–66, 256–61. The sculpture is dated by stylistic analysis and comparison with other related monuments as there are no documents that securely enable us to date the different series of sculptures from this cloister. Linda Seidel, *Romanesque Sculpture in American Collections*, I: *New England*, ed. Walter Cahn and Linda Seidel (New York: Burt Franklin, 1979), pp. 157–59, dates two capitals stylistically related to the patron saint series that are in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, MA, to *c.* 1140. Kathryn Horste, in her entries on two of the martyrdom capitals from Saint-Pons-de-Thomières that are in the Toledo Museum of Art, dates them to *c.* 1150; *Romanesque Sculpture in American Collections*, II: *New York and New Jersey, Middle and South Atlantic States, the Midwest, Western and Pacific States* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 192–94.

14. Passet used thirty manuscripts (martyrologies, passionaries, legendaries) in compiling his text for the *Passio*

Pontii. The earliest of these is ninth to tenth century (Paris, BN, MS lat.5299). Among the monasteries where these texts originate are the following: Moissac (eleventh to twelfth century), Clairvaux (twelfth century), St-Martin-des-Champs (twelfth century), Mont-Saint-Michel (thirteenth century), Chartres (thirteenth century), Cîteaux (thirteenth century), Royaumont (thirteenth century), and St-Germain-des-Près (fourteenth century).

15. Another capital, perhaps showing Saint Pontius's apostolic mission, is ambiguous, and so it is not included in the present study. See Bussis, 'Sculpture from the Church', pp. 112, 120–21. The capital is in the Fogg Art Museum (1922.64) and has been previously identified as 'Sacrifice of Blood/Miraculous Feeding of the Four Thousand' by Linda Seidel in *Romanesque Sculpture*, pp. 157–59. It was identified by Joseph Sahuc as 'Sacrifice of the Old Testament' in *L'Art roman à Saint-Pons-de-Thomières* (Montpellier: Société Anonyme de l'Imprimerie Générale du Midi, 1908), pp. 81–82; and identified by Seidel as 'Sacrifice of the Old and New Laws', in 'Romanesque Capitals from the Vicinity of Narbonne', *Gesta*, 11.1 (1972), 44. Seidel, in *Romanesque Sculpture*, noted that the saw-tooth decoration of the arch in the Sacrifice scene is comparable to the scene of Christ breaking bread at Emmaus, depicted on another capital in the Fogg Art Museum, where the arch serves to indicate radiance.

16. This capital is in the collection of the Société Archéologique de Montpellier, Musée languedocien. *Passio Pontii*, cc. 11–12. According to Passet, the *Passio Pontii* was transcribed or printed dozens of times since the ninth to the tenth centuries (the date of the first known hagiographic manuscript). The first critical edition was published by the Bollandists, in the *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, ed. by Lucien d'Archery and Jean Mabillon (Paris, 1668–1702), Mai III, pp. 272–79. Even then, they were somewhat suspicious of its validity. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Le Nain de Tillemont and Père Pétau discredited the text. Abbot Maurel and Abbot Salvetti (in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries) reacted to this negative attitude. Passet has utilized the considerable amount of historical and archaeological research conducted since these earlier works, as well as more documents and editions of texts that have appeared since the mid-twentieth century. More recent archaeological work in Apt, Saint-Victor in Marseille, and Cimiez has brought evidence of the historical probability of the martyr Pontius.

17. *Passio*, cc. 13. This capital is in the Toledo Museum of Art, accession number 29.203. Horste, *Romanesque Sculpture*, pp. 192–94.

18. An example is the Saint-Pons-de-Thomières cloister capital portraying Daniel in the Lions' Den, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Paul Williamson, *Catalogue of Romanesque Sculpture* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1983), pp. 18–19.

19. Toledo Museum of Art, accession number 29.207. Horste, *Romanesque Sculpture*, pp. 192–94

20. Toulouse, Musée des Augustins, Cat. ME.264. See Musée des Augustins, *Sculptures romanes* (Toulouse: Musée des Augustins, 1996), p. 51.

21. The concept that a saint's martyrdom, whether recounted in a text or depicted in art, was meant to recall the Passion of Christ to the reader or viewer has liturgical foundations. Regarding the placement of a church or altar under the patronage of a saint, Saint Augustine stressed that the altar is consecrated to God alone and not to any martyr, but the martyr is commemorated when sacrifice is offered to God. *Contra Faustum*, XX:21, *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum editum consilio et impensis Academiae litterarum ... Vindobonensis* (Vienna: Tempsky, 1866–). For a recent discussion of the relationship between the reverence for the Eucharist and devotion to saints' relics during the Middle Ages, see G. J. C. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist* (Leiden: Brill, 1995). Snoek argues that relics and the bread of the Eucharist were used for particular ends in a similar manner, at times as replacement of each other.

22. See the related discussion of Saint Vincent in the paper by Daniel Rico Camps in this volume.

23. The frontality of these figures is contrasted with the representation of the governor Claudius, consistently in profile.

24. Compare, for example, the similar raised arm posture and crown of Herod on the capital of the Three Magi in the east arcade of the cloister at Arles. Here a sword is an attribute rather than a sceptre. See illustration in Whitney S. Stoddard, *The Façade of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1973), fig. 348.

25. See the excellent discussion of illustrated saints' lives by Cynthia Hahn, 'Picturing the Text: Narrative in the *Life* of the Saints', *Art History*, 13.1(1990), 1–32. Elsewhere in this volume, Leanne Gilbertson makes a similar comparison between Saint Margaret's interrogation before a pagan prefect and Christ before Pilate.

26. Roger II, who was the major secular power in the Narbonnais, was among the first of the great nobles to openly support the Cathari. His direct refusal in 1174 of the church authorities' request that he cease offering protection to the heretics led to his excommunication in 1178 (*HGL*, VI, 79–85). Roger II repudiated the commission headed by papal legate Henry of Marcy, Abbot of Clairvaux. This joint papal and royal commission was sent in response to the request by Raymond V, Count of Toulouse, for assistance against the heresies for which his lands were becoming notorious. The abbots of Saint-Pons-de-Thomières were very active in Church politics, performing more at the level of bishops than abbots. When regional bishops were not cooperating with Pope Innocent III and his legates, the legates suspended them from office; Innocent III wrote to the Bishop of Agde and the Abbot of Saint-Pons-de-Thomières commanding them to denounce the suspended prelates in all churches of the diocese and to appoint capable persons. Documents dating from 1255 and 1261 record royal investigations in response to the abbey's petition to regain rights to lands confiscated from them, or surrendered by nobles convicted of heresy, such as the Trencavel. See Bussis-Tait, 'Histoire du Monastère', pp. 23–38.

27. Fig. 12 shows only one figure, the other Philip is on the adjacent face. This fragment is displayed in the Chapelle des Penitents in Saint-Pons-de-Thomières. Joseph Sahuc referred to a fragment which was lost, representing several scenes from the life of Saint Pontius; see Sahuc, *L'Art roman*, p. 74. It is possible that he was referring to the missing portions of this capital. It is also possible he was referring to an unpublished capital, also now missing, which may be documented in two photographs in the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University (negative numbers 00384 and 000385).

28. This capital is in the Société Archéologique de Montpellier, Musée Languedocien. Curiously, we see knights on horseback with shields but no actual battle is depicted. See, most recently, the entry by Monique Rey-Delqué in *De Toulouse à Tripoli. La Renaissance Toulousaine au XIIe siècle (1080–1208)* (Toulouse: Musée des Augustins, 1989), pp. 264–65, where the capital is identified as the Conversion of

Saint Pons de Cimiez, and dated around 1200. Rey-Delqué follows an unpublished interpretation of Jean Nougaret identifying the two standing figures as the young Pontius and the pope who baptized him, and the men on horseback as the entourage of Pontius.

29. For examples in documents from Saint-Pons-de-Thomières, see donation charters dated 936, 942, 969, 972, 1100, and 1158, where *'glorioso martyri Pontio'* is the recipient along with the monastery; they both typically follow God and the Virgin Mary. Bussis, 'Sculpture from the Church', pp. 220–37; *HGL*, V, nos LXIII, LXXI, CIII, CX, CCCXXXII (1), DXVI (1).

30. For a discussion of the identity of a saint conflated with the locus of a shrine or with relics, see Peter R. L. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 88. For a discussion of how monks utilized the relics of saints in defence of attacks or victimization by lay enemies, see Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, rev. edn (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 20–21: 'Alienation of the *honores* of the monastery was alienation of the *honores* of the saint—a connection emphasized by the offended monks'.

31. The original manuscript is destroyed, however a copy of the inventory is recorded in two manuscripts: Paris, BN Fonds Doat, 72, fols 234–262v; Paris, BN Baluze, vol. 87, fols 11–19v. The inventory was transcribed in the seventeenth century by Doat from the original text, a parchment example found in the archives of the bishopric of Albi. See Leopold Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscripts de la Bibliothèque imperial (national)*... (Paris: Imprimerie imperial [nationale], 1868–81), II, 536–50.

32. Item 73: 'Item est aliud volumen quod dicitur libellus sancti Ilarii adversus hereticorum dogma, et contra omnes qui in dominum Jesum Christum male senserunt vel in Spiritum Sanctum. Hic fides confirmatur, et repudiat conemptos, et membra ecclesie capiti conglomerat, de quo dogmate sunt XII libri completi. Et in fine hujus voluminis est passio beati Pontii'. We do not know whether or not these manuscripts were in the monastic library at the time the capitals were carved, but it is a rather safe assumption that there would have been at least one text in their possession on their patron saint.

33. There are numerous instances in the *Passio* when Pontius condemns the worship of idols. The image depicted here most likely represents chapter 15, when the Governor Claudius commands him one last time before putting him to death. In this chapter, Pontius raises his hands to heaven and thanks the Lord, and compares those shouting for his death to those who shouted for Christ's crucifixion.

34. See, for example, the numerous examples in Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol. Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Camille mentions a few examples of idols represented as apes (pp. 14–15). While not explicit in the *Passio*, the suggestion is that the pagan deities are human in form. For example, when Pontius hears the Christians chanting, they refer to idols who '[...] have mouths but will never speak'. Furthermore, if the scene is, in fact, based on chapter 15 of the *Passio*, the text gives the setting as the Temple of Apollo.

35. Bussis, 'Sculpture from the Church', pp. 136–37. An animal on the altar also makes a reference to the 'Old Law Sacrifice' on another capital already mentioned. See Bussis Tait, 'Four Double Capitals', p. 372.

36. Bussis, 'Sculpture from the Church', pp. 136–37; eadem, 'The Non-Homogenous Cloister'.

37. The traditional interpretation of the Crossing of the Red Sea as a type for the sacrament of baptism is enhanced visually by clothing Saint Pontius on the Idols/Baptism capital in the loosely draped antique robe that Moses wears in the scenes of Dividing the Red Sea. This contrasts with the contemporary courtly dress of the pagan ruler who points to the idol. Other parallels between the patron saint and Moses, and between Moses and the anti-heresy position, will be discussed in a forthcoming study on the Moses series of capitals from Saint-Pons-de-Thomières.

38. Bussis, 'The Non-Homogenous Cloister'.

39. Joseph Sahuc, *Saint-Pons-de-Thomières: Ses vieux édifices, ses anciennes institutions* (Bergerac: J. Castanet, 1895; repr. Marseille: Laffitte, 1979), p. 77; A. K. Porter, 'The Avignon Capital', *Fogg Art Museum Notes*, 1.3 (1923), 15; and other subsequent authors. See Bussis, 'Sculpture from the Church', pp. 76–89. Recent scholars dating this series to around 1200 include Rey-Delqué, *De Toulouse à Tripoli*.

40. This status was achieved early in the history of the monastery. Privileges were also granted by Pope Paschal in the early twelfth century. The monastery actively assisted Rome in ecclesiastical reforms from the time of the Gregorian Reform in the eleventh century to the later heresy struggles. Bussis-Tait, 'Histoire du monastère', pp. 26–29.

41. Marie-Humbert Vicaire, *L'Imitation des apôtres: moines, chanoines, mendiants, IVe-XIIe siècles*, Traditions et spiritualté, 2 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1963). For discussions of the *vita apostolica* in relation to cloister sculpture, see Ilene Forsyth, 'The *Vita Apostolica* and Romanesque Sculpture: Some Preliminary Observations', *Gesta*, 25.1 (1986), 75–82; and Linda Seidel, 'Installation as Inspiration: The Passion Cycle from La Daurade', *Gesta*, 25.1 (1986), 83–92. In the ongoing debate between the monks and the canons, each claiming to be the authentic heirs to the true apostolic life, the monks were losing ground by the beginning of the second half of the twelfth century when these capitals were carved. Gaining ground were the canons and, in the thirteenth century, the mendicant orders that claimed to follow the apostles more closely because they preached and did not shun the world. In some cases, however, monks could also preach. See, for example, Marjorie Chibnall, 'Monks and Pastoral Work: A Problem in Anglo-Norman History', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 18 (1967), 165–72. In fact, the inclusion of at least two texts on the art of preaching in the 1276 inventory of the library of Saint-Pons-de-Thomières indicates that the monks were involved in such practice (item 184, '[...] artem predicandi magistri Alani'; and item 315, 'R. De Porta Regia debet habere librum de arte predicandi [...]').

PART III.

Shifting the Saint, Moving the Faithful

The Representation of Physician Saints in the Katholikon of the Monastery of Hosios Loukas, Phokis

NADEZHDA GUERASSIMENKO

The Katholikon of the monastery of Hosios Loukas located in Phokis, Greece, and erected in the second quarter of the eleventh century, consists of several architectural components: a *naos* with a five-chambered sanctuary; southwest and northwest chapels adjoining the *naos*; a narthex; galleries; and a crypt (fig. 1).[1] The entire ensemble, with the exception of the *prothesis* to the left of the sanctuary and the greater part of the galleries, has retained its original mosaic and fresco decoration of the 1030s and 1040s. One distinguishing feature of this decoration is the predominant representation of individual saints rather than subjects of a narrative nature. The choice of saints, their arrangement in the architectural space of the church, and the combination of various categories of saints determine the essence of the sacred programme.

Compared with other categories of holy personages represented in the mosaics of the Katholikon at Hosios Loukas, such as sainted monks, apostles, sainted bishops, or holy women where the total number is twenty-nine, twenty-two, twenty-two, and twelve respectively, physician saints are relatively fewer. There were apparently nine original images, of which only five have survived. Considering the statistics, however, this is a significant collection of holy healers. Fourteen medical saints in total are found in Greek Menologions (manuscripts containing saints' feasts days and their *vitae*) and Synaxaries (manuscripts consisting only of saints' feasts days). Not more than two to four physician saints, however, are usually depicted in the mural painting of any particular church; in churches dedicated to any single healer saint, up to six representations of healers are generally encountered.[2] In addition, many of the holy women included at Hosios Loukas, it should be noted, were also healers. Thus, the presence of images of thaumaturgic saints at this site commands serious attention; their inclusion, as we shall argue, is strongly connected with the cult of the monastery's founder, Loukas Stiris (fig. 1, no. 1; fig. 2). This article will consider the reasons for the appearance, choice, and arrangement of physician saints in this particular church. An analysis of these issues will enable us, in addition, to comprehend the meaning of the narthex programme and to understand the functional purposes of this space in the Katholikon.

Of the five mosaics of physician saints that have survived, the image of Saint Panteleimon is located on the west wall of the south arm of the *naos* (fig. 1, no. 2; fig. 3). On the northern vault of the narthex we find Saints Cosmas, Cyrus, and John (fig. 1, nos 21, 22, 24; fig. 4); the image of the fourth saint on this vault no longer survives. Saint Mokios appears on the southern cross-vault of the narthex (fig. 1, no. 28; fig. 5); three images here have not survived. Given the density in the representation of saintly healers in this part of the edifice, we surmise that the four lost representations in the Katholikon's narthex were also those of physician saints. Cosmas is traditionally depicted together with his reputed twin brother Damian—and bearing in mind that there was a nineteenth-century fresco of Damian here before restoration—we can assume that it was his portrait which is missing from the northern vault.[3]

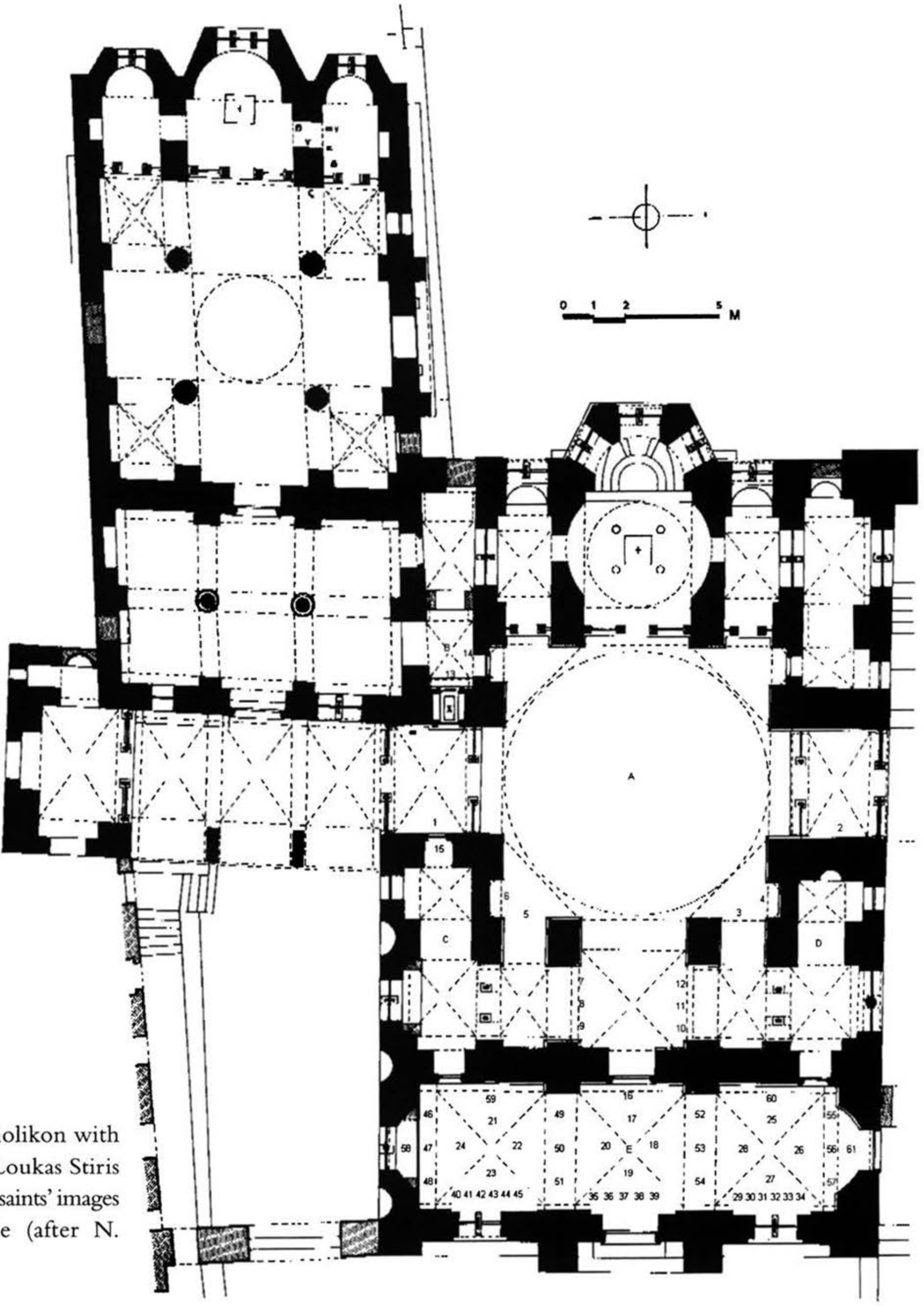


Fig. 1. Plan of Katholikon with tomb site of Saint Loukas Stiris (X) and locations of saints' images discussed in article (after N. Chatzidakis)

LEGEND
I Church of Panaghia
II Katholikon
A Naos
B North-east room
C North-west chapel
D South-west chapel
E Narthex
X Saint Loukas's tomb

Saints in Naos
1 Loukas Stiris
2 Panteleimon
3 Tryphon
4 Adrian
5 Agathangelus (fragment, wall-painting, 19th century?)
6 Unknown saint (fragment, wall-painting, 19th century?)
7 Niketas (wall-painting, 19th century?)
8 Neophytus (wall-painting, 19th century?)
9 Agathangelus (wall-painting, 19th century?)
10 Acacius (wall-painting, 19th century?)
11 Niketas (wall-painting, 19th century?)
12 Basilicus (wall-painting, 19th century?)

Northeast Room (frescos)
13 Loukas Stiris
14 Abbot Philotheus Offers the Model of the Katholikon to Saint Loukas Stiris

Northwest Chapel (frescos)
15 Loukas Stiris

Mosaics in Narthex
16 Christ Pantocrator
17 Virgin Orans
18 Gabriel
19 John the Baptist
20 Michael
21 Cosmas
22 Cyrus
23 Damian (wall-painting, 19th century?)
24 John
25 Panteleimon (wall-painting, 19th century?)
26 Thalaleus (wall-painting, 19th century?)
27 Tryphon (wall-painting, 19th century?)
28 Mokios
29 Agatha
30 Eugenia
31 Phephronia
32 Constantinos and Helena
33 Thekla
34 Anastasia
35 Elpidiphoros
36 Aphthonios
37 Akyndynos
38 Anempodistos
39 Pigasios
40 Juliana
41 Barbara
42 Katherina
43 Irene
44 Marina
45 Euphemia
46-57 Apostles
58 the Washing of the Feet
59 the Crusifixion
60 the Descent into Hell
61 the Doubting of Thomas

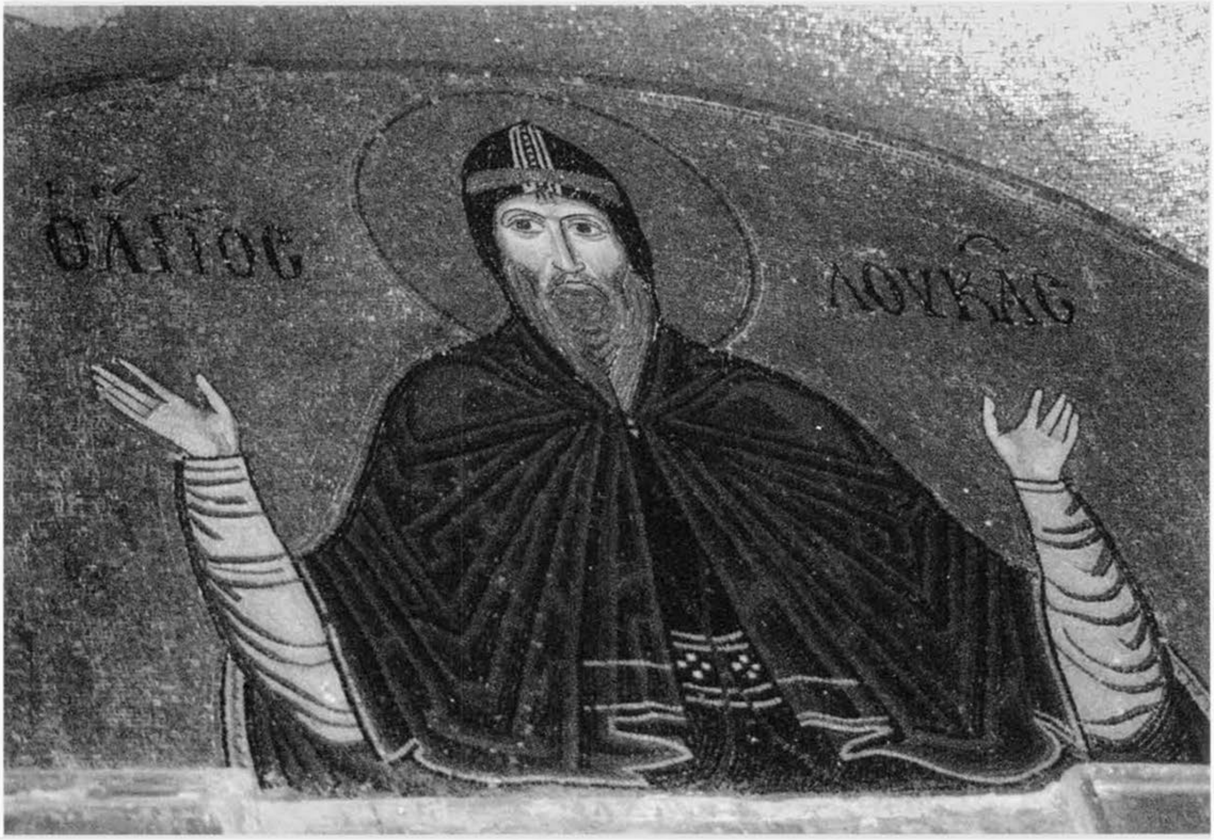


Fig. 2. Saint Loukas Stiris (no. 1), mosaic. *Naos,* Katholikon, 1030s (photo: author)

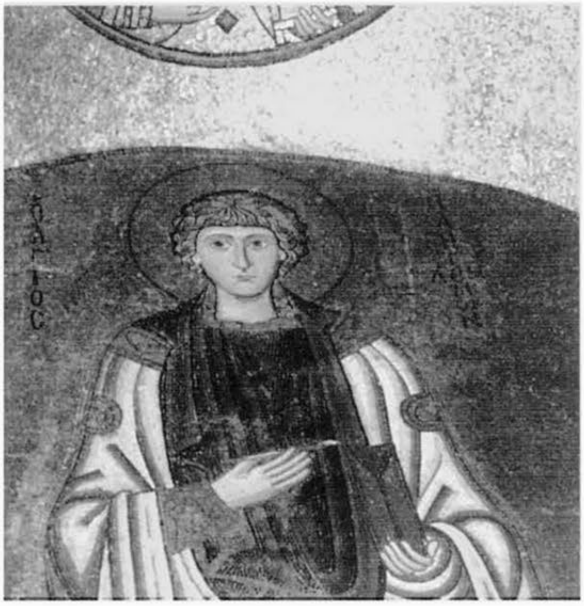


Fig. 3. Saint Panteleimon (no. 2), mosaic. *Naos,* Katholikon, 1030s (photo: author)

In all likelihood, especially given the documentation, the nineteenth-century frescoes repeated pre-existing iconography. In the south vault of the narthex, next to the representation of Saint Mokios there were nineteenth-century frescoes depicting the physician saints Panteleimon (fig. 1, no. 25, feast day 27 July),[4] Thalaleus (fig. 1, no. 26, feast day 20 May),[5] and Tryphon (fig. 1, no. 27, feast day 1 February).[6] Saint Mokios whose feast day is celebrated on 11 May was revered as a martyr, and sometimes also as a healer.[7] Because of his presence in the company of other physician saints in the narthex of the Katholikon, he was evidently meant to be represented in this same capacity. The portrayal of Saint Panteleimon here for a second time—we have already mentioned his appearance in the *naos*—has two possible explanations: first, his nineteenth-century image may have replaced a lesser-known healer saint, perhaps Hermolaios who was also often represented; or, second, he may have been accorded particular reverence, given the repetition.[8] A different set of circumstances governs the dual appearance of Tryphon who is represented both in the narthex and in the southwest part of the *naos* on the intrados of the gallery arcade. In this case, we are dealing with two different saints having the same appellation. The Tryphon of the narthex is, judging from the context, the physician saint, whereas the Tryphon in the nave (fig. 1, no. 3) is represented in a row of martyrs. Adjacent to him is the martyr Adrian (fig. 1, no. 4), and further along the intrados are fresco medal-

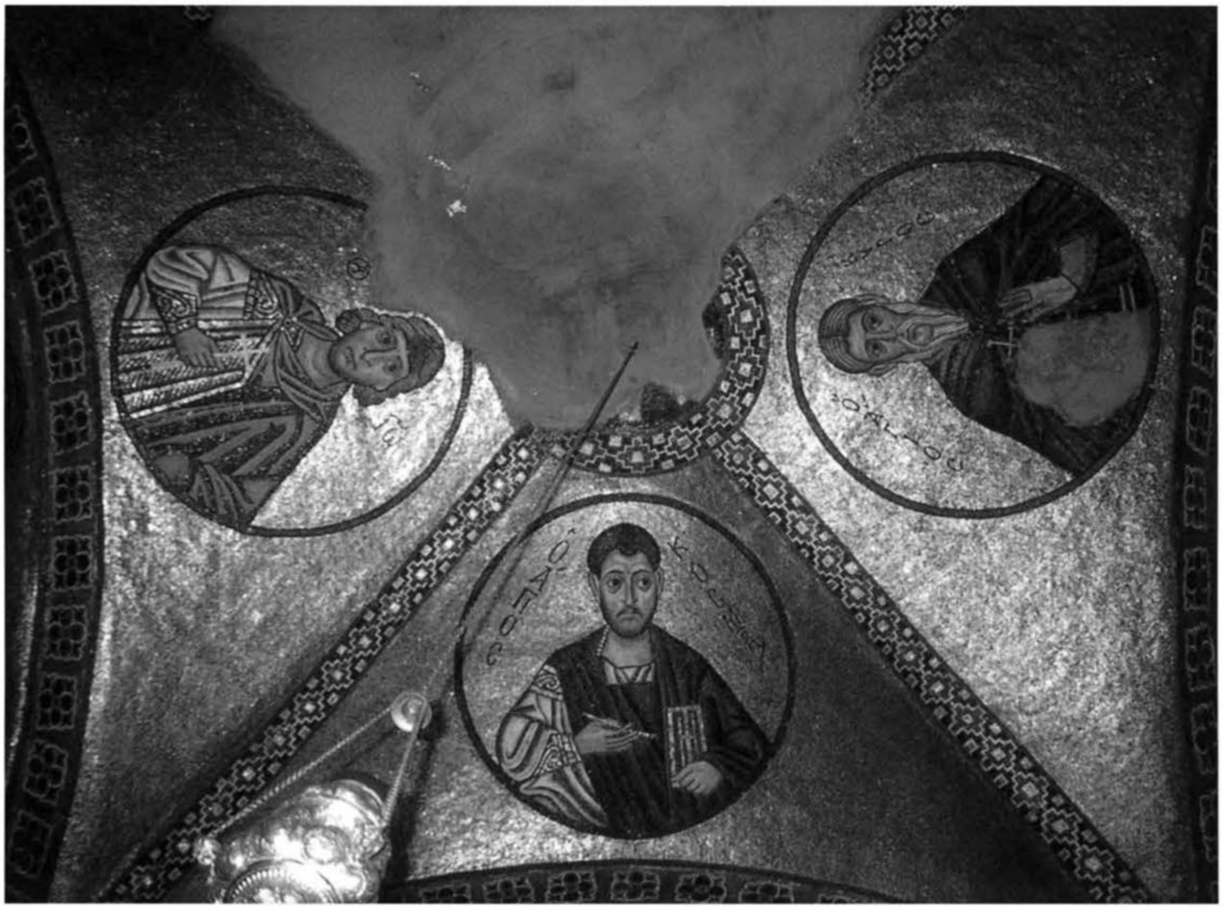


Fig. 4. Saints Cyrus, John, and Cosmas (nos 22, 24, 21). North vault, narthex, Katholikon, 1030s (photo: author)

lions dating to the nineteenth century that represent the martyrs Acacius, Niketas, Basiliscus, Agathangelus, and Neophytus (fig. 1, nos 10, 7 and 11, 12, 9 and 5, 8).

We can conclude, therefore, that the narthex contained a total of eight representations of physician saints (fig. 1, nos 21–28). Saints Cosmas and Damian[9] and Saints Cyrus and John[10] are the best known and most renowned for their healing of both body and soul. Their portraits, particularly those of the brothers Cosmas and Damian, can be found in many churches throughout the Orthodox Empire. Indeed, Byzantine Synaxaries differentiated among three pairs of physician saints known as Cosmas and Damian: from Rome (feast day 1 July), from Arabia (feast day 17 October), and from Asia Minor (feast day 1 November). The *Hermenia*—a painter's manual composed by an eighteenth-century monk-artist of Mount Athos, Dionysius of Fourna, and which generally reflected ancient Byzantine practices—describes the iconographic features particular to each pair, but these distinctions are quite subtle.[11] The study of their portraits in various ensembles has not yet made it possible to define clearly which pair is being portrayed. Scholars usually assume that it is the brothers from Rome, but in general, it is doubtful that medieval Byzantines themselves always differentiated among them in mural painting. The main point is that the faithful prayed to Cosmas and Damian for their powers of healing without necessarily making any conscious distinction about which pair of brothers received their petition. Of greater significance for the authors of the programme was the gift of healing and the power of intercession characteristic of all of these pairs. In the context of the narthex decoration, the choice of thaumaturgical saints, including the most famous Cosmas and Damian, was of overarching importance.

An interesting detail in the portrayal of Saint Cyrus—represented here with his companion John (fig. 4), and whose collective feast day is celebrated on 31 January—is his monastic attire. According to his *vita*, Cyrus was a monk who often healed not only through his medical knowledge, but also through his spiritual powers of prayer. In expounding Christian precepts to the sick, he converted many to the religion.

His monastic identity was rarely stressed, however.[12] Yet through this uncharacteristic representation of Saint Cyrus, one of the key elements of the Katholikon's iconographic programme is disclosed: the theme of the canonized monk.[13]

Physician saints are frequent motifs in Byzantine church decoration, but nine portrayals at the same site is rare and usually associated with churches dedicated to one of the physician saints. This phenomenon indicates the special place reserved for them by those who determined the mosaics and fresco programme at Hosios Loukas. The importance of this theme is also emphasized by the fact that one of the physicians, Panteleimon, is centrally located in the *naos* on a symmetrical axis with a portrayal of Loukas Stiris, the monastery's founder.[14] This symmetry is no accident. A study of the personality and cult of the saintly founder enables us to understand the role and presence of the physician saints here and the special features of the Katholikon's imagery.

Loukas Stiris, also called the New Miracle-Worker, was a strict ascetic (feast day 7 February; the translation of his relics was also celebrated at the monastery on 3 May).[15] He walked the length and breadth of Greece in search of solitude before settling on Mount Stiriot in Phokis in the 940s. The first church which he established there was the church of Saint Barbara erected in 946–955 from funds donated by Krinites, the *strategos* (military commander) of Thebes who revered Loukas. In the opinion of some specialists, this church has survived to this day as the church of the Panaghia which adjoins the Katholikon.[16] Loukas died in 953 at the age of 56.[17] Some time later a cruciform chapel was constructed over his tomb, and his relics were translated to its crypt. In his lifetime, Loukas was renowned for healing various diseases and for his noteworthy prophecies. The most famous of these—the liberation of Crete from the Arabs—came true in 961, several years after his death, and this event bolstered his fame. According to his *vita*, Loukas received the gifts of miracle-working and prophecy at Mount Joannitz, not far from a church of Saints Cosmas and Damian: 'he had reached a mount called by native peasants Joannitz, [where] there was a church of the thaumaturgic brothers Cosmas and Damian; [...] he had received from great God the favour of an important gift of healing and the knowledge of both the past and the future, and also the present which is hidden'.[18] Unfortunately, we have no other evidence about this particular church. The author of Loukas's *vita* may have perceived its name as symbolic and not coincident, the important fact being that the future renowned healer received his gift from the two famous physician saints. After his death, the healing miracles continued, but now at his gravesite. Every year more and more people visited this sacred place to worship his relics. The fulfilment of his predictions about the Bulgarian and Slavic invasions, as well as the reconquest of Crete, were highly important for the Byzantine Empire and perhaps even attracted the emperor's attention to the cult of Loukas and to his monastery. As a consequence, later legends associating the foundation of Hosios Loukas with an Emperor Romanos may have had some historical basis: an emperor or empress might have made donations to the monastery. It rapidly became a centre of pilgrimage, which made it necessary first, to extend the church of Saint Barbara at the end of the tenth century, and then to build a new church on the site of Loukas's tomb in the 1030s.[19]

The Katholikon was thus erected only eighty to ninety years after the foundation of the monastery and after the death of its very founder. It follows that the compilers of the Katholikon's decoration sought to stress the importance of Saint Loukas Stiris in order to consolidate the position of this nascent monastery as a pilgrimage site. It is worth adding that in Byzantium there was no official procedure by which saints were canonized, and that this decoration may have been a means to promote his cult. The process of canonization usually began with local worship and then, depending upon the fame, identity, and cult of the holy individual, if it escalated to the point of national veneration, sainthood was acknowledged. When the cult was included in Synaxaries, the saint's status was officially recognized.[20] The above- mentioned facts in Loukas's *vita* clearly demonstrate that his reverence in Phokis began immediately after his death; his veneration then spread rapidly throughout the Byzantine Empire inciting the flow of pilgrims to, and active construction at, the sacred site. The glorification of Saint Loukas in the Katholikon's programme had two main thrusts. The first was his veneration as a strict ascetic in a series of great founders of ancient monasteries: in the mosaics of the *naos* there are portrayals of twenty-six famous holy monks, the majority of whom were abbots of important monasteries throughout the Orthodox world.[21] The second aspect underlined Loukas's healing power: representations of numerous physician saints confirm this idea. Understanding the rationale behind their location may clarify their interaction.

The symmetrical disposition of large images of Saint Loukas Stiris and Saint Panteleimon on two lunettes in the *naos* (fig. 1, nos 1, 2; figs 2, 3) expresses most clearly the correspondence between the healing gift of the founder of Hosios Loukas and the medical art of one of the most famous Byzantine physician saints.[22] The location of thaumaturgic saints in the narthex as well may shed light upon the function of this area in the complicated structure of the Katholikon.

I believe that the unusual division of this church—as far as Byzantine multipartite structures are concerned—with its narthex, *naos*, chapels, galleries, and crypt was a result of the various purposes for which they were used. All parts of the Katholikon have specifically prescribed functions, and these functions are deliberately expressed, embodied, and reflected in the mosaic and fresco decoration. The narthex of the Katholikon was employed for both traditional and particular local purposes. Although no written documents have survived concerning this matter, the decoration is itself an important indicator of these functions.

In many churches throughout Byzantium from Early Christian times onward, the narthex, or entrance porch, had funerary functions: graves of founders, donors, or monks were often located there; it thus follows that commemorative services were performed there as well. Many examples of churches whose narthexes were used in this manner in both Cappadocia and the capital city have been described by Natalia B. Teteriatnikov.[23] However, at Hosios Loukas these very ceremonies, as we will demonstrate, took place in the crypt and northwest chapel of the *naos* instead.

The crypt was initially designated to be the site for Loukas's grave. The disposition of his grave under the first cruciform chapel evidently determined the creation of a crypt under the new eleventh-century church. Three sarcophagi are still extant there, one of which originally contained his relics.[24] Some scholars take the view that monks were buried in the crypt and that its western part was used as an ossuary.[25] As Carolyn Connor indicated, special memorial services were held in the crypt, and these included all-night vigils and requiems.[26] The decoration of this area reflects the funerary character of this subterranean space. For instance, all the scenes of feast days are devoted to the events of Holy Week or related occurrences, such as the Entry into Jerusalem, the Washing of the Feet, the Last Supper, the Crucifixion, the Deposition, the Burial and Resurrection, the Incredulity of Thomas, and the Koimesis of the Virgin. The last week of the earthly life of Christ, the narrative of his passion and the miracle of his resurrection, held the promise of resurrection to all believers. In the apse there appears a Deësis in the form of an enthroned Theotokos Hodegetria and on the ten cross-vaults are represented saints, divided into categories for worship, such as apostles, holy monks, and martyrs.[27] The Deësis composition expresses the idea of intercession for humanity and is often situated at gravesites; in addition, all the saints on the ten cross-vaults appear here both as intercessors and mediators invoked in funeral prayers.

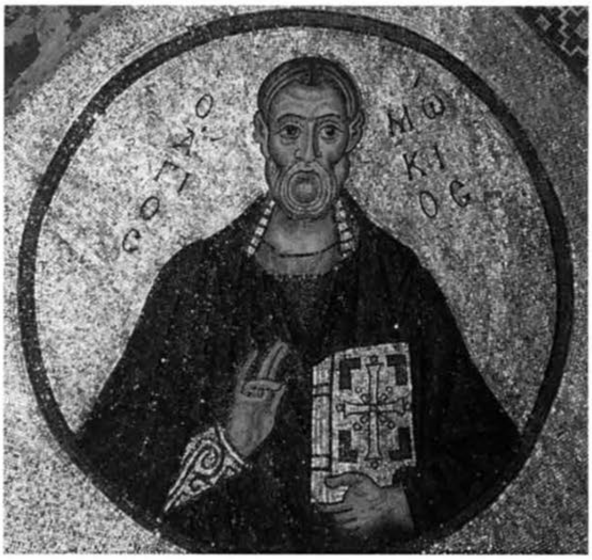


Fig. 5. Saint Mokios (no. 28). South vault, narthex, Katholikon, 1030s (photo: author)

The fresco paintings in the northwest chapel (fig. 1, C), according to a study by Theano Chatzidakis-Bacharas, are also devoted to the themes of death and resurrection.[28] This makes perfect sense since, under Abbot Philopheus, the relics of Loukas Stiris were translated to the northeast part of the naos, near where the mosaic representing the saint would be placed (fig.

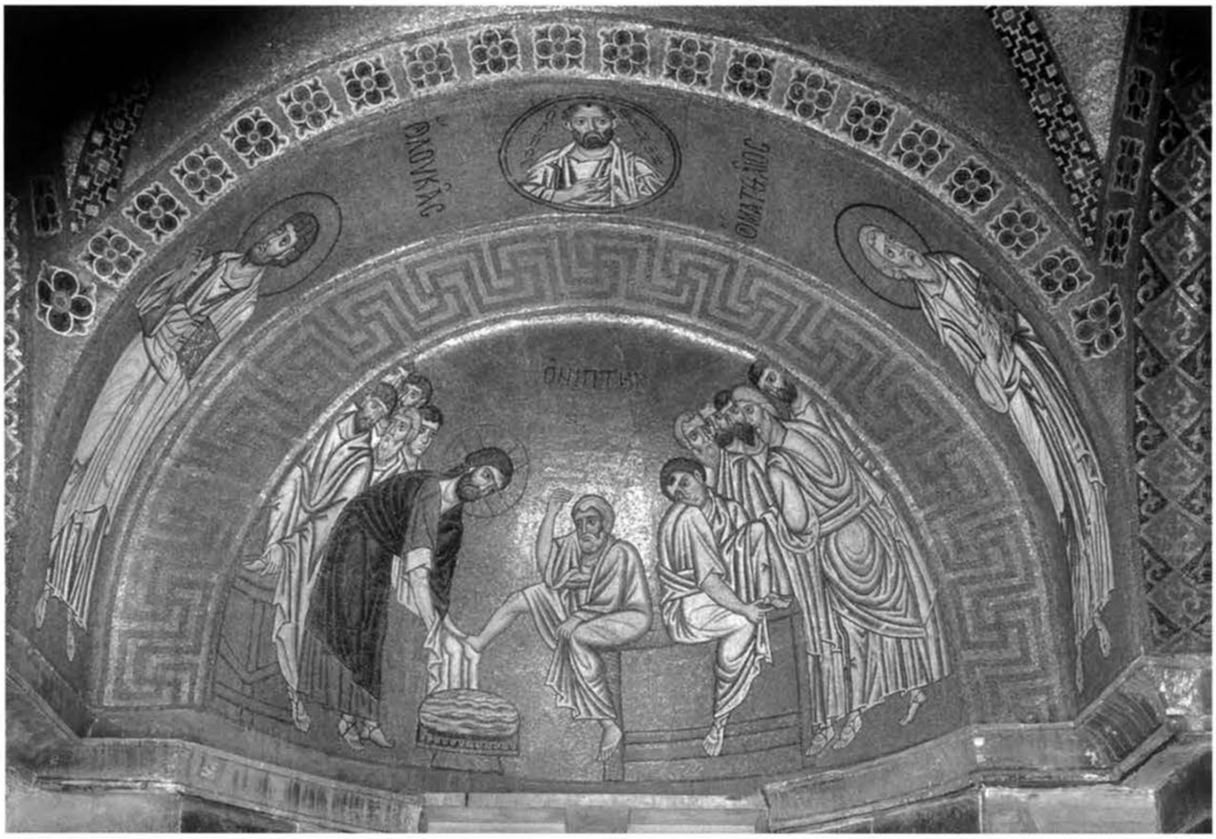


Fig. 6. Christ washin the feet of an Apostle. Mosaic at the north end of the narthex. Manostery Church, Hosios Loukas, Greece, 1030s (Copyright Erich Lessing/Art resource, NY)

1, no. 13).[29] Moreover, the northwest chapel was aligned with this architectural component where the saint's relics were located. This northwest chapel was used for special memorial services for the monastery's founder. Many similar cases are known when funeral hymns, or *Akathistoi,* were sung daily or even around the clock to commemorate the founder of a monastery at his grave. For example, the emperor John Komnenos, founder of the monastery of Christ Pantokrator in Constantinople, prescribed, in its Liturgical Statute (*Typikon*) which he composed after 1136, the celebration of the commemorative office (*pannuchis*) every evening at both his and his family's graves.[30]

Hagiographical literature indicates that the infirm sometimes installed themselves at a saint's grave for several months hoping for recovery.[31] Unfortunately, the space near Loukas's tomb was insufficient to accommodate pilgrims; the northwest chapel was used instead for commemorating services for Saint Loukas, while in the crypt, his original burial site, vigils were held for deceased monks of the monastery. However, in the narthex of Hosios Loukas the many faithful could remain for a long time. This area traditionally played an important role in Byzantine liturgy. According to information found in *Typikons* as well as in more recent studies, it was used as the place to form the procession for the 'first entrance', that is, the ritual that opens the second and most important part of the liturgy of Mass.[32] The *Typikons* of the monastery of the Virgin of Evergetissa (1054) and of Christ Pantokrator (1136) in Constantinople inform us that the monks returned to the narthex to receive the blessing of their abbot after the liturgy, and that the ritual Washing of the Feet on Maundy Thursday likewise was performed there.[33] A large crowd of pilgrims could gather in the narthex of Hosios Loukas before and during the liturgy of the Mass and could linger there after it had ended. There they also prayed to images of thaumaturgic saints so that their cures would be effected. We may assume that one of the functions of this narthex was to shelter pilgrims who might have wished to remain there for a long duration—perhaps even around the clock.[34] I would be cautious about this hypothesis, especially since there was a hospital at the monastery of Hosios Loukas. Unfortunately, we have no information regarding its date of origin.[35] Mean-

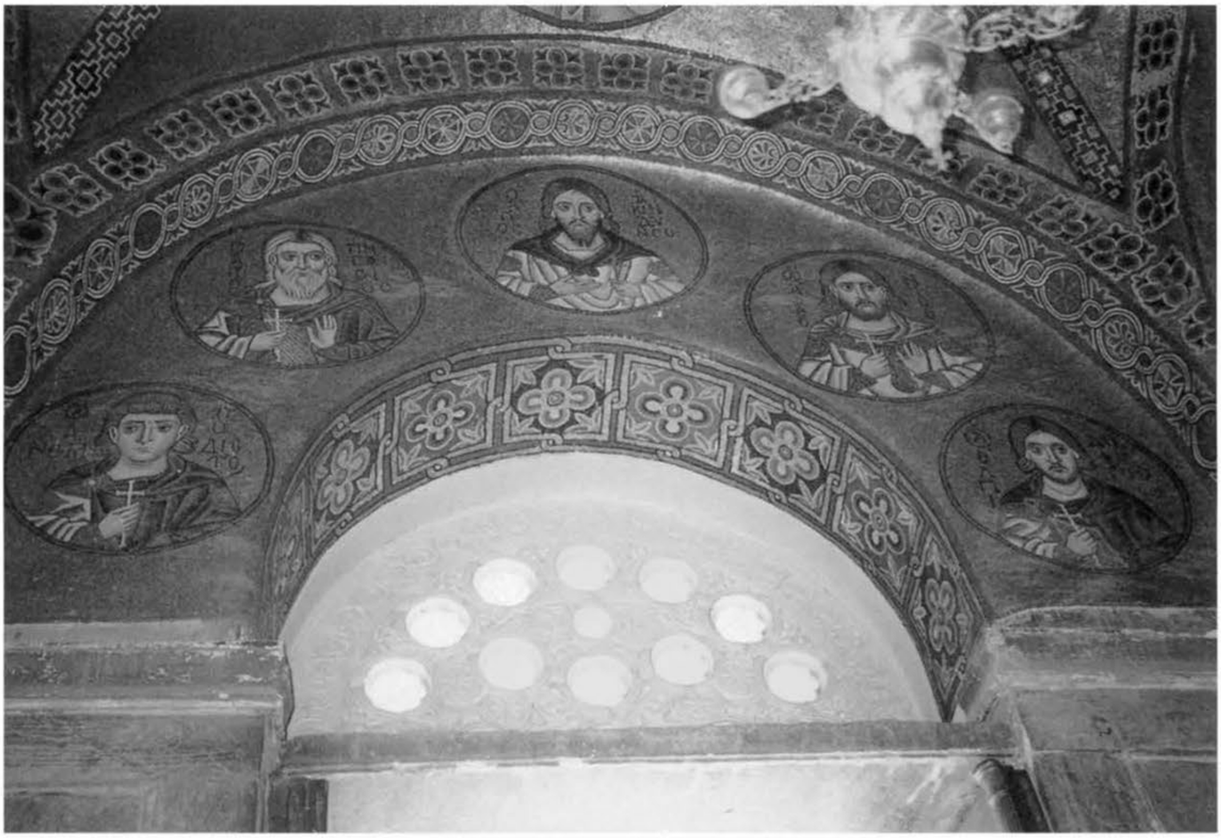


Fig. 7. Five martyrs from Persia (nos 35, 36, 37, 38, 39), mosaic. West wall of narthex, Katholikon, 1030s (photo: author)

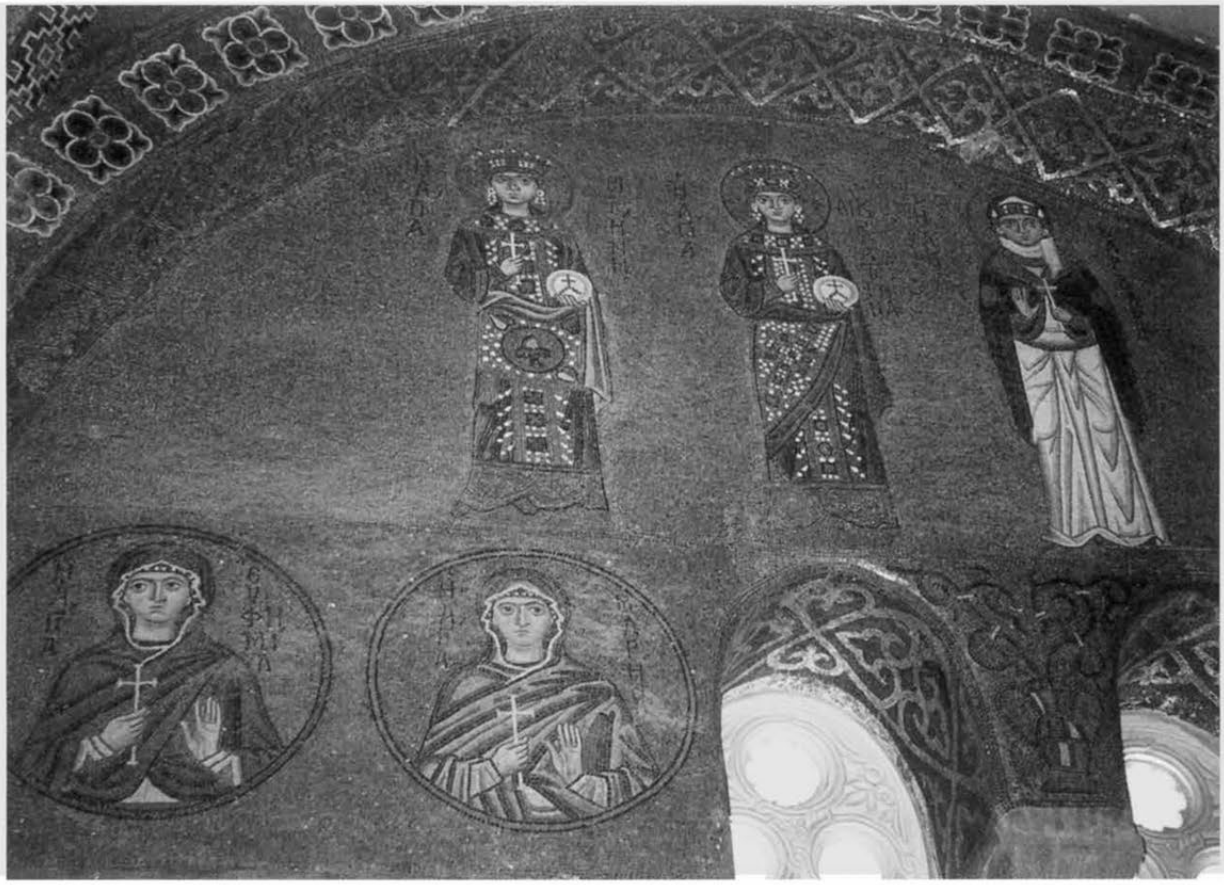


Fig. 8. Holy women, Saints Irina, Katherina, Barbara, Euphemia, and Marina (nos 41, 42, 43, 44, 45), mosaic. West wall of narthex, Katholikon, 1030s (photo: author)

while, the existence of a hospital there demonstrates that in many cases the pilgrimage to Saint Loukas's grave was undertaken by the infirm with the expectation of being cured. It undoubtedly confirms the importance of the theme of physician saints in the Katholikon and the special character of the narthex—the area in which their images were located.

The mosaic cycle in the narthex of Hosios Loukas relates directly to the functions of this entryway into the church proper. It emphasizes ideas of universal salvation and resurrection. The iconography of the various scenes depicted here—the Washing of the Feet, the Crucifixion, the Descent into Hell, and the Doubting of Thomas—illustrate the theme of Christ's Sacrifice and Resurrection (fig. 1, nos 58–61; fig. 6).[36] These four scenes corresponded to the most essential items in the programme of God's plan for the redemption of mankind. The Washing of the Feet is an episode indicating Christ's greatest humility. And on the opposite wall is an instance depicting the moment of his divine validation—the Doubting of Thomas. The Crucifixion, furthermore, shows his defeat in the struggle against death, while the Descent into Hell is the triumph over the finality of death.

An analysis of the choice of saints that embellish the sacred precincts of the Katholikon, including the places occupied by physician saints, confirms and develops this theory. While an extended study of the subject is beyond the scope of this paper, we may suggest the logic behind their choice. The transverse arches between the narthex vaults bear representations of the Twelve Apostles who were witnesses to Christ's life on earth, his miracles, his sufferings, and his resurrection. Consequently they were guarantors, as it were, of universal resurrection: by preaching the Christian doctrine, they carried the glad tidings of eternal life and salvation to all people. The images of the five martyrs from Persia—Pigasios, Anempodistos, Akyndynos, Aphthonios, and Elpidiphoros—are represented on the west wall above the entry door (fig. 1, nos 35–39; fig. 7). Numerous tortures and ordeals which the martyrs underwent secured for them a new life in Paradise; their steadfastness during torments converted many heathens to Christianity. They were considered reliable intercessors between the faithful and Christ. The twelve holy women—Thekla, Anastasia, Helena, Phephronia, Agatha, Eugenia, Irene, Euphemia, Katherina, Marina, Barbara, and Juliana—who appear in the mosaics on the west wall were also endowed with gifts of healing and preaching (fig. 1, nos 29–34, 40–45; fig. 8). The portrayal of physician saints was thus a logical part of this hagiographic roster: they appear as healers of both physical and spiritual ailments. Their images reinforced the hopes of all those who sought healing—not only physical cure but also spiritual salvation—at the holy grave of Saint Loukas Stiris. In addition, their images reinforced the thaumaturgic gift of the saintly founder of the monastery of Hosios Loukas.

NOTES

1. G. Kremos, *Phokida*, 3 vols (Athens, 1874–80); Charles Diehl, *L'Église et les mosaiques du couvent de Saint-Luc en Phocide* (Paris, 1889) (reprinted in idem, *Choses et les gens de Byzance* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1926)). Idem, 'Mosaiques byzantines de Saint-Luc', *Monuments Piot*, 3 (1897), 231–46; idem, 'Les Mosaiques byzantines du monastère de Saint-Luc, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 17 (1897), 37–52 (reprinted in idem, *Études byzantines* (Paris, 1905), pp. 370–91); Richard Schultz and Sidney Barnsley, *The Monastery of Saint Luke of Stiris, in Phokis, and the Dependent Monastery of Saint Nicolas in the Fields, near Skripou in Boetia* (London: British School of Archaeology, 1901); Ernst Diez and Otto Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece. Daphni and Hosios Lucas* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931); Fedor I. Schmidt, 'Mosaics of the Monastery of Saint Luke' (in Russian), in *Sbornik Harkovskogo Istoriko-filologuitcheskogo obctchestv,* 21 (1913–14), 318–34; Georgios Sotiriou, 'Peinture murales byzantines du XIe siècle dans la crypte de Saint-Luc', in *IIIe Congrès international des études byzantines. Athens. 1930* (Athens, 1932), pp. 382–400; Angelo Procopiou, 'Le Monastère d'Hosios Loukas: l'archaisme byzantin dans les mosaiques d'Hosios Loukas', *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* (1964), 367–88; Manolis Chatzidakis, 'A propos de la date et du fondateur de Saint-Luc', *Cahiers archéologiques,* 19 (1969), 127–50; idem, 'Précisions sur le fondateur de Saint-Luc', *Cahiers archéologiques,* 22 (1972), 85–87; Eustathios G. Stikas, *To Oikodomikon chronikon tis monis Osiou Louka Phokidis* (Athens, 1970); idem, 'Nouvelles observations sur la date de construction du catholicon et de l'église de la Vierge du monastère de Saint-Luc en Phocide', *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e byzantina* (1972), 311–30; idem, *O ktitor tou katholokon tis monis Osiou Louka* (Athens, 1974); J. Nesbitt and J. Witta, 'A Confraternity of the Commenian Era', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* 68.2 (1975), 360–84; Paul Lazarides, *Hosios Loukas* (Athens: Apollo Editions, n.d.); Theano Chatzidakis-Bacharas, *Les Chapelles occidentales* (Athens: Christianiki Archeologiki Eteria, 1982); idem, 'Présences classiques dans les mosaiques de Hosios Loukas', *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik,* 32.5 (1982), 101–19; K. M. Skawran, *The Development of Middle Byzantine Fresco Painting in Greece* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1982), pp. 154, 157–58; Dimitrios I. Pallas, 'Zur Topographie und Chronologie von Hosios Lukas: Eine kritische ubersicht', *Byzantinische Zietschrift,* 78.1 (1985), 94–107; Paul M. Mylonas, 'Gavits arméniens et litaes byzantines. Observation nouvelles sur le complexe de Saint-Luc en Phocide', *Cahiers archéologiques,* 38 (1990), 99–122; idem, 'Nouvelles remarques sur le complexe de Saint-Luc en Phocide', *Cahiers archéologiques,* 40 (1992), 115–22; Carolyn L. Connor, *Art and Miracles in Medieval Byzantium: The Crypt at Hosios Loukas and its Frescoes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Nicolas Oikonomides, 'The First Century of the Monastery of Hosios Loukas', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* 46 (1992), 245–55; Nano Chatzidakis, *Hosios Loukas* (Athens: Melissa Publishing House, 1997); Henry Maguire, 'The Cycle of Images in the Church', in *Heaven on Earth: Art and Church in Byzantium,* ed. by Linda Safran (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), pp. 121–51.

2. In the church of Anargyroi in Kastoria (fourth quarter of the twelfth century) and in the church of Saint Panteleimon in Nerezi (1164) there are six representations of physician saints. For the church of Anargyroi, see Stylianos Pelekanidis and Manolis Chatzidakis, *Kastoria* (Athens: Melissa Publishing House, 1985), p. 25.

3. Reports on restoration works are in Stikas, *To Oikodomikon.*

4. *BHG,* II, 166–68; *LCI,* VIII, 112–15; Archiepiscop Sergei (Spasskii), *Polnyi Mesiatseslov Vostoka* (in Russian) (Moscow: Pravoslavny Palomnik, 1993), III, 286–87. His images are found in the following churches: in the narthex of Nea Moni in Chios (1051–55); see Doula Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni in Chios* (Athens: Commercial Bank of Greece, 1985), I, 151–52; in the eastern part of the church of Saint Stephen in Kastoria (tenth century); see Pelekanidis and Chatzidakis, *Kastoria,* p. 9; in the monastic church of the Virgin Eleusa in Veljusa (end of the eleventh century); see Petar Milkovic-Pepek, *Veljusa* (Skopje, 1981); on the southeast arch of the church of Agios Anargyros in Kastoria; see Pelekanidis and Chatzidakis, *Kastoria,* p. 25; on the west wall of the *naos* in the church of Saint Nicolas Kasnitzi in Kastoria; see ibid., p. 52; in the church of Saint Panteleimon in Nerezi, according to Olga Ovcharova; in the church of Saint George in Kurbinovo (*c.* 1191); see Svetan Grosdanov and Lydie Hadermann-Misguisch, *Kurbinovo* (Sofia, 1992), pl. 24; in the south transept and in the chapel of Saint Stephen in Sopočani (1263–68), see Boyaslav J. Djurič, *Sopoćani* (Beograd, 1963); in Boiani (*c.* 1259); see K. Miatev, *Painting of Boiani Church* (in Bulgarian) (Sofia, 1961); on the south wall in the church of Saint George in Staro-Nagoricino (1316–18), see Richard Hamann-MacLean and Horst Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien vom 11. bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert* (Giessen, 1963); on the southwest pillar in the church of the Hodegetria in Gračanica (1321); see ibid.; on the north arch of the church of Taxiarhes in Kastoria (1359–60); see Pelekanidis and Chatzidakis, *Kastoria,* p. 94; in Cappadocia in the church of Saint Niketas Stylite (Üzümlu kilise); see Catherine Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce. Le programme iconographique de l'abside et de ses abords* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1991), p. 54; at the church of the Archangels in Zindanönü; see ibid., p. 58; on the north wall of Saint Eustaphios (Göreme 11); ibid., p. 115; in Göreme 15a, ibid., p. 119; in the southwest corner of the church of Karanlik (Göreme 11), ibid., p. 135; in the church Kiliēlar Kuţluk (Meryemana Kilisesi, Göreme 33), ibid., p. 145; in the church of Haci Ismail Dere 2, ibid., p. 193; in the church d'Oren in Nar, ibid., p. 231.

5. *BHG,* II, 226; *BHO,* col. 251; *Syn CP,* cols 697–98, 791; *LCI,* VIII, 428; Archiepiscop Sergei (Spasskii), *Polnyi Mesiatseslov Vostoka,* p. 189. He is represented in the following works of art: on an enamel plaque from the Pala d'Oro of the eleventh century; see Wolfgang F. Volbach, André Grabar, K. Erdmann, H. R. Hahnloser, E. Steingruber, G. Mariacher, Rodolfo Palluchini, *Il tesore e il museo* (Florence, 1971), pls 67–68; in a fresco in the church of the Forty Martyrs; see Marcel Restle, *Die byzantinische Wandmalerei in Kleinasien,* 3 vols (Recklinghausen, 1967), III, pl. 494; in Saint George in Belisirma (Kirk Dam Alti Kilise) (1282–95); see Jolivet-Lévy, *Les Églises byzantines,* p. 319; in the church of Saint George in Staro-Nagoricino (1316–18); see Hamann-MacLean and Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei;* in the church of the Hodegetria in Gračanica (1321), ibid.

6. *BHG,* II, 307–09; *LCI,* VIII, 501–02; His image may be found at the following sites: the church of Saint Panteleimon in Nerezi, according to Olga Ovcharova; in Cappadocia, on the east wall of the church of Saint John

the Baptist in Čavuşin; Jolivet-Lévy, *Les Églises byzantines*, p. 43; the church of Gambazli kilise in Ortahisar; ibid., p. 195, pl. 120; in Kiličlar; see Guillaume de Jerphanion, *Les Églises rupestres de Cappadoce. Une nouvelle province de l'art byzantin* (Paris: Geuthner, 1925–42), I, 210; the church in Sümbüllü kilise; see Nicole and Michel Thierry, *Nouvelles églises rupestres de Cappadoce. Région du Hasan Dagi* (Paris: C. Klincksiek, 1963); at the church of Meleki kilise; see Jerphanion, *Les Églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, II, 373; at the church of Yusuf koč Kilisesi; see Nicole Thierry, *'Yusuf koč kilisesi, églises rupestres de Cappadoce' in Mansel'e Armagan* (Ankara, 1974), I, 193–206; at the church in Karanlik; see Jerphanion, *Les Églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, I, 402; in the church of Sakli kilise; see Restle, *Die byzantinische Wandmalerei*, II, pl. 21; in the church of the Forty Martyrs of Shinefendi; see Jerphanion, *Les Églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, II, 162; in the chapels of Saint Stephen and of Saint George in Sopočani; see Djurič, *Sopoćani*, p. 45; on the south wall of the church of Taxiarhes in Kastoria (1359–60); Pelekanidis and Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, p. 94.

7. In the Byzantine church, three saints named Mokios were renowned: one whose feast day is celebrated on 29 January is a reciter who suffered with Bishop Silvan and Deacon Loukian in 283 or 284; the second is the priest Mokios who suffered death in 312 and is honoured on 11 May; the third, also a martyr, was killed with his companion, Marcus. Their day of commemoration is 3 July. But only a priest-martyr may be represented holding a book of the Gospels and dressed in sacerdotal garb; thus, the Mokios at Hosios Lukas is the one celebrated on 11 May. *BHG*, II, 124; *Syn CP*, cols 103–04; *LCI*, VIII, 21; Archiepiscop Sergei (Spasskii), *Polnyi Mesiatseslov Vostoka*, pp. 177–78; Francois Halkin, 'Une passion de saint Mokios, martyr à Byzance', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 83 (1965), 5–82; the *Hermeneia* of Dyonisius of Fourna (1701–55) (Kiev: Pecherskaya Lavra, 1868), p. 169.

8. Representations of Saint Hermolaios are often accompanied by saintly physicians; *LCI*, V, 511–12. In addition, although it is speculative, some letters in the names of Hermolaios and Panteleimon are the same.

9. *BHG*, I, 127–36; *Patrologia Graeca*, 17, cols 114–38, 515; *Syn CP*, pp. 144–46, 791; *LCI*, VII, 343–53; Archiepiscop Sergei (Spasskii), *Polnyi Mesiatseslov Vostoka*, III, 238–43; André-Jean Festugière, *Sainte Thecle, Saint Cosme et Damien, Saint Cyr et Jean, Saint George* (Paris: De Boccard, 1971), pp. 87–213; Michel Van Esbroeck, 'La Diffusion orientale de la legende des saint Cosme et Damien', in *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés. Actes du Colloque de Nanterre et Paris, 2–5 Mai 1979* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1981), pp. 61–77; Heinz Skrobucha, *Kosmas und Damian* (Reklinghaus, 1965); Annelise Wittman, *Kosmas und Damian. Kultausbreitung und Volksdevotion* (Berlin: Schmidt, 1967); Marie-Louise David-Danel, *Iconographie des saints médecins Cosme et Damien* (Lille: Université de Lille, Faculté des lettres, 1958).

10. *LCI*, V, 2–3; Archiepiscop Sergei (Spasskii), *Polnyi Mesiatseslov Vostoka*, III, 46–47. Festugière, *Sainte Thecle*, pp. 87–213. They are represented together in the following monuments: on the west wall of the *naos* in the church of Agios Anargyros in Kastoria; Pelekanidis and Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, p. 25; on the west wall of the *naos* in the church of Saint Nicolas Kasnitzi in Kastoria; ibid., p. 52; in the church of the Panagia Mavriotissa in Kastoria; ibid., p. 68; on the north wall in the church of Saint John Chrysostomos in Geraki of the late thirteenth to early fourteenth century; see N. K. Moutsopoulos and G. Dimitrokallis, *Geraki* (Thessaloniki, 1981), pls 35, 37; in the thirteenth-century church of Saint Sosontos in Geraki; see ibid., pls 322, 323; in both Monreale Cathedral and the Martorana at Palermo; Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London: Routledge, 1948).

11. Denys de Fourna, *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne* (St Petersburg, 1909); P. Hetherington, *The 'Painter's Manual' of Dionysius of Fourna* (London, 1974).

12. I know of two other portrayals of Saint Cyrus in his monastic attire, one at the monastery church of Saint Antonius in Novgorod and another at the thirteenth-century church of Saint Sosontos in Geraki; see Moutsopoulos and Dimitrokallis, *Geraki*, pl. 322.

13. Nadejda Guerassimenko, 'The Representations of Holy Monks in the Katholikon of the Monastery of Hosios Loukas, Phokis', in *Cathedra of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies. Acts of Conference* (in Russian) (Moscow: Indrik, 2000).

14. There are six representations of Loukas Stiris in the Katholikon: one already mentioned in the mosaic of the *naos*; a second is in the northwest chapel in a lunette on the eastern wall; a third is in the northeast area of the *naos*, on a western wall (above his tomb); a fourth may be seen on a southern wall, where the Abbot Philopheus presents the model of the Katholikon to the saint; the fifth is located at the northeast vault of the crypt; and the sixth is at the western wall of the crypt near the image of Abbot Basilius.

15. He is represented in a manuscript from Bari; see Chatzidakis-Bacharas, *Les Chapelles occidentales*, p. 82, fig. 81; in the basilica of Saint Dimitrius in Thessaloniki of the late eleventh to early twelfth century; see C. Bakitzis, *The Basilika of Saint Dimitrius Thessaloniki* (Thessaloniki, 1988); and in the Episkopi in Mani; see Nicolaos D. Drandakis, *Bizantinai toichographiai tis Mesa Mani* (Athens, 1964), p. 81; also according to Chatzidakis-Bacharas the image of the saint appears in the church of the Holy Trinity, the monastery of Saint John Chrysostomos on Cyprus of the late eleventh century and in some churches in Attica of the seventeenth century; see Chatzidakis-Bacharas, *Les Chapelles occidentales*, p. 82.

16. Mylonas, 'Gavits arméniens et litaes byzantines', pp. 99–122; idem, 'Nouvelles remarques sur le complexe de Saint-Luc en Phocide', pp. 115–22 (121–22).

17. This date is established by the first editor of the saint's *vita*; Kremos, *Phokida*, I, 1874, pp. 25–62, and is confirmed by others. See, for example, G. da Costa-Louillet, 'Saints de Grèce aux VIII, IX et Xe siècles', *Byzantion*, 31 (1961), 343. Charles Diehl attributed his death to the years 946 or 949; see *L'Église et les mosaiques*, p. 4.

18. ‘καταλαμβάνει τὸ προρρηθὲυ ὄρος ἐκεῖνο, ὅ παρὰ των ἐγχωρίων ἀροικικῶς οὕτως Ἰωάννιτζα καλούμενον ἦν […], ἔνθα καὶ σηκὸς τῶν θαυμαστῶν αὐταδέλγων Κοσμᾶ και Δαμιανοῦ […]; δι᾽ὧν πολλὴν μὲν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ῥοπὴν ἔσχε, πολλῆς δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν ἰαμάτων χάριτος, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν παρελθόντων τε καὶ μελλόντων, αλλὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐνεστώτων μέν, λανθανόντας δέ, κατετρύγησε γνώσεως’. D. Z. Soianou, *Hosios Loukas. O bios tou* (Athens, 1993), pp. 125–89 (pp. 135, 141).

19. Mylonas, 'Gavits arméniens et litaes byzantines', pp. 99–122; idem, 'Nouvelles remarques sur le complexe de Saint-Luc en Phocide', pp. 115–22.

20. Rosemary Morris, *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium, 843–1118* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993),

pp. 88–89. I am also grateful to Dr Sergei A. Ivanov for these remarks.

21. Guerassimenko, 'Representations of Holy Monks'.

22. The importance of the symmetrical disposition of the images of Saint Loukas Stiris and Saint Panteleimon was distinguished by Nano Chatzidakis, *Hosios Loukas*, p. 39; and Henry Maguire, 'The Cycle of Images in the Church', p. 125.

23. Natalia B. Teteriatnikov, *The Liturgical Planning of Byzantine Churches in Cappadocia* (Rome: Pontifico Instituto Orientale, 1996), pp. 154–62, 165–82. Also see Athanasios Papageorgiou, 'The Narthex of the Churches of the Middle Byzantine Period in Cyprus', in *Rayonnement Grec: Hommages à Charles Delvoye* (Brussels, 1982), pp. 437–48; Slobadan Čurcič, 'Medieval Royal Tombs in the Balkans: An Aspect of the "East or West" Question', *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 29.2 (1984), 175–94.

24. In the monastery of Hosios Loukas there was a legend that two other sarcophagi belonged to the emperor Romanos the Lakapin (919–944) and to his wife Theodora; Schultz and Barnsley, *The Monastery of Saint Luke of Stiris*, p. 24. But this legend is refuted by scholars. In the opinion of Schultz and Barnsley, they were executed for the French duke Pierre de Courtenay, Count of Auxerre, and for two of his sons Robert and Baudoin II; ibid., pp. 25–26.

25. Connor, *Art and Miracles in Medieval Byzantium*, p. 72; Schultz and Barnsley, *The Monastery of Saint Luke of Stiris*, pp. 11–12.

26. Connor, *Art and Miracles in Medieval Byzantium*, pp. 53–63.

27. 'Deësis', according to John Lowden, is 'literally "entreaty" or "petition"'; *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (London: Phaidon, 1993), p. 237.

28. Chatzidakis-Bacharas, *Les Chapelles occidentales*, pp. 109–13.

29. The year of translation is discussed in Chatzidakis, 'A propos de la date et du fondateur de Saint-Luc', pp. 127–50; idem, 'Précisions sur le fondateur de Saint-Luc', pp. 85–87; Mylonas, 'Gavits arméniens et litaes byzantines', pp. 99–122; idem, 'Nouvelles remarques sur le complexe de Saint-Luc en Phocide', pp. 115–22.

30. Paul Gautier, 'Le Typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator', *Revue des études byzantines*, 32 (1974), 1–131 (pp. 80–81).

31. H. J. Magoulias, 'The Lives of the Saints as Source of Data for the History of Byzantine Medicine in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries', *Byzantinische Zietschrift*, 57 (1964), 127–50; Halina Evert-Kappesowa, 'The Social Rank of a Physician in the Early Byzantine Empire (IV–VII Centuries A.D.)', in *Mélanges Ivan Dujce*, ed. by Suzy Dufrenne (Paris: Association des amis des études archéologique des mondes byzantino-slaves et du christianisme orientale, 1979), pp. 139–64 (p. 144).

32. Thomas F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park and London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971).

33. Svetlana Tomekovič, 'Contribution à l'étude du programme du narthex des églises monastiques (XI–première moitié du XIII S.)', *Byzantion*, 58 (1988), 145–47; Papageorgiou, 'The Narthex of the Churches', pp. 437–48.

34. A similar phenomenon occurred at many sites; see the various articles in this volume and Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo and Constancio del Álamo Martínez, 'Témoins de la foi. Le portique nord de Silos et le pélerinage a Saint Dominique', Acts of the Journées Romanes de Cuixa, July 8–12, 1999, *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 31 (2000), 17–35, where pilgrims seeking healing are documented as spending the night in the portico. In addition, Stephen Lamia, '*Sepulcrum Domini*: The Iconography of the Holed Tomb of Christ in Romanesque and Gothic Art' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto, 1982), esp. chap. 5 and the article in this volume.

35. Stikas, *To Oikodomikon*.

36. Tomekovič, 'Contribution à l'étude du programme du narthex', pp. 140–54.

The Vanni Altarpiece and the Relic Cult of Saint Margaret: Considering a Female Audience

LEANNE GILBERTSON

Presently housed in the Picture Gallery of the Vatican is an altarpiece in the manner of Turino Vanni, *c.* 1349–1438, depicting Saint Margaret of Antioch standing, flanked by panels narrating her life (colour pl. 8). Since the Vanni altarpiece is one of the few existing and undamaged works illustrating this saint's life—one which transcends the private pages of manuscripts or the single dramatic moment of her encounter with the dragon—the work offers unique insight into the operation of her cult, and specifically the ways in which the Christian public may have read the various episodes of her life. The considerable cost involved in making the panel painting, the references to Margaret's triumph over heresy, and the costume of the donor kneeling at the saint's side suggest that the altarpiece was commissioned by a wealthy male patron, possibly an academic or nobleman.[1] Certain details, moreover, demonstrate that he intended to make explicit allusion to the role of the Dominicans in supporting the Church, raising the possibility of a Dominican bishop installed at the see of Montefiascone. Saint Margaret's altarpiece was commissioned at a time when there was a growing shift from ecclesiastical hegemony to lay spirituality, and at a time also when preaching friars were extending the realm of Church operation far beyond the traditional isolation of the monastic cloister.[2] It is important to bear in mind this contemporary shift toward a more public role by the Dominicans in tandem with the contextual operation of the iconography of the altarpiece. Before analyzing this altarpiece, however, several preliminary issues must be explored: the historical figure of Margaret, the proliferation of her cult, and its special appeal to a female audience since Margaret is the patron saint of childbirth.

The cult of Saint Margaret flourished in both the Eastern and Western Churches during the Middle Ages and Renaissance, even though the existence of the virgin martyr Margaret of Antioch (Marina in Greek) and the details of her miraculous life were called into question. Doubts were raised as early as the end of the fifth century by Pope Gelasius I who declared her passion apocryphal.[3] Such public defiance of the pope is a strong testament to the existence and power of *'vox populi vox dei'* in the cult of saints. Evidence of Margaret's popularity is established by the fact that she was counted among the 'Fourteen Holy Helpers', a group of Christian saints known to be quick in their responses to prayers for recovery from disease or to die well and whose iconography and cult were especially significant during the Black Plague.[4] Furthermore, hers was one of the voices that spoke to Joan of Arc, and descriptions of the accomplishments of both Saint Marina and Saint Margaret are included in Christine de Pizan's *Book of the City of Ladies*.[5] The existence of a mystery play based on Margaret's ordeal and the inclusion in Jacobus de Voragine's *The Golden Legend* of her dying promise to help women in labour—a promise reportedly repeated in all of the sermons honouring the saint—secured Saint Margaret's prominence in the pantheon of saints in the Middle Ages.[6] The close parallels between her life and that of Christ, the fantastic elements of her martyrdom, the borrowing of some of her attributes from Greek and Roman mythology, and her special ability to aid in the dangerous matter of childbirth underscored Margaret's popularity, which continued through the centuries.[7]

It is difficult to determine exactly when the martyrdom of our saint occurred, but the date of her death is most commonly placed between 303–311, a time of severe Christian persecutions by the Roman emperors Diocletian and Maximian.[8] The recorded date of her martyrdom in the Greek calendar is 17 July and there is evidence of an early cult of Marina in Antioch. Martin Ross and Glanville Downey have proposed that her relics, at least in part, were transferred from Antioch to Constantinople in the eighth century during the Iconoclastic Period by the Empress Marina or Maria.[9] As early as the sixth century, Margaret's name is found among the Roman litanies of Pope Gregory the Great, indicating the presence of a cult in the Latin West.[10] Completed between 840–854, Hrabanus Maurus's martyrology contains an entry for Saint Margaret, recording her feast day as 13 July, as well as an entry for Saint Marina, with her feast day as 18 July.[11] In these entries, all of the salient elements of her legend are present, including her baptism, incarceration, flagellation, torture, and triumph over the devil in the forms of a dragon and an Ethiopian.[12] Some years before Hrabanus Maurus's death in 875, his account of the life of Margaret was adopted by order of Charles the Bald in the majority of churches in France, Germany, Italy, and Spain. It was at this time in Rome that the independent stories of Margaret and Marina were fused. After the late ninth century, the *Passio Sanctae Margaritae seu Marinae* was found in the libraries of most European monasteries.[13]

Upon the establishment of her official *vita*, the cult of Saint Margaret flourished in Europe, but especially in Italy, for it was there, in 908, that her relics were translated from Antioch to San Pietro della Valle on Lake Bolsena.[14] According to the *Acta Sanctorum* the relics of Saints Margaret and Felicity were then translated to Montefiascone on 18 December 1145, at which time the cathedral was consecrated in Margaret's honour.[15] In 1262, under Pope Urban IV an addition was made to the cathedral, which was rededicated as the church of San Flaviano, perhaps to commemorate the Byzantine victory in Constantinople the previous year.[16] At the time of this rededication, however, Urban maintained and emphasized the fact that the cathedral was still the site where Saint Margaret resided.[17] By 1519, a new cathedral was erected in Montefiascone and rededicated to Margaret, a triumphant affirmation of the strength of her cult.[18]

The number of her relics in Europe proliferated after the Crusaders conquered Constantinople in 1204, a time when many relics were removed from the Byzantine capital and brought to western Europe. In 1213, for example, Margaret's hand was transferred from Constantinople to Venice.[19] Various relics of the saint were now in the possession of hundreds of churches, and her cult spread beyond Italy to include France and England as well.[20] Of great importance to the cult were her hand and her belt, both of which were venerated as holy. The relationship between Margaret's hand to her cult is established by the fact that she either held or made the sign of the Cross with it—an action that enabled her to burst forth from the belly of the dragon. There is also indication that her belt was venerated at many different sites, because in some versions of her *vita* it was used to put the threatening dragon on a lead. Even more significant is the relationship between her girdle and important events in the lives of women. In every Italian wedding outfit, between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries, the bride was formally girded with a beautiful belt, done in memory of the *cestus*, or belt, that Vulcan gave to Venus. This was considered to be an act which would endow the wearer with all the graces of a goddess. In addition, leather belts were worn by expectant mothers under their robes and next to their skin in Italy, England, Spain, and France.[21] Thus it can be concluded that the holy belt of Marina/Margaret was a valuable secondary relic because of its overarching relevance to the female experience.[22] Furthermore, Margaret's belt parallels that of the Blessed Virgin Mary whose own cincture was the object of a cult.[23]

The *potentia* of Margaret's belt, whose presence Louis Réau records at Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris, is attested to by the annual assembly of pregnant women at the city on 19 July, the feast day of Saint Margaret.[24] In the *Antiquités de Paris* (1724), the historiographer Sauval recorded, 'The belt of Saint Margaret attracted great numbers from vast distances on the day of her festival, filling the suburb with pregnant women'.[25] According to Réau, these women venerated Saint Margaret by burning votive candles to her, which were equal in length to the circumference of their pregnant bellies.[26] Furthermore, the most effective manner by which to achieve a quick and easy delivery in case of a difficult labour was by grasping the belt of Saint Margaret, thus establishing an even more intimate relationship between pregnant women and this most precious of amulets.[27] Réau also recorded that Margaret's holy support during childbirth could be obtained by having one of those assisting the birth read aloud the sermon of the saint's life or by placing a copy of the *vita* upon the mouth of the woman giving birth.[28] After a successful delivery, women offered Saint Margaret the umbilical cord of their child as an ex-voto.

The saint's *potentia*, however, extended well beyond the realm of pregnant women. In addition to serving as the patron of childbirth, Margaret was also invoked by those near death.[29] Her *potentia* served many, as the *Old Sarum Breviary* attests,

> those who write or read her 'history' will receive an unfading crown in heaven, that those who invoke her on their death-beds will enjoy divine protection and escape from the devils, that those who dedicate churches or burn lights in her honour will obtain anything useful they pray for.[30]

Additionally, Margaret was invoked against tempests, whose floods were believed to have been provoked by the infernal dragon over which she had triumphed.[31] Furthermore, she is the patron saint of nurses and peasants.[32] Between her apocryphal promises and her legendary powers, it is no wonder how widespread the popularity of Margaret's cult was in the medieval world. Her life was recorded in French, Provençal, Italian, Spanish, German, Dutch, English, Scottish, and Welsh, where her name is the same as the call to war.[33]

The general cult practices surrounding our saint provide insight into how her images and relics may have resonated with the local audience in late medieval Tuscany. The Vanni altarpiece was commissioned during a period of continuous outbreaks of the bubonic plague in the area, simultaneous with the intense feuding among family clans. As a result of the epidemics, particularly between 1348–1430, the infant mortality rate, especially among the working class and peasantry, was very high.[34] Clearly, the presence of Saint Margaret at the cathedral of Montefiascone and the protection she offered against the physical threats of a violent and dangerous existence would have been very meaningful to a Tuscan audience. More specifically, in terms of female experience, the intense atmosphere, superstitious attitudes, and morbid fears that must have attended childbirth when there were no means to ease its pain or to avoid the complications of delivery—resulting often in the death of the mother and/or child—suggest that the presence of Margaret, confirmed by her relics and illustrated by the altarpiece, would have been of paramount importance to pregnant women of all social classes.[35]

The plagues affecting this area also led to radical social and economic changes, which would have affected the patron and altered the audience of the altarpiece. After the ravages of the Black Plague the 'legacies from the dead swelled the fortunes of the survivors, so that very many women brought children into the world'.[36] Due to a decreased population, the wealth of the survivors increased and seemed to have led to more numerous and successful births among Tuscan family clans. Who these mothers were and what their social positions and daily concerns may have been is of some interest. Among the well-to-do Tuscans, a man married late, usually after the age of thirty; but he would often marry a very young woman, somewhere between fourteen and seventeen years old. Women who bore children normally had them very early, and numerous confinements, accidents, and illnesses meant that they frequently died before their husbands, who again married younger women.[37] Childbirth, or more specifically the birth of sons, was promoted and encouraged at the time in order to increase the size of the lineage of the family clan, unfortunately at the expense of the lives of young mothers. Thus, the large number of members in the family clans, which were often not a single family but groups of families, was apparently due to a growing birth rate of sons.[38] In the context of a young female audience whose value was associated with their maternal role, the choice to emphasize Margaret's youth, noble lineage, and maternal qualities as depicted in the altarpiece begins to take on added significance.

In addition to the young noblewomen seeking Margaret's comfort in their roles as childbearers, it is also possible that female slaves,

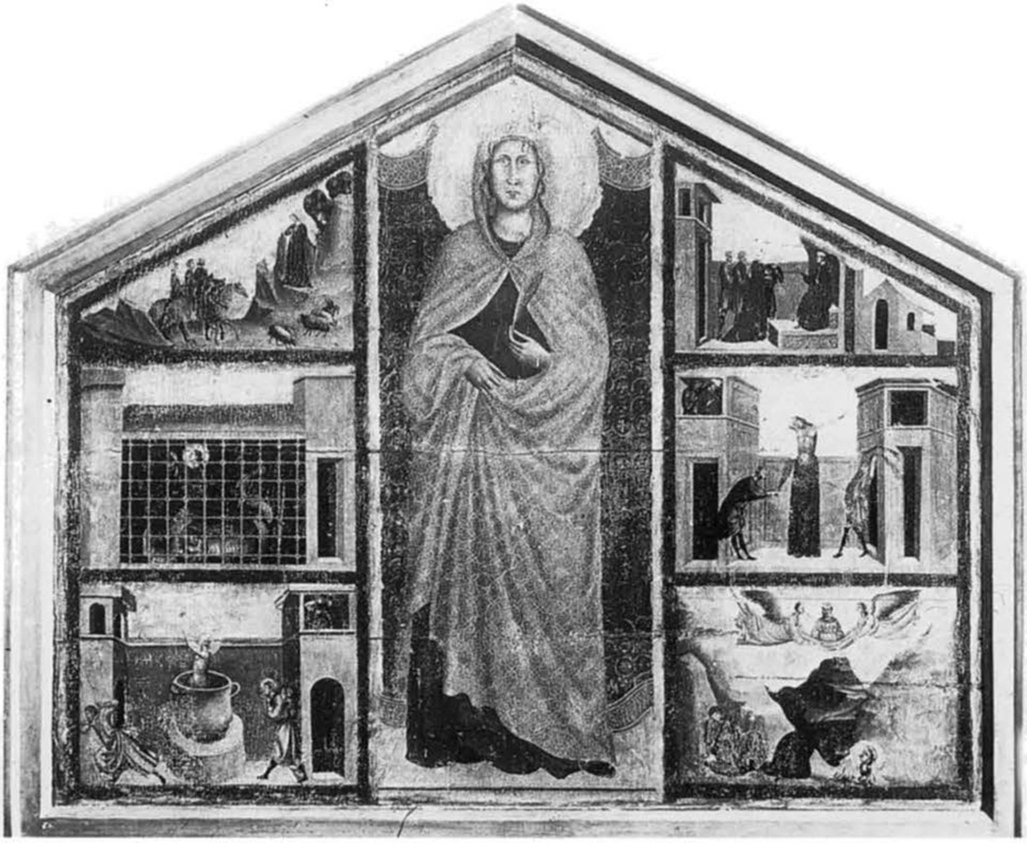


Fig. 1. Master of the Saint Cecilia Altarpiece, Santa Margherita, early fourteenth century, fresco. Santa Margherita a Montici (photo: Alinari/Art Resource, NY)

recently immigrated from the East, could have found comfort in the figure of Saint Margaret (Marina for them) as a connection to their own culture. A newly rising class of domestic slaves, apparently taking the place of their Italian counterparts who perished in the plague of 1348, was growing steadily in Tuscany during the second half of the fourteenth century.[39] Primarily very young, healthy, and physically attractive, these servants were imported by Italian merchants, most notably the Venetians and Genoese, who frequented the slave markets of the Black Sea coast.[40] These indentured women commonly bore their masters' children. Cohabitation and the social attitudes of the time led to a tacitly accepted concubinage. In light of this, it is interesting to note that in Voragine's legend, particularly in his account of the Roman prefect Olybrius ordering Margaret's arrest, there is an odd detail. Olybrius states, 'If she's freeborn, I'll make her my wife: if she's a slave she'll be my concubine!'.[41] Births by these concubines were considered to be important. There is clear indication that Tuscan nobles provided richly for their illegitimate sons—but not apparently for their daughters—in order to increase the strength of the family clan and extend its lineage.[42] In this context, the altarpiece would have served to encourage the matronly roles of domestic slaves by offering spiritual legitimacy to their maternal functions and physical protection in childbirth—a privilege previously extended only to noble wives, noble concubines, and women of other social classes. The fact that the wealthy merchant class, the *populo grasso*, had strong membership in the Dominican order and that there are Dominican references in the altarpiece make it likely that the patron's own family clan may have consisted of women from this newly emerging class of Eastern concubines.[43] It is conceivable that, in this context, the male patron depicted in the altarpiece may have been motivated to commission the work by the desire for a healthy birth of a child (preferably male) by his wife or by a concubine.

Because Margaret was the patron saint of childbirth, articulated by her prayer of intercession on behalf of pregnant women, the choice to affirm visually her femininity for a public context was well conceived in the Vanni altarpiece. If, for instance, the Vanni altarpiece (colour pl. 8) is compared with an earlier panel painting, found in the left transept of the church of Santa Margherita a Montici, near Florence, and executed by the Saint Cecilia Master (fig. 1), striking differences are revealed in the portrayals of our saint. This seems, in part, due to changes in the intended audience. The Margaret of the Vanni altarpiece is much more worldly, strikingly more beautiful, and matronly; the delicate gesture of her left hand and the red fold of her sumptuous cloak draw attention to her womb. In contrast, the Margaret in the panel by the Saint Cecilia Master is both dour and intensely iconic, stressing the saint's ascetic life and her androgynous, asexual nature as a Christian model. Such an artistic decision suggests that this other panel was intended primarily for a monastic audience. By considering the physical, as well as the social context of the Vanni altarpiece, the choice to emphasize Margaret's matronly role and her powerful triumphs over the symbolic trials of childbirth indicates the desire to address a secular audience.

Examining the iconographic program of the Vanni altarpiece and comparing it with Jacobus de Voragine's account in *The Golden Legend* isolates elements of Margaret's life that are emphasized, embellished, or omitted in the visual representation of her story in an illuminating manner. I will consider how these iconographic choices emphasize Margaret's *imitatio Christi* and *imitatio Mariae*, as well as how they allude to the social contexts for the altarpiece.

Jacobus de Voragine opens his story of her life by considering the etymology of Margaret's name, *Margareta*, which means pearl in Latin. Like the pearl,

> So Saint Margaret was shining white by her virginity, small by her humility, and powerful in the performance of miracles. [...] Thus blessed Margaret had power over the effusion of blood by her constancy, since she was most constant in her martyrdom.[44]

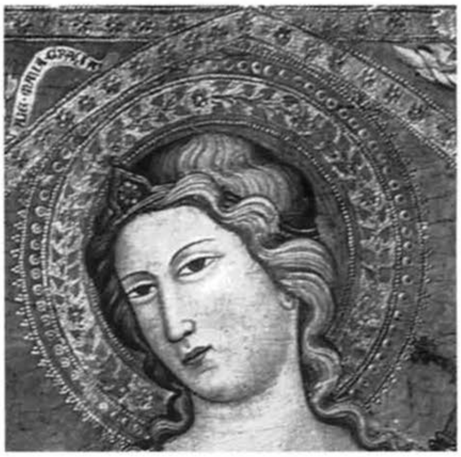


Fig. 2. Detail of colour pl. 8, gold punchwork showing motif of marguerites (photo: Alinari/Art Resource, NY)

In the border scenes depicting the events of her life and surrounding the central figure of Margaret herself, there are embossed golden flowers which take their stylized form from the flower marguerite, or *'margheritona'*, which is also derived from the Latin for 'pearl' (fig. 2). Symbolically this flower denotes the suffering and death of Christian martyrs, and in Western Christian art has come to be associated with pearls and drops of blood.[45] In addition to the marguerites and the whiteness of her skin that refers to her 'pearl-like' nature, the saint's allusions to the Virgin Mary reinforce her relationship to pearls: these precious gems were also associated with the Virgin in the *Lapidaries* of the Middle Ages.[46] Just as Voragine emphasizes Margaret's connection with the pearl and its symbolic meanings, the altarpiece as well, through the repetitive motif of the marguerite, recalls Margaret's special relationship to the pearl and her suffering in martyrdom.

Besides the religious significance of pearls, the emphasis of Voragine on Margaret's 'pearl-like' power over the effusion of blood had a special meaning for those facing the danger of haemorrhaging. Pearls were used as coagulating agents. Ground into powder, they were applied to cuts in order to stop bleeding. Such therapeutic powers of the 'pearl' explains, in part, why Saint Margaret's *potentia* was invoked against bleeding, particularly in childbirth.[47]

The chronological progression of Margaret's life begins at the lower left corner of the altarpiece and continues in a clockwise fashion around the panel painting's perimeter. Thus, the artist is able to keep those events of Margaret's life and afterlife, which attest to her earthly presence, closest to the viewer's level. In the bottom left panels are scenes relating to her early life including her abduction by Olybrius and his henchmen, while on the bottom right are those events which confirm her *praesentia* at the site of her relics—her beheading, complete with blood that possibly alludes to Christ's blood flowing over the skull of Adam, followed by an image recording the veneration of her relics at her tomb.

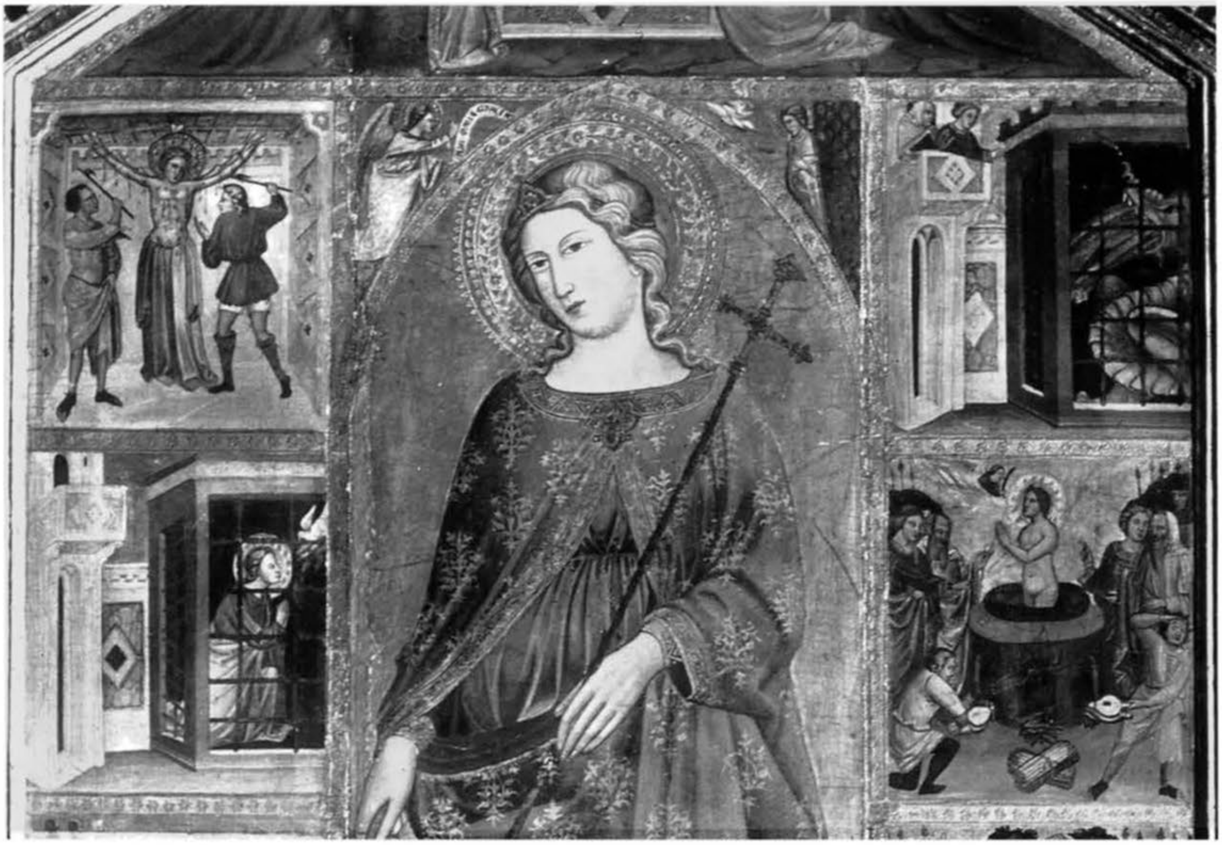


Fig. 3. Detail of colour pl. 8, upper half of Vanni Altarpiece (photo: Alinari/Art Resource, NY)

Margaret's *imitatio Christi* is illustrated in the second panel of her life, wherein she appears before the wicked Olybrius. At this moment in the visual narrative, the prefect questions her about her parentage, her name, and her religion. Solitary in her isolation and brave in the face of her confrontation with Olybrius and his men, the figuration of Margaret recalls images of Christ standing before the Sanhedrin.[48] Like Christ, Margaret's hands are bound before her and she is isolated from the other figures by her steady gaze and halo. In the panel of her presentation, however, the violence which threatens our saint is altered through one, blatant, gender-specific detail. The guard behind Margaret fondles her hip in a suggestive manner indicating that the torture of women in their pursuit of the *imitatio Christi* was not merely physical, but of a combined sexual and physical nature.

The representations in the lower right and left panels serve as visual polemics that contrast the two modes of earthly desire for Margaret. On the left Olybrius's inappropriate sexual craving for Margaret is depicted in the first panel and is contrasted with the audience on the right whose motives are manifested in the appropriately devout form of veneration. Margaret's disregard for her noble lineage, recorded in the *Acta Sanctorum*, is made visible as she assumes, like Christ, the role of Good Shepherd.[49] This first panel includes a black and white dog in the lower right corner; it leaps to the protection of Margaret and her flock of sheep. This subtle reference to the Dominicans, *domini canes* or 'dogs of the Lord', may have been ordered by the patron of the Vanni altarpiece in order to associate Margaret with this preaching community. Their strident efforts of admonishing heretics and refuting paganism is thereby alluded to in the picture cycle.[50]

In addition to the altarpiece's emphasis on Margaret's steadfastness while facing her inquisition and martyrdom and her accompanying power over the effusion of blood, there are also multiple references to her victory over the dangers of delivery (fig. 3). During her trials by Olybrius, Margaret is raked over with a torturing hook, an instrument that displays a great deal of similarity to a surgical tool. A representation of such a hook is found in Ambroise Paré's illustration from the *Ten Books of Surgery*, 1564 (fig.

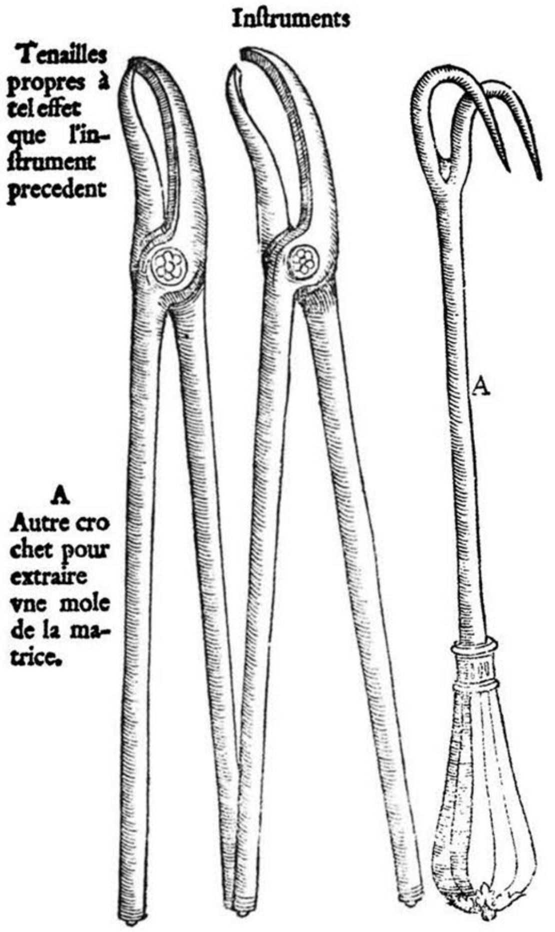


Fig. 4. Ambroise Paré, illustration of surgical instruments from *Ten Books of Surgery*, 1564 (National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD)

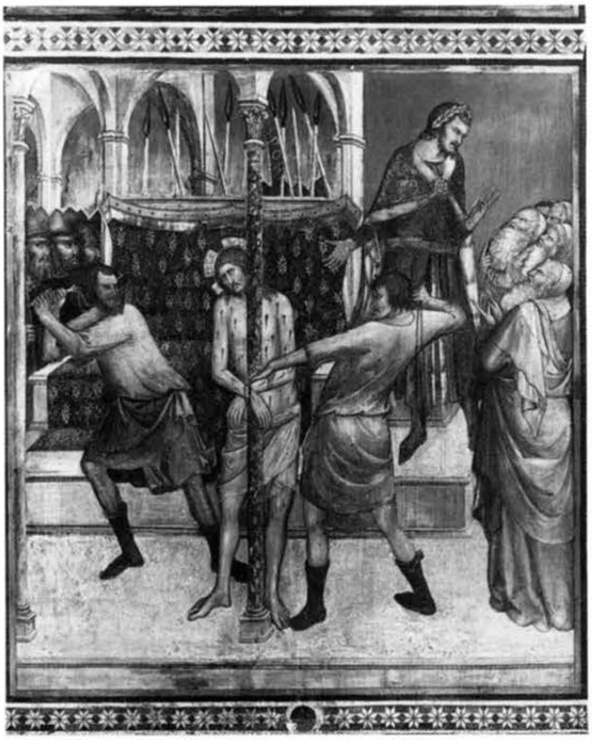


Fig. 5. Barna da Siena, Flagellation of Christ, 1350–55, fresco. San Gimignano, Collegiata (photo: Alinari/Art Resource, NY)

4).[51] Although Margaret's pose formally recalls both the Flagellation (fig. 5) and Crucifixion of Christ, the specific instrument of torture used against her has neither a visual nor literary tradition. Considering Paré's illustration, it seems such an instrument would have been particularly meaningful for a female audience. Childbirth, and all of the procedures surrounding it, were events witnessed and assisted by women as mothers and mid-wives at the time. In the case of an irregular position of the fetus, or other difficulties, surgical procedures would have been necessary.[52] If the fetus could not be removed from the mother due to its position, or if it had died in the womb, an embryotomy —the more forceful methods of extraction by hooks—was undertaken by midwives in a desperate attempt to save the mother.[53] Interestingly, there is some evidence of successful caesareans supervised by female surgeons as well as by midwives at the time.[54] In any case, these fork-like hooks were used in caesarean birth procedures as well—procedures usually undertaken in a final effort to save the child. Since Margaret's protection was called upon in the hopes of avoiding such brutal procedures, or to offer spiritual and physical protection in case of such eventualities, the images in this painting would clearly have been understood by a female audience. If severe haemorrhaging followed the birth, the literal, physical presence of *Margaretae* in the guise of ground pearls employed as coagulating agents would be used in the struggle to save the mother. Thus, for the female audience it is likely that the image of Margaret's torture would have had an added relevance in its reference to the pains and hazards associated with childbirth.

The uppermost four scenes of the altarpiece, formally gathered around the head of Saint Margaret—the part of the body considered most sacred—depict episodes in the life of the saint which are of the most fantastic nature (fig. 3). They also make reference to those experiences that medieval women would undergo during childbirth. These consisted of a sequence of events beginning with ritualistic separation, in which the expectant mother was sequestered in a laying-in room and visited only by female

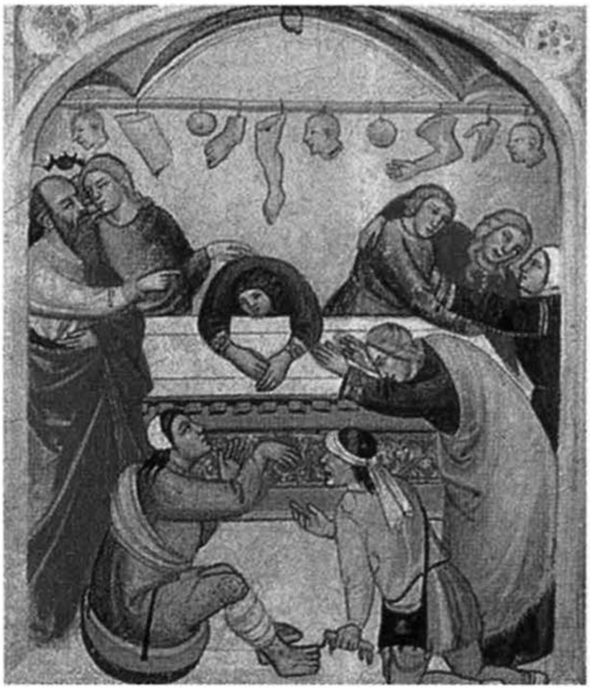


Fig. 6. Detail of colour pl. 8, Pilgrims and ex-votos at the tomb of Saint Margaret (photo: Alinari/Art Resource)

attendants, the transition or birth, and finally, the reintegration, represented by the rite of churching.[55] In a more general sense, the scenes also allude to the private devotion of women who, after the age of twelve, were sequestered in their bedrooms where they would say their prayers and contemplate the life and death of Christ. Additionally, young married women were expected to stay indoors on weekdays, going out to Mass only on Sundays and festivals.[56] In this way, both young single and married women also experienced, on a weekly basis, a sequence of separation (sequestration), figurative transition (private spiritual contemplation), and reintegration (social presence at Mass), that mirrored the experiences of Saint Margaret.

Margaret's emergence from the belly of the beast, although not literally represented, is, however, figuratively visualized in the panel below her encounter with the dragon wherein she appears to rise from a tub of boiling water. The boiling water of Margaret's own 'baptism' adds a double meaning since images of childbirth often included basins that midwives used to sterilize cloths for delivery. The image of Margaret emerging from the vat suggests her own power to aid in transforming the boiling water employed for the dangerous passage of childbirth into the sacred water utilized after a successful birth in the sacrament of baptism. As Margaret remembered the suffering of Christ and invoked his aid to overcome her earthly enemies, women, through a parallel remembrance of the saint's suffering and invocation of her aid, hoped to prevail over the physical ordeal of childbirth. Through this understanding, the female audience gazing at the Vanni altarpiece was able to identify personally and closely with our saint.

The falling swordsman in the scene of Margaret's beheading—a detail not mentioned in Voragine—is reminiscent of similarly disposed officers in representations of the Arrest of Christ.[57] This deliberate choice of imagery asserts Margaret's power to prevail over her persecutors as Christ also did. The persecutors in this panel are specifically and emphatically associated with the image of the scorpion emblazoned on their shields. From early times the scorpion and its poison were signs of heresy and its ravages. In heraldry, the scorpion stands for 'impostors, slanderers, and traitors whose tongues are full of venom'.[58] By juxtaposing the dragon's curling tail in the central panel with the heraldic scorpions to the right, and emphasizing the similar shapes of their tails, the artist has made the double malevolence of the scorpion apparent. Thus, Margaret's triumph, as well as the triumph of the donor and the Church over heresy, is visualized in the central panel of the altarpiece.

The final episode of Margaret's life—actually her afterlife—is not mentioned in Voragine's account (fig. 6). The lower right panel is a visual testament to her *praesentia* and *potentia,* in the form of her relics, housed in the altar beneath the original position of the altarpiece in the cathedral of Montefiascone.[59] Suspended above the tomb are wax-casts of body parts which were healed by the *potentia* of Margaret's relics and offered to her as ex-votos. Among the lame, blind, and demon-possessed pilgrims are three figures, two of whom assist a third who is dressed in green and presumably pregnant. This image documents the practice of expectant mothers venerating the relics of Saint Margaret, and indicates that they may have had, at the time, the freedom to make the pilgrimage to the saint's tomb. The presence of this trio in the altarpiece reminds the viewer of the particular compassion Saint Margaret held for women: her special prayer and her unique powers.

In conclusion, there is sufficient evidence to support the claim that the altarpiece was originally installed in the cathedral of Montefiascone where Margaret's body is recorded to have resided and where there is also documentation of a lasting cult tradition. The presence of her body is suggested by the representation of her execution and the veneration of her relics in the side panels of the altarpiece. In its original context the altarpiece would have been in direct proximity with the saint's relics as they must have been at Montefiascone. Furthermore, the altarpiece bears striking resemblance to that of San Miniato al Monte from the first half of the fourteenth century, which is generally accepted to have attested to the presence of that saint in its own original context.[60] By approaching the altarpiece and Margaret's cult through a consideration of the female audience, I have offered insight into the operation of this object in its specific context: the saint's tomb. Through the figure of Saint Margaret—through her stories, her visual representations, and the practices surrounding her cult—much can be learned about the social fabric of the medieval world, most importantly about the historically elusive medieval woman.

NOTES

For their helpful comments and suggestions at various stages, I would like to thank Sally J. Cornelison, Stephen Lamia, Scott B. Montgomery, and Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo. I would also like to thank the Jacob K. Javits Foundation for their generous support of my studies and the Susan B. Anthony Institute for Gender and Women's Studies at the University of Rochester for assistance in defraying the costs of reproducing illustrations.

1. The hat distinguishes the donor as male according to Adelaide Bennett Hagens of the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University. Women at the time were usually veiled or wore headdresses. His garb is typical of secular professionals, nobles, merchants, lawyers, or even academics. Characteristic of this donor's outfit is the blue *cappa*—a long, outer cape. He appears to be wearing a transparent white coif beneath the headgear. Doctors of Canon Law, out of respect for their sacred calling, did not wear scarlet, but had, by the middle of the fourteenth century, donned a blue *cappa manicata* reaching to their ankles with elbow length sleeves. This garment closely resembles that which the patron wears. There is also an example of such doctors whose heads are capped by a round *pileus,* a beret-like hat, over a small coif. While those who were not doctors could wear a *cappa,* in the case of masters, these were all to be made of the black statutory cloth. In each case, an under-dress, which was closed at the sides and buttoned up in front to the neck, was also worn. In Florence only plain black cloth was used for the outer dress of members of the university, even if as doctors they wore the *cappa.* See W. N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley, *A History of Academical Dress in Europe until the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 14,16–17, 24.

2. Daniel R. Lesnick, *Preaching in Medieval Florence: The Social World of Franciscan and Dominican Spirituality* (Athens, GA, and London: University of Georgia Press, 1989), p. 37.

3. Hans-Erich Keller attributes Pope Gelasius I's declaration in 494 to the fact that Saint Margaret had been, until then, a saint of the Eastern Roman Empire where she was venerated under a different name, Marina. Keller also notes that 'the name of Margaret is not found in the most ancient Syrian martyrology, although many other martyrs and confessors from Antioch, including women such as Veronica and Pelagia, are mentioned' (translation mine). He remarks that this only existing Syrian manuscript is mutilated and incomplete for the month of July. According to Keller, the most severe damage has affected the records from the 15, 19, and 30 July, the range of dates where Margaret would have had her place. Wace, *La vie de sainte Marguerite,* ed. with an introduction and glossary by Hans-Erich Keller. Commentary on the illuminations of the manuscript (Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1905) by Margaret Alison Stones (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990), p. 9.

4. Diane Apostolos-Cappadona, *Encyclopedia of Women in Religious Art* (New York: Continuum Publishing Co., 1996), p. 140.

5. Christine de Pizan, *Book of the City of Ladies,* trans. by Earl Jeffrey Richards (New York: Persea Books, 1982), pp. 222–23, 241–43.

6. See Louis Réau, *L'iconographie de l'art chrétien* (Paris: Universitaires de France, 1958), III, pt. 2, p. 880. Peter and Linda Murray, *The Oxford Companion to Christian Art and Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 305. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend,* 2 vols, trans. by William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), I, 370.

7. While a decline in her cult resulted from the Reformation, the attack on the visual representations could not halt the appeal of her story to either the artistic imagination or popular devotees. Réau, *L'iconographie,* p. 880. In 1969, the Vatican called for the suppression of Margaret's cult, due to the inability of the church to verify her existence historically. Mary Clayton and Hugh Magennis, *The Old English Lives of St Margaret* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 3.

8. Wace, *La vie,* p. 6.

9. Marvin C. Ross and Glanville Downey, 'A Reliquary of St Marina', *Byzantinoslavica,* 23 (1962), pp. 42–43.

10. Wace, *La vie,* p. 6.

11. Ibid.

12. On the relationship of the Ethiopian to the devil and the interest in demonology present in the life of Saint Margaret, Mary Clayton and Hugh Magennis have noted the demonological elements in the Turin version of Saint Margaret's life, which borrows heavily from earlier Greek texts. 'It relates that Satan took the first-born daughter of Jupiter and then became most fully the devil, living at the bottom of the abyss, producing eggs and bringing forth devils. [. . .] It also reports that, according to the book of Dionisus and James and Mambres, demons arose from Egypt and Ethiopia'. Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives,* p. 12.

13. Wace, *La vie,* pp. 8–9.

14. Ibid., p. 10. While some scholars have noted Montefalcone as the site of the deposition of Margaret's relics, this seems to be an error in transcription.

15. *AA.SS.*, Julio V, 1864, p. 44. It is interesting to note that Saint Felicity's story also contains references to childbirth. According to Jacobus de Voragine's account, Felicity was among a group of martyrs executed with the Bishop Saturninus, Perpetua, and their companions by Maximian around 286 for refusing to sacrifice to the Roman gods. Felicity was eight months pregnant when arrested and gave successful birth to a son while imprisoned. According to Voragine, 'One of the jailers said to her: "If giving birth makes you suffer so much, what will you do when you come before the prefect?" Felicity answered: "I suffer this for myself, but then God will suffer for me!"' Felicity's story shares several elements with the story of Saint Margaret, including her imprisonment, her scourging, her ability to triumph over the pains and dangers of childbirth, and her own death. Voragine, *The Golden Legend,* II, 342–43.

16. In light of the fact that Flavian was a Byzantine saint and that the Byzantines had recently retaken Constantinople in 1261, the building of the church of San Flaviano and the rededication of the cathedral in Flavian's name seems to indicate a political motivation on the part of the papacy. For the life of Flavian, see Donald Attwater, *The Penguin Dic-*

tionary of Saints, 2nd edn (London and New York: Penguin, 1983), p. 130.

17. *AA.SS.*, Julio V, p. 44.

18. Allan Marquand, 'An Altar-Piece by Benedetto Buglioni at Montefiascone', *Art Studies*, 1 (1923), 6.

19. According to Martin Ross and Glanville Downey, Joannes de Borea was allowed to remove Margaret's relics to Venice from a monastery outside Constantinople because the monks had been accused of adultery. Ross and Downey, 'A Reliquary of Saint Marina', p. 43. Additionally, on Joannes de Borea's return to Venice from Constantinople, the presence of Marina's relics are recorded as having saved his ship in a violent storm. Upon arriving in Venice, the relics of the saint were installed in a parish church, whereupon the dedication of the church was changed from Saint Liberale to Saint Marina. Documentation of a hand reliquary and another silver mounted bone of the saint record the *praesentia* of Saint Margaret in Venice into the seventeenth century. Ibid.

20. In addition to the claim of the cathedral of Montefiascone and Constantinople to Margaret's body, seven or eight additional churches made similar assertions, with as many claiming her head. The monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai was yet another institution that claimed to possess her body. According to Reverend Sabine Baring-Gould, from this body a left hand and part of her arm were removed to The Escorial, and are now in Lisbon. Baring-Gould continues, 'In addition to these two bodies with their heads, six more heads are exhibited to the devotion of the people. One at Anderlach, near Brussels; another was divided between the convents of Saint Clare, at Paris, and that of Saint Regulus, at Senlis. [. . .] A bit of one of these heads, or perhaps of a fifth, at Saint Caecilia's, Rome; another head at Saint Bartholomew's at Ravegnani; a seventh head at Trani; an eighth head at Brindisi. [. . .] All heads except those specified, are entire; not mere particles of bone'. Baring-Gould also notes that 'her chin and girdle are, or were, in Saint-Germain-des-Prés at Paris'. Sabine Baring-Gould, *Lives of the Saints* (Edinburgh: Ballantyne, Hanson, 1914), VIII, 487. During the medieval period in England, a tally of the number of churches with female patrons indicates that churches dedicated to Saint Margaret were only second to the Virgin Mary, even outnumbering the dedications to Mary Magdalene. Francis Bord, *Dedications: Patron Saints of English Churches* (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1914), p. 17. Her early appearance in the Bosworth Psalter and other tenth-century calendars, as well as the declaration of her feast day as a holiday of obligation at the provincial council of Oxford in 1222, indicate that the cult of Saint Margaret had a lasting and important legacy in England. A. Butler, H. Thurston, and D. Attwater, *Butler's Lives of the Saints* (London: Burns, Oats, & Washbourne, 1956), p. 153.

21. This rather universal custom is attested to by the close etymological relationship for the practice: *en cinta* (in Spanish), *enceinte* (French), *in cinta* (Italian for 'pregnant'), and *cincture* in English.

22. James S. Grubb, *Provincial Families of the Renaissance: Private and Public Life in the Veneto* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 36; and Ginevra Niccolini Di Camugliano, *The Chronicles of a Florentine Family 1200–1470* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1933), p. 112. Jacqueline Marie Musacchio notes that illuminated scrolls based on the length of the body of Christ and inscribed with prayers to the Virgin or Saint Margaret were used as girdles for pregnant women and were actually wrapped around their bodies in labour. See *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 142. See also Walter J. Dilling, 'Girdles: Their Origin and Development, Particularly with Regard to their Use as Charms in Medicine, Marriage, and Midwifery', *Caledonia Medical Journal*, 9 (1912–14), 337–57, 403–25, cited in Musacchio, pp. 195–96, n. 73.

23. It is possible that the belt of Marina was related in function to the belt—or girdle—of the Virgin Mary at Prato, a connection brought to my attention by Scott Montgomery. Another example of the belt of the Virgin may be found in the tympanum by the Cabestany Master from the church of Notre-Dame-des-Anges, Cabestany, in the Pyrenees, in which she hands her belt to Saint Thomas.

24. While the Greek calendar records Margaret's feast day as 17 July, the Latin calendar records the date as 18 or 19 July. This may be due to a transcription error or the confusion between the figures of Margaret and Marina. Perhaps more likely the different dates may serve to differentiate and celebrate the dates on which Margaret's relics were translated to different sites in Italy and France.

25. Réau, *L'iconographie*, III, pt. 2, p. 879, no. 1.

26. According to Réau, ibid., 'Just as she (Margaret) was delivered without feeling any pain from the stomach of the dragon, pregnant women invoke her at the approach of their labour so that the infant will be delivered as easily' (translation mine).

27. In addition to Margaret's primary and secondary relics possessing *potentia* in their ability to aid to women in childbirth, they also seemed to have demanded proper *reverentia*. Réau noted a brochure from the seventeenth century entitled, *Miracle arrivé dans la ville de Genève en cette année de 1609, d'une femme qui a faict un veau, à cause du mépris de Madame Saincte Marguerite* (Miracle occurring in Geneva in the year of 1609, of a woman who gave birth to a calf as a result of scorning the sanctified Madame Margaret). Ibid., p. 880. The cult practice of venerating Margaret's belt was related to the practice of venerating the Tunic of the Virgin at Chartres for similar purposes, particularly by women of the French royal house, a suggestion proposed by Scott Montgomery.

28. Ibid., p. 879.

29. Tom Morgan, *Saints: A Visual Almanac of the Virtuous, Pure, Praiseworthy, and Good* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1994), p. 72.

30. As quoted in Wace, *La vie*, p. 10.

31. Réau, *L'iconographie*, III, pt. 2, p. 880.

32. Apostolos-Cappadona, *Encyclopedia*, p. 235.

33. Wace, *La vie*, p. 11.

34. Charles de La Roncière, 'Tuscan Notables on the Eve of the Renaissance', in *A History of Private Life: Revelations of the Medieval World*, ed. by George Duby (Cambridge, MA, and London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1988), II, 223.

35. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Not of Woman Born: Representations of Cesarean Birth in Medieval and Renaissance Culture* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 21. Musacchio discusses the female psychological need for mediating devices, both domestic and sacred, that addressed the maternal imagination in post-plague Italian society. According to Musacchio, Saint Margaret played an important role in serving this need. See *Art and Ritual of Childbirth*, chap. 5, 'Maternal Mediators', pp. 125–48.

36. Jacques Heers, *Family Clans in the Middle Ages: A Study of Political and Social Structures in Urban Areas*, trans. by Barry Herbert (Amsterdam, New York, and Oxford: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1977), p. 61.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid., pp. 55–57.

39. Di Camugliano, *Chronicles*, p. 115.

40. On the slave trade, see Heers, *Family Clans*, p. 65. Regarding the hierarchy and value of domestic slaves, see Di Camugliano, *Chronicles*, p. 116.

41. Voragine, *Golden Legend*, I, 93.

42. Heers, *Family Clans*, p. 71. A discussion of concubinage in Florence is found in Di Camugliano, *Chronicles*, p. 116.

43. On the important connection of the membership of the *populo grasso* and the patriciate to the Dominican order beginning in the thirteenth century, see Lesnick, *Preaching*, p. 65.

44. Voragine, *Golden Legend*, I, 368.

45. Apostolos-Cappadona, *Encyclopedia*, p. 236.

46. Ibid., p. 204.

47. Réau, *L'iconographie*, III, pt. 2, p. 880. There is a reference to the use of pearls as coagulants in *The Peterborough Lapidary*, from the fifteenth-century Peterborough Cathedral MS 33. The lapidary was compiled from a variety of sources and there is nothing original in its text, hence it may be used as a reference for earlier periods. Its sources include: *De proprietatibus rerum* of Bartholomaeus Anglicus, the *Anglo-Norman Alphabetical Lapidary*, the two Anglo-Norman Prose Lapidaries, and the French *Lapidary of King Phillip*. In the entry for the marguerite there is mention of its use to stop the running of blood. *The Peterborough Lapidary* is reproduced in Joan Evans and Mary S. Serjeantson, *English Mediaeval Lapidaries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933), pp. 63–118. The reference to the use of the marguerite as coagulant is made on p. 108.

48. Compare Giotto, *Christ before the Sanhedrin*, fresco, 1305, as reproduced in Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, trans. by Janet Seligman (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1971), II, pl. 192.

49. *AA.SS.*, Julio V, 1864, p.34.

50. A well-known precedent for the black and white dogs as Dominicans is found in Andrea da Firenze's, *Triumph of the Church*, *c.* 1366–68, in the chapter house known as the Spanish Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence. It is reproduced in Frederick Hartt, *History of Italian Renaissance Art*, 4th edn (New York: Prentice Hall, Harry N. Abrams Publishers, 1994), colour pl. 34.

51. The illustration from Ambroise Paré, *Ten Books of Surgery* (1564), located in the National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD, is reproduced in *Medicine: A Treasury of Art and Literature*, ed. by Ann G. Carmichael and Richard M. Ratzan (New York: Hugh Lauter Levin, 1991), p. 88.

52. Although midwives were usually responsible for these procedures in the fourteenth century, Blumenfeld-Kosinski proposes that in the fifteenth century there was a move toward expert medical (that is, male) help in childbirth, especially when the future mother was *a domina magna*, or a wealthy woman. See Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Not of Woman Born*, p. 36. However, Musacchio notes that two later obstetrical texts, Michele Savanarola's *Practica major* (Venice, 1559), and Scipione Mercurio's *La commare o riccoglitrice* (Venice, 1601), may serve as evidence that men began to participate in the apparently profitable position of birth attending much later, toward the end of the sixteenth century. See Musacchio, *Art and Ritual of Childbirth*, pp. 116–17. Musacchio's documentation of the proliferation of domestic objects with images of female birth attendants through the fifteenth century challenges Blumenfeld-Kosinski's proposition that there was such a gendered shift in birth attendants at this time. Since the Vanni altarpiece borders on the cusp of a proposed shift in the atmosphere surrounding childbirth for noblewomen, however, it might be interesting to evaluate its possible role in sanctifying the presence of the male surgeon and of visually representing a move away from the practice of midwifery and female attendants. A related issue would be to consider how the institutional Church may have endorsed its own methods of sanctioned mediation with maternal images such as those of Saint Margaret, possibly in direct opposition to the quasi-magical domestic images which Musacchio analyzes—an opposition the author, herself, proposes. See ibid., pp. 116–17.

53. The recommendation for midwives to extract a dead fetus by mutilating hooks, a practice not mentioned in detail since the period of Arabic obstetrics, and the surgical practice of the caesarean section are found in Guy de Chauliac, *La grande chirurgie*, trans. by E. Nicaise (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1890), as quoted in Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Not of Woman Born*, pp. 34–35. Guy de Chauliac was one of the greatest surgeons of the early fourteenth century. He trained at Montpellier and Bologna and travelled widely in his professional life. At the time of his death in 1368, he had just been honoured by Pope Urban V. Ibid., p. 34.

54. Ibid., chap. 3, 'The Marginalization of Women in Obstetrics', pp. 91–109.

55. Ibid., p. 13.

56. Di Camugliano, *Chronicles*, p. 54.

57. An example of the falling swordsmen at the scene of the Arrest of Christ is found in the bronze relief on the door of Benevento Cathedral (left wing, fourth register, third panel, late twelfth century). An image of this panel is reproduced in Schiller, *Iconography*, II, *Christ's Passion*, pl. 181. Another example is found in a painting from the sacristy cupboard (right wing, central image, right side) in Santissima Annunziata, Florence, in the style of Fra Angelico, *c.* 1450–53. The image is reproduced in ibid., II, pl. 182.

58. Louis Charbonneau-Lassay, *The Bestiary of Christ*, trans. by D. M. Dooling (Paris: Desclée, De Brouwer & Cie; repr. New York: Parabola Books, 1991), p. 343.

59. The architectural setting depicted in this detail of the altarpiece is similar to a description of the church of San Flaviano which notes the presence of three apses surmounted by an arch: '[. . .] la parte terminale dell'edificio, a tre absidi disposte ad arco [. . .]'. *Enciclopedia italiana* (1934), XXIII, 739.

60. Scott B. Montgomery, '"*Quia venerabile corpus redicti martyris ibi repositum*": Image and Relic in the Decorative Program of San Miniato al Monte', to be published in the forthcoming volume, *Images, Relics, and Devotional Practice in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, ed. by Scott B. Montgomery and Sally J. Cornelison. An image of the San Miniato altarpiece can be found in Richard Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting*, sect. 3, vol. II, pt. 2 (New York: New York University Press, 1930), pl. LIII, pp. 132–33.

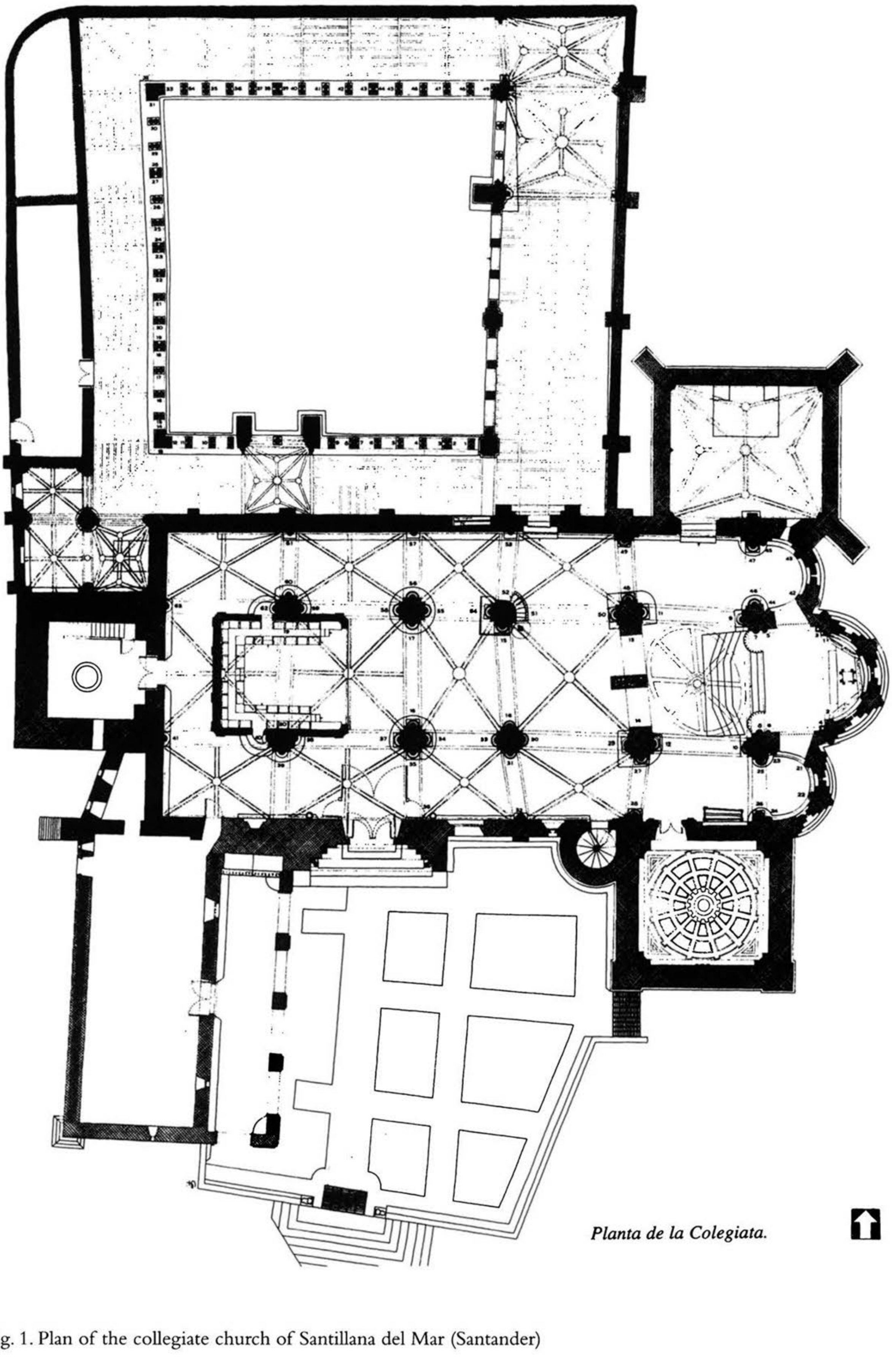
The Sepulchre of Saint Juliana in the Collegiate Church of Santillana del Mar

FRANCESCA ESPAÑOL

Medieval documentation in the collegiate church at Santillana del Mar in Santander attests to the existence and veneration of the relics of a Saint Juliana from the tenth century on.[1] This Juliana was a fourth-century martyr identified with the Nicomedian saint from Bithynia in Asia Minor, whose relics, according to tradition, were transported to Cumae in Campania, where they were already venerated in the sixth century.[2] Numerous donation documents in Santillana refer to 'reliquiis que ibi sunt, a Sancta Iuliana cuius corpus tumulatum est, ad corpus sanctum Santa Iuliana vel coram reliquie qui ibidem sunt [...]'. They all abound with information on the existence of the body of a saint and of a popular cult that evolved around it. This devotion continued to thrive in the later Middle Ages, although it never attained the importance of the cult of other saints in the northern part of the Peninsula.

In spite of the fact that Santillana del Mar occupied almost the same geographic location as Oviedo in relation to the Camino de Santiago, its relics never succeeded in attracting pilgrims on the road to Compostela as the Cámara Santa did for its city.[3] There is no reference to Santillana in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, nor is it reflected in other medieval documentation, even though a route to Compostela along the coast passed very close to Santillana del Mar.[4] The cult of Saint Juliana was most important in the region neighbouring the collegiate church, and later on in the diocese of Burgos, as is proved by the many Romanesque churches and monasteries dedicated to her.[5] Juliana's cult is also recorded beyond Santillana's immediate geographical surroundings, in the region north of Palencia along the roads linking Cantabria to the interior. This is the specific case of Aguilar de Campóo, where several monasteries consecrated to the saint are mentioned in documents from the end of the eleventh century, in addition to relics preserved in the Premonstratensian monastery of Santa María from the sixteenth century on.[6] Relics were also recorded in Compostela and Nájera at a later date.[7] Juliana's cult, however, never transcended local status, even though at some given moment there may have been an interest in elevating it to the same level as others along the *chemin français*.

Echoes of the cult can also be found in liturgical and hagiographic compilations. This evidence is also confirmed by existing codices and others which have since disappeared but are known from earlier sources.[8] Hispanic calendars commemorate the feast day of Saint Juliana on 28 June.[9] The translation of Juliana of Bithynia's relics from Cumae to Campania gave rise to a second feast day on 16 February.[10] Both the June and February feast days were celebrated in Santillana. As we shall see further on, the second date was changed to 6 March to fit the particular history of the cult of the collegiate church in the fifteenth century. This was done in order to commemorate the day when the relics were translated from the saint's sepulchre in the nave of the church to the presbytery altar by order of Bishop Alonso de Cartagena.



Planta de la Colegiata.

Fig. 1. Plan of the collegiate church of Santillana del Mar (Santander)

The Present Sepulchre

The collegiate church of Santillana del Mar has a basilican plan divided into four bays with three apses *en echelon* (fig. 1).[11] A square lantern tower crowns a fifth bay, preceding the presbytery, which functions spatially as a transept. An imposing tower is attached to the west wall of the building. It has been suggested that this thirteenth-century tower replaced a monumental portal which originally contained late Romanesque sculpture whose fragments are now distributed throughout the church.[12]

The saint's sepulchre is located in the nave between the two western piers of the bay preceding the presbytery (figs 1, 2).[13] It consists of a rectangular sarcophagus of rubble and stone masonry (79 x 194 x 57 cm) with a single slab of stone on the top (28.5 cm thick). Juliana is depicted as a life-sized figure in relief with Satan tethered to a rope at her feet, according to the hagiographic episode which had become her archetypal image since the Romanesque period (fig. 3). The present slab dates from the fifteenth century. The tomb is surrounded by a wrought iron railing, slightly higher than the tomb itself, that isolates it from the rest of the church. This is, undoubtedly, a greatly simplified monument which also extends to the recumbent figure whose crude and awkward workmanship denotes the hand of a mediocre local sculptor. Santillana—and the Cantabrian region in general—did not have any outstanding sculpture workshops during the Gothic period.[14] The most noteworthy artworks dating from this time were either imported, such as the Laredo altarpiece, or were made by foreign masters temporarily residing in the region. As we shall see, the sepulchre was remodelled in 1453, at the same time as the tombstone was sculpted by an extraordinarily limited local craftsman, resulting in its present form.

Nevertheless, it is possible that the sepulchre was originally planned to be a more ambitious project, according to two documents dated 28 January 1453 and 16 September 1453, respectively.[15] The protagonist of both documents is Alonso de Cartagena, Bishop of Burgos (1435–d.1456). The first records the presence of the prelate in Santillana motivated by 'saintly intents and purposes' (*por algunos motivos santos*). Given the bishop's fondness for relics and devotion to the saints in his diocese (we should recall that the bishop died after returning from a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela), it is not surprising that he would take an interest in the body of Saint Juliana venerated in the Cantabrian collegiate church.

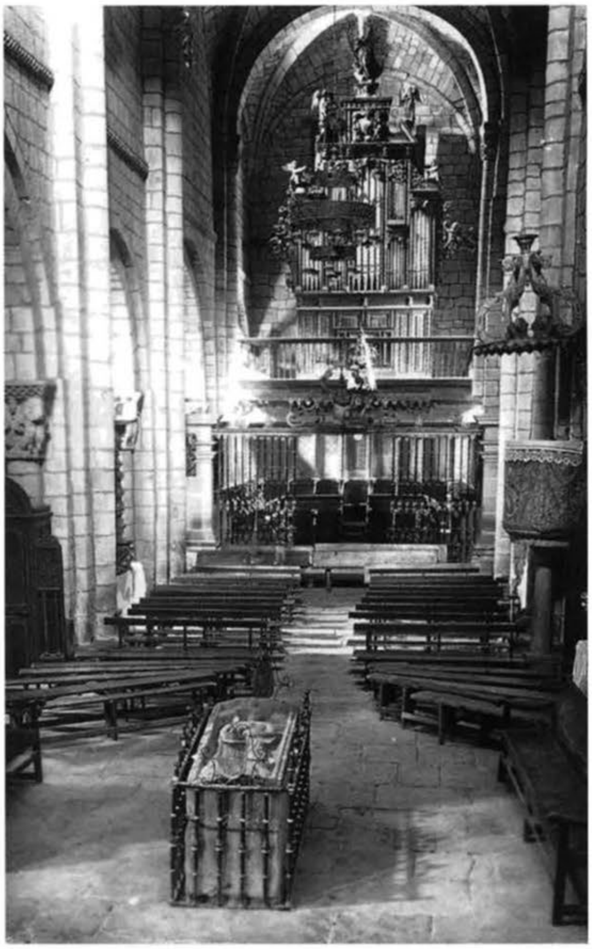


Fig. 2. Interior of the collegiate church of Santillana del Mar. Tomb and west choir (photo: Dominguez)

Even earlier, during the prelacy of his father, Pablo de Santa María (1415–d.1435), some of these cults were the object of special renewed campaigns. The 1427 Burgos Synod expressed it eloquently: 'We order double feast days to be celebrated for those saints whose bodies are in this bishopric, such as: Saints Domingo de Silos, Adelemo, Juan de Ortega, Iñigo, Juliana, and Casilda'.[16] Alonso de Cartagena continued along these lines and contributed personally, as did his predecessor, to the renovation of the monastery of San Juan de Ortega.[17] The decoration of his own mausoleum in the chapel of the Visitation in Burgos Cathedral bears witness to this predilection since the exterior of the sarcophagus displays the figures of Saints Juan de Ortega, Vítores, Lesmes, and Casilda, all saints of his diocese, together with Peter and

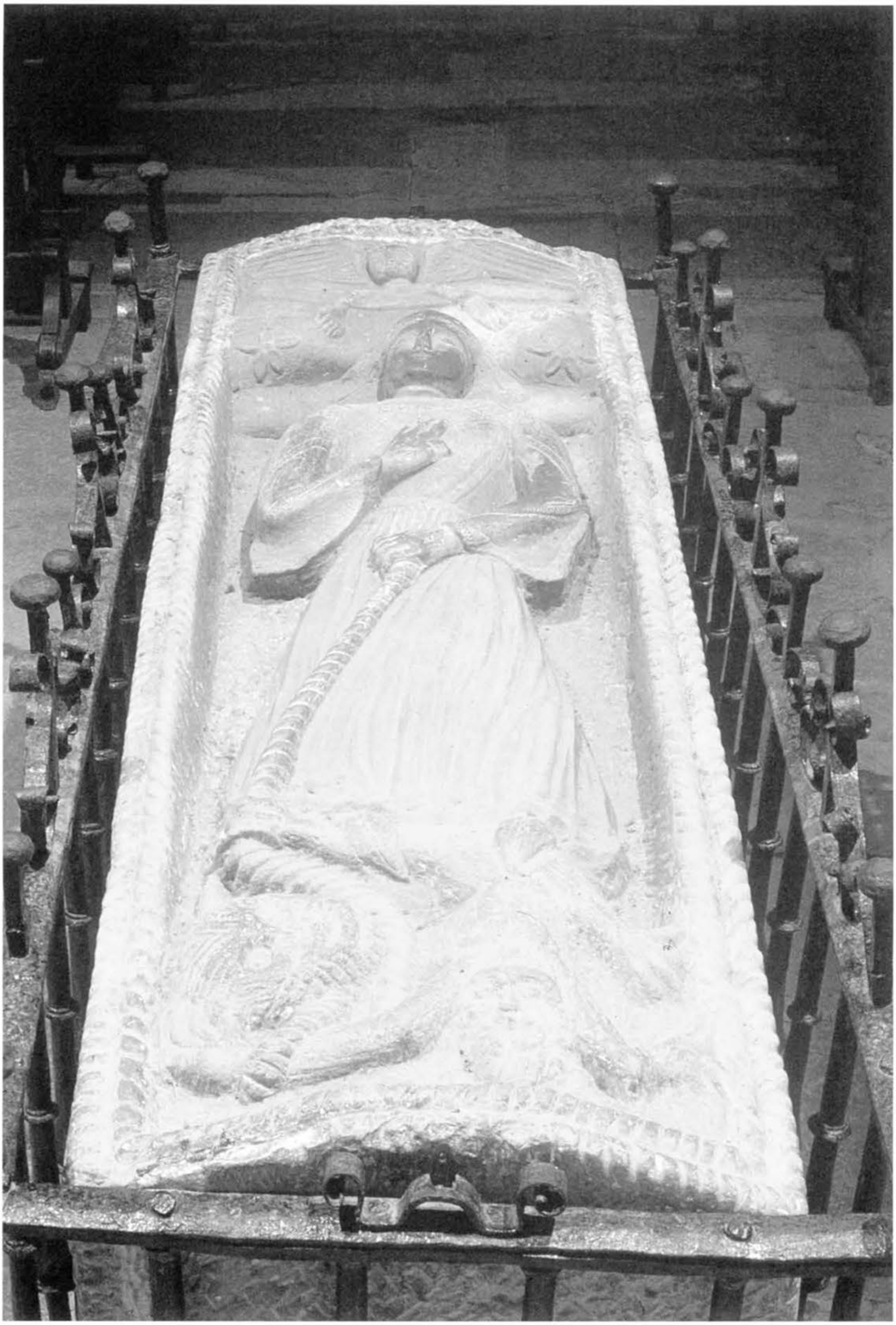


Fig. 3. Present tomb of Saint Juliana, slab with Saint Juliana Taming the Devil, *c.* 1453. Santillana del Mar (photo: author)

Paul, the Fathers of the Church, and other assorted saints.[18]

His visit to Santillana had a direct effect on the cult dedicated to the local saint in that setting. He returned on 6 March to preside over the solemn translation of her relics to a new location within the church, and a document dated in Burgos eight months later recalls the event. He mentions the sepulchre of the saint that he had seen on his first journey. It occupied the same place as it does at the present time, and we can infer its monumentality, even though he does not describe it directly:

> It seemed to us that it was not in its proper place, according to the proportions and plan of the church, because it was not displayed in a place of honour worthy of the excellence of its relics, and because it was a great impediment to the height and spacious width, beauty, and adornment of the church, which should be free and unencumbered so that it may contain all its many parishioners and many other faithful Christians who also come to it on pilgrimages and religious festivals.[19]

This was the reason why he ordered the relics to be moved to the altar of the presbytery on 6 March of that year: 'We shall take the relics found there and put them in a high, honourable, and proper place on the wall of the high altar, thus enlarging and enhancing the altar more than it was before'.[20] Moreover, as a reminder of the *locus* in which the saint's body had remained until then, he ordered them to place:

> a fine stone as long and wide as is usually placed on a sepulchre, and on it the image of a holy virgin should be carved, and around the stone there should be an iron grill so that no one can enter it; and the stone should not be more than one foot above the floor, and the grill not higher than two feet above the stone, so as not to detract from the spaciousness and beauty of the church; and no one should be buried within ten feet of the stone in order to be respectful of the place from which the relics were taken.[21]

In its present state, the monument confirms the fact that the prelate's directives were only partially carried out. The grill he had ordered may have been placed there later on, since the present one dates to a later period, from 1546.[22] Although the stone slab with the figure of Saint Juliana on top of the sepulchre conforms to the image prescribed, the sarcophagus of rubble and stone masonry exceeds by far the height indicated by the prelate. It may be that the large size of the earlier shrine influenced the format that was adapted later on. If the hypothesis I shall propose presently is correct, the bishop's project to transfer the relics from the tomb to the reliquary casket may have implied too radical a change in relation to the original container—within the framework of a popular cult of the type honouring Juliana—since, for the faithful, the exterior adornment of the tomb was completely inseparable from the body of the saint itself.

Within the sphere of popular devotion, the faithful identify the part with the whole and vice versa. This is evident, for example, in the mausoleums of certain saints such as the one dedicated to Saint Vincent in Ávila. Although it is evidently a sepulchre without relics, its monumental size is calculated to demonstrate the contrary. Likewise, the purpose of some of the *gisants* on the lids of sepulchres—particularly the earliest documented ones—was probably meant to confirm the presence of the relic in the sarcophagus even if, in all certainty, it did not exist.

Until recently, popular practice in Santillana continued to maintain the fiction that Saint Juliana's body was in the sepulchre in the nave of the church. A *fenestella* located in the rectangular section of rubble masonry and walled up only a few years ago, supposedly enabled the faithful to establish direct contact with the relics in the tomb.[23] In reality, however, we know that this could not have been true. One part of whatever was left in the fifteenth century had been placed in a casket on the high altar and another part in a silver reliquary bust of the saint.[24] On the occasion of this 'elevation', Alonso de Cartagena ordered work to begin to 'enlarge and enhance the altar more than it was before' (*faciendo el altar mas largo, é mejor compuesto que primero era*). Until then the altar had been dedicated exclusively to the Virgin, but now the bishop declared:

> that from now on there would be two invocations: one to the glorious Virgin Saint Mary [...] and the other to the blessed Virgin Saint Juliana, being confident that, just as the glorious Virgin Queen and Lady of Virgins is pleased that the Virgin Saint Juliana and the other Virgins in the Kingdom of Heaven are in her ministry and company, she will likewise be pleased that their bodies and relics will be near her altars.[25]

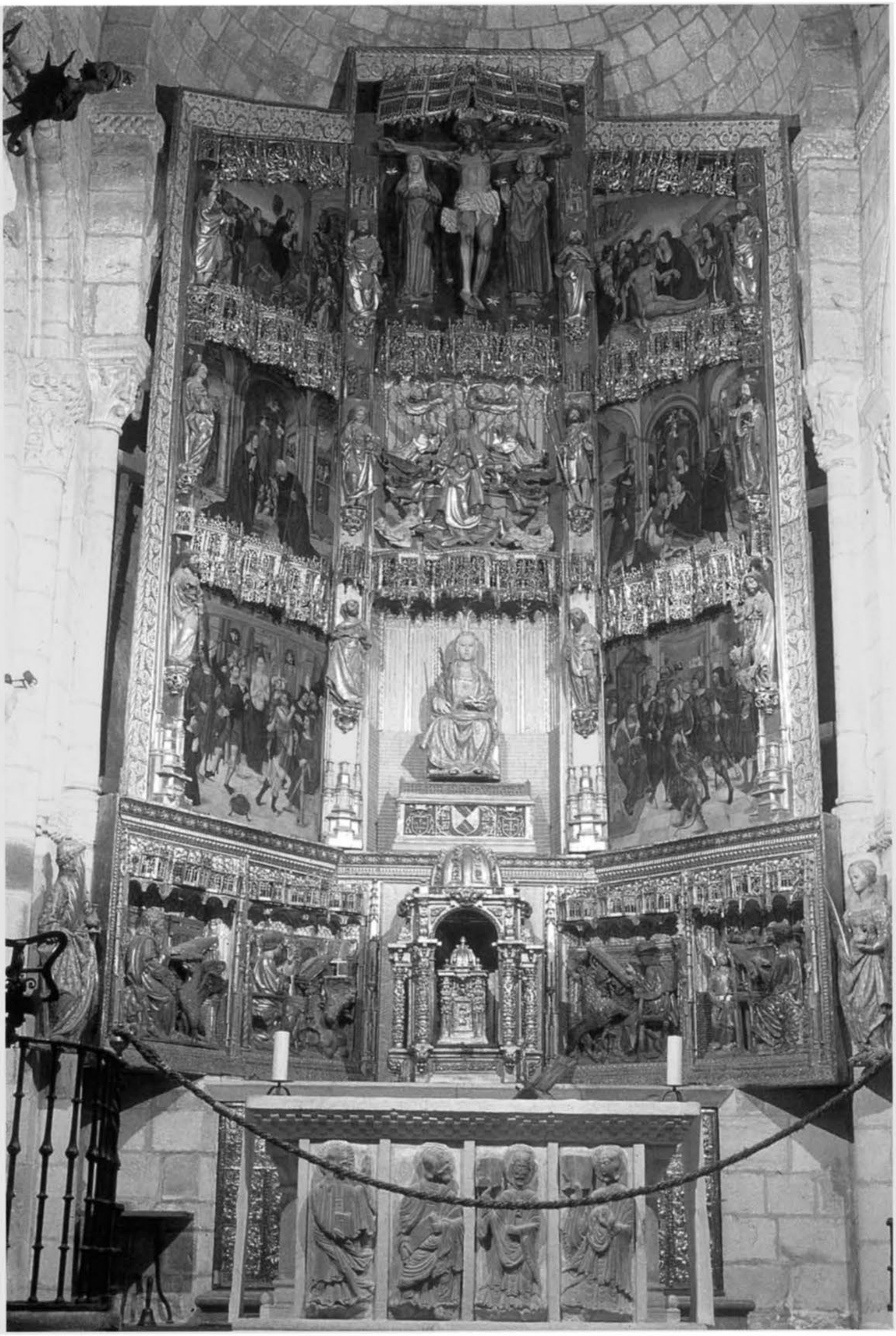
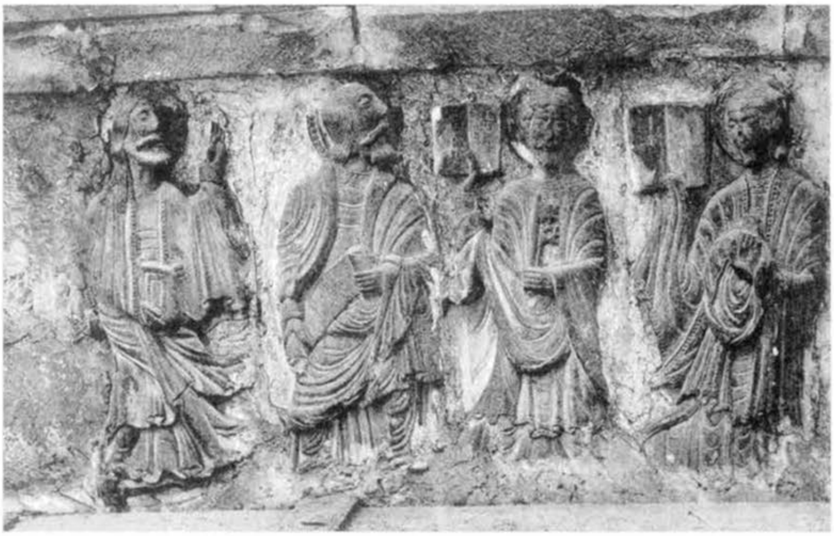


Fig. 4. Presbytery and high altar with retable and apostle reliefs. Santillana del Mar

Fig. 5. Early photograph with the reliefs of the apostles on the frontal of the old altar (photo: Fotos Montes)



Years later, when a large retable was installed in the presbytery at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the proximity of her relics and the confirmation of her rightful place on the altar determined the inclusion of two large panels dedicated to Saint Juliana: one showing her victory over Satan and the other corresponding to her martyrdom (fig. 4).[26]

The Romanesque Reliefs in Santillana del Mar and their Possible Origin

The high altar in Santillana displays, in similar fashion to a frontal, four late Romanesque reliefs with figures of four apostles. Among them are Peter and Paul, the only ones who can be identified securely, although a third, who is beardless, probably corresponds to John the Evangelist (figs 4, 5). No one knows exactly how long they have been there, but their placement must date to at least the middle of the nineteenth century, when evidence of their existence was first recorded in the histories of Santillana del Mar. At that time, they were also photographed in situ (fig. 5). Formerly, they were concealed by the silver antependium that had arrived from Mexico in 1686.[27] This object was placed over them until the installation of a second altar, which was closer to the nave than the earlier one and conceived according to the guidelines of Vatican II. This new arrangement determined that the reliefs should be installed as a frontal on the new altar in the presbytery.

These slabs are stylistically similar to three stone reliefs which were stored in the adjoining cloister for many years and have now been distributed throughout the church (colour pls 9–11).[28] They depict a large Christ in Majesty (190 x 89 x 41 cm), a Virgin and Child under a canopy (115 x 72.5 x 15 cm), and Saint Juliana holding Satan on a rope (121 x 83 x 19 cm), respectively. They all share the same formal vocabulary, as can be seen in the treatment of the drapery folds and embroidered hems, and all have a similar beaded motif around the collar, though those of the Christ in Majesty and the Christ Child are significantly more sumptuous. All share the same physical type: elongated heads, straight hair parted in the middle and falling close to the face; in addition, the male figures have smooth beards. All the reliefs reveal traces of red and orange polychromy.

The Christ in Majesty is enthroned and posed frontally (colour pl. 9); his left hand holds a book on his knee and his missing right hand was presumably making a gesture of benediction. The cover of the luxuriously decorated codex contains vegetal motifs also found in the Christ in Majesty in Moarves (Palencia). The original models on which these sculpted codices were based probably contained gems similar to high medieval metalwork. An example is the book held by the *Maiestas* on the casket of Saint Demetrius from the castle at Loarre (Huesca), whose affinity with Santillana lies in the way that he clasps the book on the top instead of on the side as in late Romanesque art.[29] The large-sized Santillana figure is framed by a mandorla, of which only the lower part remains.

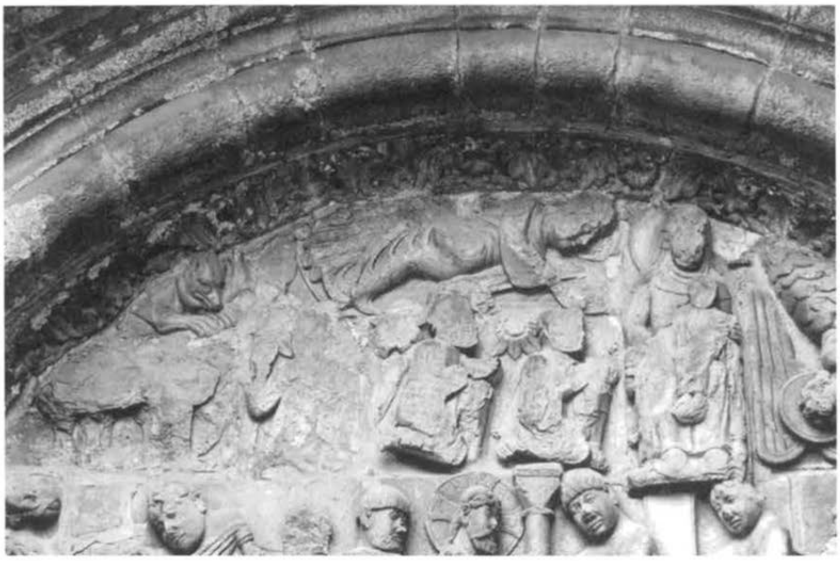


Fig. 6. Epiphany, right tympanum, Puerta de las Platerías, Santiago de Compostela (photo: C. & E. V. del Álamo)

His position on the stone is similar to the solution adapted in the friezes on the churches of Santiago in Carrión de los Condes and San Pedro in Moarves. In both cases, the Christ in Majesty is also enclosed in a mandorla, but the sides are sculpted on a separate flat stone together with symbols of the Evangelists.[30] In Santillana, these separate lateral pieces are missing.

The *Maiestas Mariae* functions as a Throne of Wisdom (colour pl. 10). She is seated frontally with Christ completely centred on her lap. She wears a *tocado* (veil over a hood) typical of the period, from which emerges her halo.[31] Christ wears a crown and holds an open book. Both are situated under a canopy, which links them to Hispanic types such as the Virgin and Child in the tympana of Santa María de Uncastillo and Zamora Cathedral, similar only in their compositions.[32] From a stylistic point of view, the Santillana relief presents more eloquent affinities to other monuments in its positioning of the Christ Child's feet. Rather than dangling in the air, they rest on a support created by folds turned outward that originate from Mary's mantle. This unnaturalistic and rather eccentric formula reappears in several examples of the Virgin and Child ascribed to the school of sculpture that thrived in Castilla in the middle of the twelfth century, which has recently been reviewed and redefined by Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo.[33] The most eloquent example is, perhaps, the Virgin in the tympanum of Cerezo de Riotirón, now in The Cloisters of The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. The sculptor refuses to let the Christ Child's feet dangle in the air; instead, he lets them rest on two folds that spring from Mary's cloak. There is, however, a precedent for the Master of Cerezo de Riotirón in the Virgin and Child in an Epiphany on the right tympanum of the Puerta de Platerías in Compostela (fig.6).[34]

The third relief depicts the image of Saint Juliana, who stands on the left taming a figure of the same size with the beastly features of a demon (colour pl. 11). Above them, a half-length angel emerges from wavy lines representing heaven. This episode manifests Juliana's supernatural powers. The hagiographic legend recalls that she was born to a prominent family in Bithynia (Nicomedia) and the motive for her passion and death was her marriage to a pagan. Her refusal to consummate the union if he did not convert to Christianity resulted in her martyrdom, including an episode in which Juliana is boiled in a pot of lead which miraculously turns into water. While she awaited her judgement in prison, Satan appeared to her, and when he tried to trick her by saying he was sent by God, she saw through his deceit and later humiliated him by tying him up with a rope and parading him through the streets of the town. This is precisely the episode that is reflected in the Santillana relief, and for which two other parallels have been noted in the area around Burgos. One of them, which leaves no doubt as to its interpretation, is inserted in the left side of the portal at Pineda de la Sierra, and the other is in the church at Siones.[35]

Of all the pieces preserved at Santillana, historians have paid most attention to the four

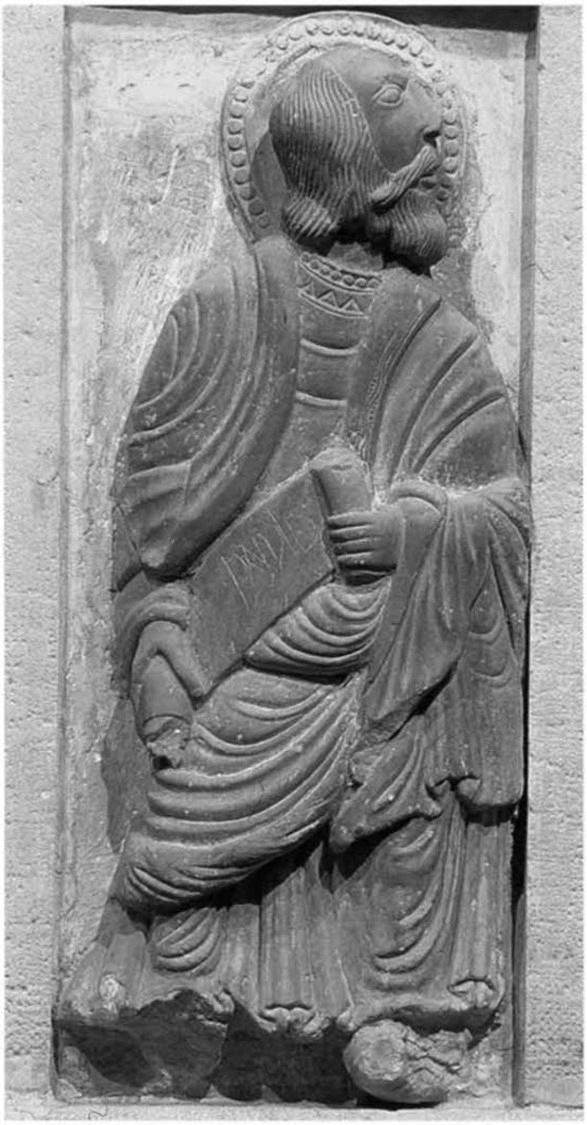


Fig. 7. Antependium of the altar, Saint Paul (detail). Santillana del Mar

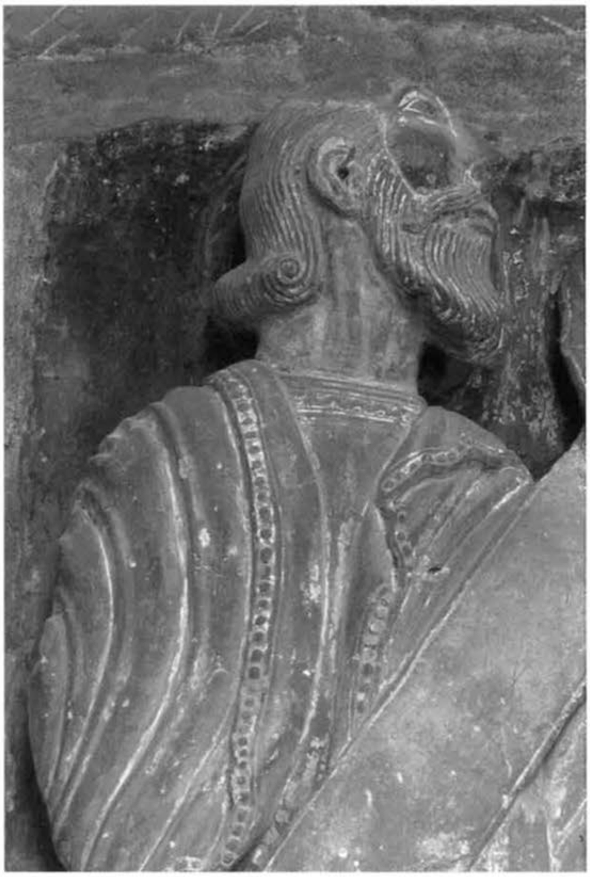


Fig. 8. Relief of Saint Paul. Santo Domingo de la Calzada (La Rioja)

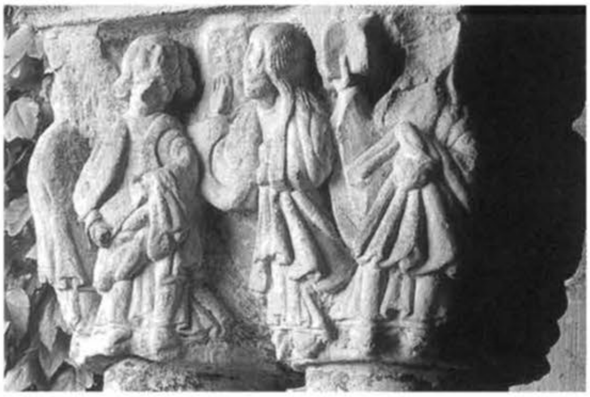


Fig. 9. Capital with the Maiestas Domini, Tetramorph, and apostles. South gallery, cloister, Santillana del Mar

apostles, particularly in regard to their stylistic affiliation with other monuments (figs 5, 7). Insofar as style is concerned, their distinctiveness—as well as that of the reliefs analyzed above—from the rest of the sculpture in the church is unquestionable, but their relationship to four reliefs preserved in the cathedral of Santo Domingo de la Calzada (La Rioja) is also evident (fig. 8).[36] The number and size of the La Calzada figures (122 cm high) seems to support the theory of a monumental origin, possibly a portal.[37] In the case of the Santillana sculptures, this same hypothesis has been put forth in regard to a supposed door on the west side of the church, although this interpretation does not exclude alternative readings.[38]

Firstly, it should be noted that not all the Santillana pieces have been preserved. A capital in the gallery of the cloister adjacent to the church—later than the reliefs discussed here—supports this suspicion.[39] It contains the figures of several apostles and a Christ in Majesty flanked by the Tetramorph, and the sculptor was obviously inspired by the earlier reliefs (fig.9). This is shown clearly, for example, in the contrast between the poses of Peter and Paul (fig. 5). Given the fact that there are more figures on the capital, it is reasonable to suspect that some parts of the earlier ensemble were lost.

The Santillana apostles are posed frontally, nimbed, and dressed in tunics and mantles with a profusion of folds in the lower area; some are in the damp-fold style, as in the case of Saint Paul. Peter, who has a beard, is identified by his keys and bishop's robe, and by the inscription PET / RUS / (A)PO(S) / TO / LVS / LIC / ANDI on his open book.[40] John the Evangelist, who is beardless, also holds an upright book, but without an inscription; and Paul, in profile, is bald and holds an unfurled scroll with the word PAVLO.[41] As already noted, these three apostles bear great similarity to the ones in Santo Domingo de la Calzada.[42] The fourth Santillana figure is difficult to identify. Holding a book in one hand and gesticulating with the other, he stands in a three-quarter pose with his right foot forward and crossed in front of the left, a pose for which it would be possible to find many contemporary parallels in the Peninsula.[43]

With regard to the provenance of these reliefs, the primary theory put forth has to do with the supposed monumental portal on the west side of the church. If this were true, it would follow a plan adapted to several late Romanesque façades in Spain, particularly around Palencia, at Carrión de los Condes and Moarves, which consists of a continuous frieze above the portal containing Christ in Majesty surrounded by the Tetramorph and flanked by an apostle series *(apostolado)*.[44] To a certain extent, the sculpture frieze of poor quality above the south portal of Santillana fits this scheme.[45]

Nevertheless, if we accept the viability of this compositional plan for Santillana, it would have been impossible to maintain the normal proportion between the figures, since the Christ in Majesty, with its height of 190 cm doubles by far the 86 cm of the apostles. Likewise, it would be difficult to fit in all the surviving pieces. There would be no room for the Virgin and Child or Juliana Taming the Devil, unless we accept that some of those reliefs would have been placed on either side of the door, as has been suggested by some scholars.[46]

The production of this group of reliefs undoubtedly predates the capitals in the cloister, for, as we have seen, one capital appears to draw upon the poses of the apostles and Christ. If we accept the most widely extended theory about their origin—as displaced from a portal—they would have been wandering from one place to another within the collegiate church since the middle of the thirteenth century, around the time when the west tower was built to replace the monumental portal where they were originally located.[47] This would be extremely unusual, since it suggests the reliefs were moved around for up to six centuries with no known resting place. Moreover, if the alteration of the portal had been carried out according to that theory, the usual circumstance would have been to find the reliefs still in their original location, enclosed in the tower, perhaps with some damage caused by adjusting the new wall to the earlier structure.

The Sepulchre of Saint Juliana as Seen by Alonso de Cartagena

There is, however, another possible provenance for these relief plaques. In the middle of the nineteenth century, Amós de Escalante suggested, without explaining why, that they may have originally formed part of a monumental sepulchre.[48] I shall take up this idea in relation to my own discussion of the question.

As part of this reconsideration, we should return to one of the documents that Alonso de Cartagena sent from Burgos on 16 September in which he refers to events that took place in the collegiate church in 1453:

> In the Collegiate Church of Saint Juliana we saw a chapel in the middle of the church where, according to popular opinion, the holy body and relics of the Blessed Virgin and Martyr Saint Juliana were buried, and it seemed to us that it was not in its proper place according to the proportions and plan of the church [...] because it was a great impediment to the height and spacious width, beauty, and adornment of the church, which should be free and unencumbered [...].[49]

Later on he again refers to the place where the saint's sepulchre was venerated as a 'chapel' *(capilla)*.[50] This paragraph brings up two important points. The fact that the word 'chapel' is repeatedly applied to the sepulchre and the reference to the intrusion that this 'chapel' made on the space of the church, particularly in regard to the height (*latitudine* [*sic*]), seems to infer that its size was monumental, since its existence was a 'great impediment' that also affected the width (*anchura*).

The document does not provide any further information of this type, but the brief extract has enabled us to infer the typology of the original sepulchre. The fact that he refers to a 'chapel', as well as to its monumental size and, in particular, its height, leads to one conclusion: that it had to be a sepulchre under a baldachin or casing, and that such a significant memorial must have been accompanied by an equally noteworthy sculptural decoration.

In January 1453, Alonso de Cartagena must have partially dismantled the sepulchre in his zeal to locate the relics, and in doing so, may have destroyed some part of it:

> Searching with great care, we saw with our own eyes and found the holy remains of the blessed Virgin and Martyr Saint Juliana accompanied by many other relics, and such was our joy at finding such a great treasure and seeing it with our own eyes and touching it with our own hands, that we proposed to have it translated and we translated the holy remains to a more prominent place in that same Church so that all those present would take note and all those in the future would not doubt, and it was esteemed that in the said town of Santillana the honourable Prior and chapter of the Church of Saint Juliana should carry out this translation.[51]

In the following month of March, the bishop returned to preside over the solemn translation. Meanwhile, the altar of the main chapel was duly enlarged and perhaps the reliefs of the apostles were affixed to it as an antependium at this time.[52] The bishop was able to supervise the work directly then, but he could not control whether or not his directives concerning the martyr's original sepulchre would be carried out later on. He describes his intentions in a document written in Burgos and dated 16 September, on the occasion of the concession of indulgences to the faithful who made pilgrimages to Santillana.[53] Although the document has already been discussed, it is important to emphasize at this point the utterly inadequate fulfilment of his recommendations for the present tomb.

Perhaps it was originally even more cumbersome, especially if we take into account a single rectangular slab of stone now stored in the cloister (184 x 85.5 cm). Given its architectural form, it probably functioned as the covering of a baldachin (fig. 10). The top has a gabled roof and underneath there are two ribbed groin vaults. Miguel Angel García Guinea suggested that it may have belonged to the original tomb of the saint.[54] I believe, however, that, given its formal characteristics, it was more likely a component of the sepulchre that was constructed after the one that had survived until 1453 had been dismantled.[55] This theory is supported by the fact that the measurements of this stone and those of the sarcophagus of rubble masonry very closely coincide.[56] Fifteenth-century Gothic painting offers illustrations of this type of monument, as, for example, in the panel depicting the tomb of Saint Gilbert (fig.12) in the museum of the collegiate church at Daroca (Saragossa); thus, it is possible to reconstruct something of the appearance of Juliana's fifteenth-century tomb (fig. 11). If this baldachin belonged to the present mausoleum, as I believe it did, it provides evidence of the weight of tradition in the choice of certain typologies of tomb design, and in this particular case, for the

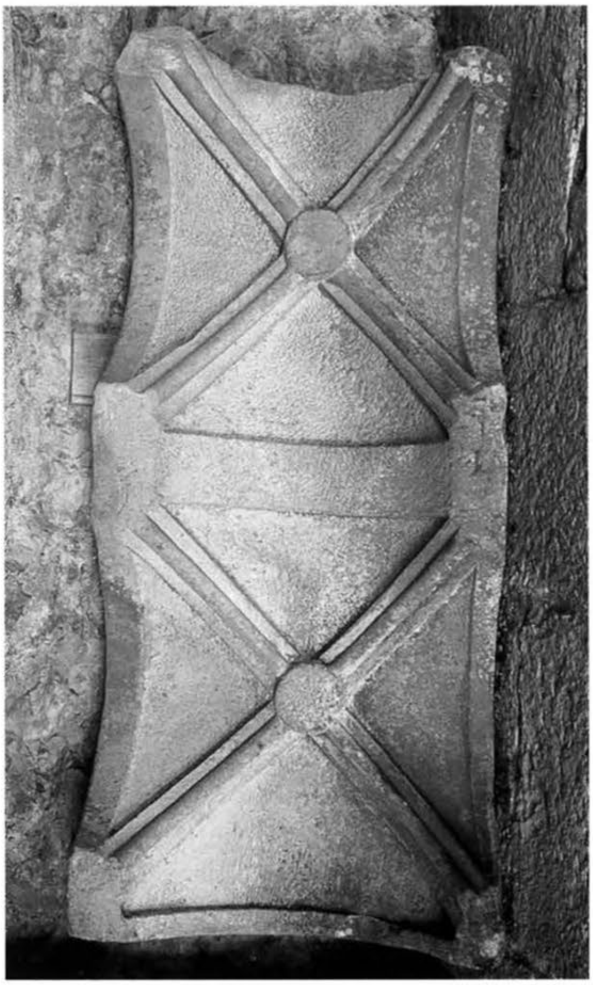
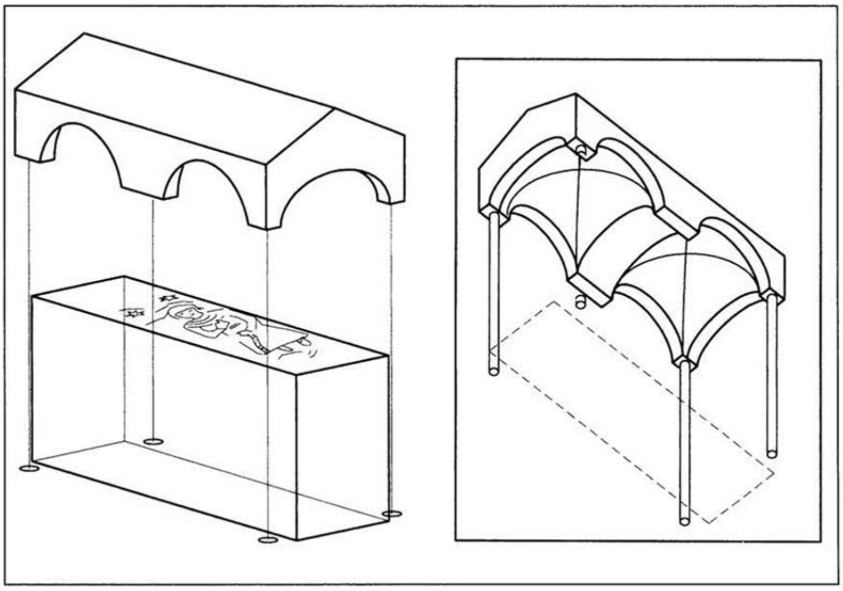


Fig. 10. Fragment of the baldachin of the saint's tomb, fifteenth century(?). Cloister, Santillana del Mar

Fig. 11. Hypothetical reconstruction of the tomb of Saint Juliana in the fifteenth century



conservative nature of forms associated with popular devotion. This being the case, the pilgrims who, up till the present time continued to identify the sepulchre in the nave as the container for Juliana's relics and used it as their vehicle for proximity to the saint (the walled-up *fenestella* is obvious proof of this phenomenon), perhaps did not perceive any great changes between the earlier monument that had been removed and the one that replaced it.[57] It should be recalled that Santillana was, above all, the centre of a local cult, which implied that the faithful would return to it year after year and would know intimately the object of their devotion.

Taking into account all the issues discussed until now, one question that arises has to do with the date of the tomb that Alonso de Cartagena saw in 1453. Leaving aside questions about its format for the moment, it is highly probable that the lost sepulchre belonged to the late Romanesque period. This is indicated by its typology, inferred from the bishop's document, the history of the collegiate church itself, and the history of the territories of the northern part of the Peninsula as well. A monumental saint's tomb, such as the one at Santillana del Mar, had to be conceived in very special circumstances and as the instrument of certain objectives. The idea that it could have been conceived as a means of connecting Santillana more closely to the Camino de Santiago should not be discarded. The same strategy was used at other points along the *chemin français*, either to con-

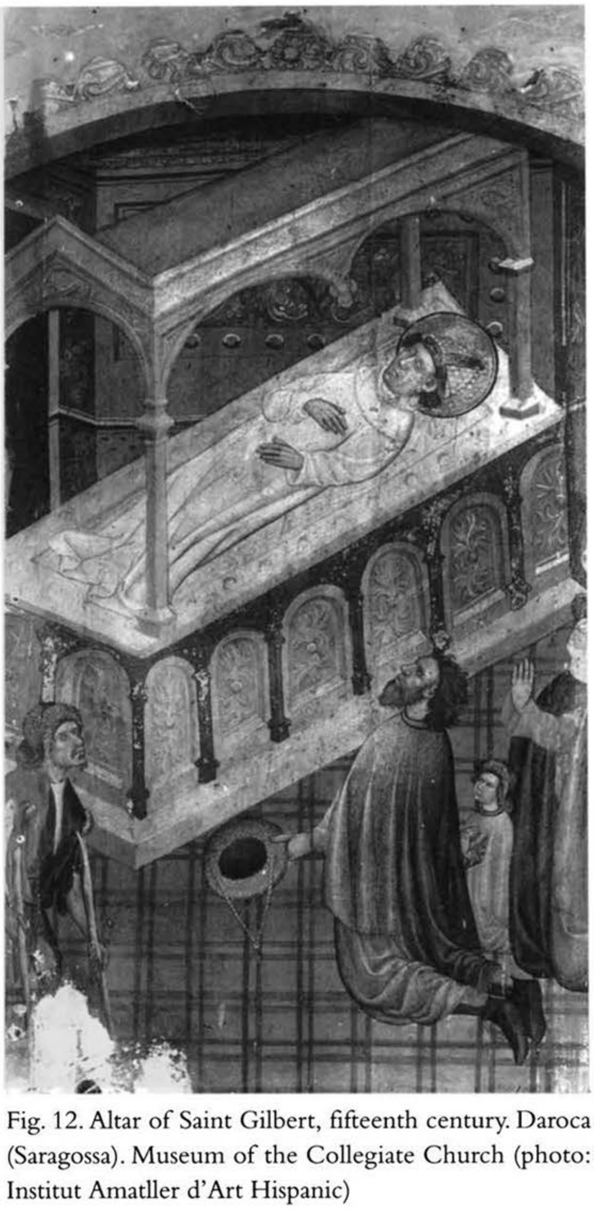


Fig. 12. Altar of Saint Gilbert, fifteenth century. Daroca (Saragossa). Museum of the Collegiate Church (photo: Institut Amatller d'Art Hispanic)

solidate their link with it or to establish it for the first time. Some of these projects failed, but others were successful. Even in the case of failure, it was relative, for a new sepulchre served to relaunch the cult of the saint or martyr on a local but equally effective level. This was the case of San Millán de la Cogolla in La Rioja and Santo Domingo de Silos in Burgos.[58]

The last years of the twelfth century and the first years of the thirteenth in Santillana coincided with a progressive loss of influence in favour of other nearby abbeys such as San Emeterio in Santander. This crisis became more acute in the second half of the thirteenth and throughout the fourteenth century, according to documents that reveal the impoverished state of its canons.[59] A situation of this type could easily determine the decision to relaunch the cult of the local saint which would, given the dates, go hand in hand with the renovation of the mausoleum that contained her relics.

The Reliefs out of Context and their Possible Origin: The Remains of the Saint's Tomb?

If the various reliefs preserved in Santillana del Mar had belonged to Saint Juliana's tomb, their placement on the mausoleum would have determined the dimensions of the slabs. Although only four apostles remain, it has been argued that all twelve would originally have been represented. If this is true, the sum of the various slabs (six on each side), would coincide approximately with the length and height of the present rubble masonry tomb of Saint Juliana in the nave of the church. We should recall that the reliefs measure 86 cm high, the sarcophagus 79 cm high, and the length of the tomb 194 cm. If we sum up six of the apostles, they add up to a total of 192 cm. From this point of view, my proposal is valid.

Perhaps the fact that they were recycled as an altar frontal had something to do with the remodelling of the altar by order of Alonso de Cartagena in 1453 and, in turn, with the partial destruction of the saint's tomb. In this way, reliefs and relics would continue to be together, since this was the date when the body of Juliana was translated to the presbytery altar.

Their iconographic appropriateness for this purpose is confirmed by a series of reliquary caskets and saints' tombs that have been preserved and others that have been lost, but whose characteristics have been recorded in early sources. Among the reliquaries that may be counted are the casket of Saint Demetrius from the castle at Loarre, the *Arca Santa* in Oviedo, and the dismantled Limoges casket whose parts are preserved in Orense Cathedral.[60] The second category includes the sepulchre of San Juan de Ortega (Burgos), the large enamel panel from the tomb of Santo Domingo de Silos, and the Romanesque reliefs surmounting the tomb of San Vicente at Ávila.[61] Here, the apostles, arranged in pairs under arcades, are placed on the four corners of the monument, similar to the slabs in cloisters of southern France and occasionally in Spain (Moissac, Arles, and Oviedo, among others).[62]

Outside the Iberian Peninsula, the apostle series as a decoration for reliquary caskets became widespread in Romanesque art through Limousin workshops. In the preceding period, however, and without leaving the Camino de Santiago, they were depicted twice on the casket of Saint Gilles, in his church in Provence. The Pilgrim's Guide in the *Codex Calixtinus* gives a detailed description of all the formal and iconographic elements of this superb example of metalwork.[63] The apostles, in groups of six, occupied the lower part of the two shorter sides and reappeared as witnesses to Christ's Ascension to heaven in superimposed rows on the back of one of the longer sides. In addition to those in metalwork reliquary caskets and others in more sumptuous materials, apostles are also found on monumental sculpture such as the tomb of Saints Abdon and Sennen in Parma Cathedral and Saint Menoux's tomb in his church (Allier).[64] In this last case, although the sculptural additions were partially destroyed during the French Revolution, one of its longer sides was probably decorated with a relief of eight apostles under arcades.[65]

This same sepulchre offers one of the closest parallels to what might have existed in Santillana del Mar, if we take as our starting point the section of Alonso de Cartagena's text in which he speaks of a 'chapel', a word that, taking into account the context in which it is used, can be interpreted in the sense of shrine or feretory. In Saint-Menoux, the back of the sepulchre contains a Christ in Majesty within a mandorla flanked by the Tetramorph. This was a large slab encasing that entire section of the tomb, even obscuring its form. The Santillana Christ in Majesty, over 83 cm wide, could have fit on

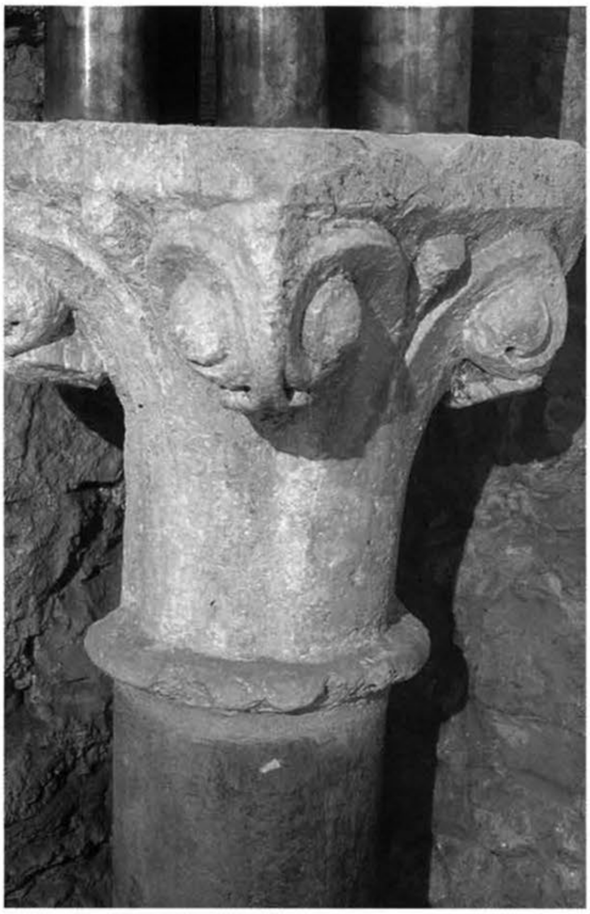


Fig. 13. Capital of the baptismal font. Santillana del Mar

one of the short sides of such a monument.[66] It may have closed off a possible shrine in the back, which would have been the appropriate place for it, given the fact that it was almost two metres high. This is the same position occupied by the Christ in Majesty in Saint Vincent's tomb in Ávila (see Rico in this volume, fig. 2), although, here it is higher up, given that the construction is open on all four sides (Rico, figs 3, 4). In this same structure, an Epiphany appears opposite the *Maiestas* (Rico, fig. 1). This arrangement could serve as a reference for my proposal of the placement of the Virgin and Child in the Romanesque feretory for Juliana's tomb.

Two factors support the inclusion of the Virgin and Child relief in the monument: first, its stylistic correspondence with the remaining reliefs preserved and, second, its iconography, appropriate within the context of this genre. The Virgin and Child preside over one of the long sides of the sepulchre at Saint-Junien (Haute-Vienne), and take on an important position in relation to the iconographic program as a whole.[67] In Santillana, however, the Virgin Mary was the titular saint of the church, and, from this point of view, her association with the saint's tomb would have been more than justified. Such is not necessary for the Virgin's inclusion; the tomb of Saint Vincent of Ávila, with both Epiphany and *Maiestas Domini,* provides the closest parallel to Santillana. Furthermore, the presence of this scene on antependia of sarcophagi is recorded from Late Antiquity on, a fact that justifies the continuity of the subject in certain holy sepulchres in the Middle Ages. This is the case of the tomb at Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert in Provence, or the one consecrated to San Ramón in the former cathedral at Roda de Isábena, Huesca.[68]

Until now I have classified the Santillana relief as a *Maestas Mariae*. Nevertheless, an obvious detail on the façade of the architecture in which they are sheltered provides the key to carrying this identification much further. The presence of the star in this particular place can only be justified if it is thought of as the remnants of an Epiphany, even though the Magi who were guided by it to the Virgin and Child are missing. Perhaps the figure of Saint Joseph has also disappeared, although he is not always present in this episode. If the frontal position and indifferent attitude of the Christ Child seem out of place during a visit from the Magi, several examples corroborate a variant of this type during the Romanesque period, such as a capital in the cathedral at Lescar and the Epiphany in the right tympanum of the Puerta de Platerías at Compostela (fig. 6).[69] In this last example, the affinities with the relief being analysed do not merely extend to the composition. They also have to do with a significant formal characteristic which I pointed out earlier: the presence of an odd support under Jesus's feet to prevent them from hanging in the air. Undoubtedly, both the Santillana relief and the tympanum at Cerezo de Ríotirón refer most directly—at least from a chronological point of view—to the Compostela Epiphany, in relation to the position of the Christ Child and the use of this formal device.

Once it is situated in its proper iconographic context, the presence of the canopy takes on a greater meaning within the Santillana relief, since it is a frequent complement to this episode, as confirmed by numerous examples prior to the Romanesque period and in the Epiphanies at

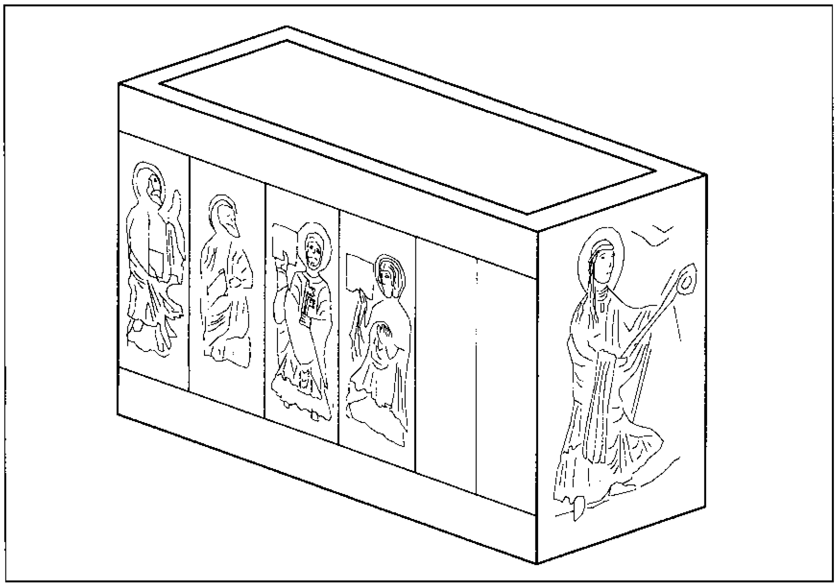


Fig. 14. Hypothetical reconstruction of Saint Juliana's Romanesque sepulchre in Santillana del Mar

Uncastillo, Piasca, Toulouse, and Fontroide, among others, in the twelfth century.[70]

The fact that the Epiphany is the only image that appears sheltered under a canopy among all the reliefs preserved in Santillana, in addition to its very dimensions, confers on it a special importance. These conditions would, therefore, make it appropriate to preside over the front of the 'chapel' that enclosed the sepulchre. Unfortunately, this relief needs at least another piece alongside it with the Magi, and perhaps a third for Joseph and even the Magi's horses. There is a difference of 17 cm between the Christ in Majesty and the Virgin and Child, and in both cases elements next to them are missing in order to complete them iconographically. For this reason, their total width must be much greater, although there is no way of knowing directly. Perhaps if the floor of the church were excavated, it might contribute to clarifying the location of the footing of the 'chapel' that was dismantled in the middle of the fifteenth century.

The relief depicting Saint Juliana Taming the Devil probably completed the sculptural decoration of the saint's sepulchre (colour pl. 11). This is the only episode of her hagiographic legend that achieved the category of an iconographic archetype, probably because it was in keeping with the essential characteristics of a popular cult.[71] Because of its dimensions, it may have occupied one of the lower, long sides of the sarcophagus corresponding to the front.

Since this monument included a feretory, it must also have incorporated some architectural elements such as columns and capitals, together with the pieces already analysed above. The architectural complexity of this solution is quite apparent in the two examples which have survived: the tomb of Saint Vincent in Ávila and the anonymous one in the church of La Magdalena in Zamora.[72] In this regard, the church at Santillana contains a capital and a fragment of a column (fig. 13) now in the lower part of the tower that functions as a baptismal chapel and whose dimensions fit the type of micro-architecture proposed above (fig. 11). The capital is carved from a single stone and its vegetal decoration has no counterpart within the architectural sculpture of the collegiate church. It does, however, bear some resemblance to the two capitals under the canopy in the relief of the Virgin and Child, a fact that would support their contemporaneity.

I believe that the fragments belonging to the tomb of Saint Juliana had some impact on art within the Cantabrian region.[73] This is confirmed by a relief depicting the Virgin and Child in an architectural frame inserted in the upper part of the church of the monastery of Santa María de Yermo.[74] Although it is the work of an extraordinarily mediocre sculptor, it follows the format previously adopted in Santillana quite closely. Both figures are frontally posed. Mary wears the same head covering as her model, while Christ wears a crown and holds an open book. This relief is of interest, not so much for its style—I do not agree with the theory that the figures are similar to the capitals in the cloister at Santillana—but for the possibility of establishing its chronology that would indirectly affect the fact that the Santillana Virgin and Child served as a model for the Santa María de Yermo sculpture. The evidence can be found in an inscription commemorating the promoter or founder of the church (rather than the master of the work). In my opinion, the way the terms are used cannot be interpreted as referring to the master of the work. The date given is 1203, which sets the *terminus ante quem* in which to place the sculpture of the reliefs at Santillana del Mar.[75] Moreover, this date is in agreement with its style.

By Way of Recapitulation

The reliefs in Santillana were carved before 1203, and I believe that they may have originally belonged to the saint's tomb. Their relationship to the apostles in the cathedral of La Calzada in La Rioja is undeniable. Although the resemblance is not so exact as to say that they were made by the same workman, both groups resort to the same stylistic vocabulary, identical physical types, and similar iconographic models. The coincidences in their recourse to specific formal, typological, and iconographic solutions with other Spanish works dating from the middle or second half of the twelfth century are also undeniable. There is, however, an essential difference between the two series of apostles which has to do with their size. Although the La Calzada figures may have been integrated into a monumental portal, it would be difficult to accept that origin for the Santillana group, particularly if we take into account that both the apostles and the monumental Christ in Majesty had to belong to the same ensemble, in spite of their difference in size. Local historians, however, have continued to insist on the fact that they all belong to a portal that no longer exists, in spite of the many objections that can be raised to the contrary.

The first argument against this theory arises from the difficulty of trying to insert in the portal all the fragments preserved on the basis of typology, iconography, and even size. The second is the fact that the construction of a tower on top of a wall containing sculptural elements does not necessarily assume the displacement of these elements. They are usually left in situ, even though they occasionally show traces of the normal damage caused by the adjustment of the new masonry. In the case of Santillana, there is an additional objection to the theory in that the west tower was already in existence in 1265 and was in need of certain repairs. The document that mentions this condition does not refer to a recently constructed bell tower, but, on the contrary, insists on its antiquity: 'Campanile et officinas ipsius ecclesie nimia vetustate consumpta reparare'.[76] For this reason, it is difficult to concede that the Santillana reliefs were taken out of their context and displaced from that supposed monumental portal because of work on the tower, since the reliefs were carved and the tower was built at almost the same time. Moreover, if we eliminate the west tower, there is no other structure which can be interpreted as a *campanile* in the church.

In light of these incongruities, I propose an alternative origin for the reliefs: the tomb of Saint Juliana that was dismantled in 1453. A number of facts support this theory. First, there is Alonso de Cartagena's description of what he found in Santillana, from which we can infer that the sepulchre must have been extremely large. Given that only a few saints' tombs exist in the Peninsula in their original setting, the one in San Vicente de Ávila is the best example to evoke the lost shrine in Cantabria. Their spacial coincidence is undeniable, and if we imagine a micro-architecture of this type in the middle of the church nave, we can understand the zeal of a prelate-reformer to eliminate it, just as Alonso de Cartagena proposes in the document.

Another argument favourable to my proposal has to do with the iconographic suitability of the extant reliefs for tomb decoration. In this case, the sepulchre of Saint Vincent in Ávila, among other contemporaneous examples, offers the most eloquent parallels. Furthermore, a capital in the Santillana cloister confirms that there were more apostles which are now lost. This evidence is important for two reasons. Firstly, it enables us to deduce the existence of a complete series of apostles, and the measurements of the four surviving figures suggest that all twelve would have been well adapted to the dimensions on the outside of the original tomb. Secondly, such a clear case of duplication has implications that would affect the chronology of the cloister of Santillana, which has been very controversial until now. The capitals were apparently carved in the thirteenth century, but this clear dependence of one of the capitals on several of the reliefs analysed here would determine its chronology *post quem*. If the Virgin and Child under a baldachin at Santa María de Yermo, which is a copy of the one at Santillana, is dated around 1203, perhaps evidence found in a document dated 1235 can be related to work in the cloister of the collegiate church.[77] In that year, the abbot made an agreement with a Roy Pérez de Arce who, in exchange for his pardon, was obligated to work on the masonry, carpentry, and stone cutting in the monastery. Even though it was not specified where the work was to be done, the date of the document and the style of the capitals seem to indicate that the work was carried out in the cloister.

About thirty years later, in 1265, Pope Clement IV sent his letter of indulgences to Santillana. If we take into account the fact that work and remodelling in the building continued throughout the thirteenth century, perhaps the intentions of the Abbot of Santillana, Rui Pérez, to solemnize the two annual commemorations of Saint Juliana, twenty-six years later, in 1291, had something to do with the completion of these works.[78] If this is so, even if documents in the Colegiata do not reflect it, perhaps this policy had its repercussions on the relaunching of the cult of the saint. When Alonso de Cartagena visited the church in the middle of the fifteenth century, he remarked on its ability to attract 'many other faithful Christians who often come here on pilgrimages'. And when he refers to the translation of her relics, he speaks of 'the many people of the Town and Surroundings who attended the celebration'.

The Pilgrim's Guide in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* contains valuable information on saints' tombs, some of which have rather capricious plans. This is the case, for example, of Saint Front at Perigueux, which had a circular shape like the Holy Sepulchre: 'Cuius sepulcrum cum nullis allis sanctorum sepulcrum consimile sit, rotundum tamen ut dominicum sepulcrum studiosissime fit, et cuncta ceterorum sanctorum sepulcra pulcritudine miri operis excellit'.[79] It was destroyed in 1575, but a later description gives more details: 'It was circular, covered with a pyramid-shaped vault, and everything on it was sculpted with figures in the ancient style and with monsters, wild beasts of various types, in such a way that every stone was enriched by such a beautiful sculpture and very praiseworthy for having been done at such an early date.[80] The tomb of Saint Lazarus in Autun, no longer extant, also had a very peculiar appearance, although it is perfectly explicable in view of the saint who was buried in it.[81] Spain also had its equivalent in imaginative tomb plans, and the sepulchre of Saint Vincent, mentioned so often here, with its splendid feretory, is the most outstanding of all.[82] It adapted an architectural format aptly suited to the term 'chapel' as applied to the mausoleum of Saint Juliana, the structure evoked and reconstructed in this study.

APPENDIX I

28 January 1453, Santillana del Mar. Bishop Alonso de Cartagena confirms the privileges of the Abbey of Santillana and alludes to finding the relics of Santa Juliana within the 'chapel' situated in the nave of the church. Archivo Diocesano de Santillana, Pergaminos 115 and 116; published by Mateo Escagedo Salmón, *Colección diplomatica. Privilegios, escrituras y bulas en pergamino de la insigne y real iglesia colegial de Santillana,* 2 vols (Santoña: Tipografia Dialco Nemaen c.p. del Dueso, 1927), II, 363–67.

Don Alfonso, por la gracia de Dios, é de la Santa Madre Eglesia de Roma Obispo de Burgos, Oydor é Refrendario de nuestro Señor el Rey, é del su Consejo; Por quanto por algunos motivos santos, é buen proposiro que nos movió á venir á vesitar la Santa Casa é reliquias que están en la Villa de Santillana, é por que mas certeficado dello fuesemos, é poque la memoria de los Omes perecedera ya casi en olvido se tenia si estoviese aqui, ó en otra parte, é Nos co grand deseo, é volutad que teniamos á esta Virgen, é devocion viçeral [*sic*] procuramos en quanto en nos fué de los ver con los ojos corporales, é con grand deligencia buscado fallamos el Santo Cuerpo de la bienaventurada Virgen é Martyr Sancta Juliana acompañada [*sic*] de otras muchas infinitas reliquias é con el grand gozo ovimos de tan grand thesoro fallar, é con propios ojos corporales ver, é manos palpar, proposimos de façer traslacion, é trasladamos el dicho Santo Cuerpo en la dicha mesma Eglesia en lugar más eminente, porque á todos los presentes fuese noto, é á los futuros non dubdoso é estimado en la dicha Villa de Santillana á façer la dicha traslacion por parte de los honrados Prior, é Cabillo de la dicha Eglesia de Sancta Juliana de la dicha Villa nos fué suplicado por quanto algunas veçes los Vesitadores que Nos enviabamos vesitar se querian entremeter á vesitar é demandar vesitacion é Cathedratico é procuracion, é otros derechos, non los debiendo ellos, é siendo esentos é libres de todo ello: sobre la qual esencion algunas veces los habian fatigado, é ellos avian avido sentencias por si, las quales nos mostraron: é nos mostraron otros Previlegios é escripturas autenticas asi de los Reyes pasados, com de los Santos Padres Apostolicos, é otros Perlados nuestros predecesores: Por lo qual nos pedieron que les mandasemos dar nuestra Carta aprobando los dichos sus Previlegios, é esenciones, para que de aqui adelante ellos non fuesen mas vexados, ni costreñidos, ni apremiados sobre la dicha raçon, é porque si alguno quisiese entremeter á les demandar las dichas cosas, ó algunas dellas, ó otro qualquier derecho, é susidio, ó Cathedratico, ó procuracion, ó otra qualquier cosa que á ellos seria grand trabajo é peligro de aver de levar las dichas escripturas é previlegios é Sentencias por la distancia del lugar de aqui á Burgos, ó á otra parte donde les fuesen demandadas; por que se podrian perder por furto, ó por robo, ó por fuego, ó por agua, ó por otro caso fortuito é ocasion alguna; de lo qual non poco dapno á la dicha Eglesia é Beneficiados della se podria seguir, mandasemos autorizar los sichos Privilegios é Cartas, é Esenciones, é Sentencias, por que caso que alguna vez demandado les sea, non sean obligados á levar las sobredichas Escripturas, mas solamente ésta, por la qual autorizabamos todas las dichas esenciones pues que propiamente las vimos. E Nos vista su petiticon ser justa, é por evitar los inconvenientes é gastos, é dannos que á la dicha Eglesia de Sancta Juliana, é Beneficiados della se podrian seguir é recrecer sin cabsa.

Fallamos que debemos mandar é mandamos só pena de excmunion á los nuestros Vesitadores que de aqui adelante vernan, que non se entremetan á vesitar a dicha Eglesia, ni á los Beneficiados della, nin les demandar Procuracion, nin Vesitacion, nin Cathedratico, nin Susudio, nin otro cualquier derecho; nin los dichos Prior é Cabillo sean obligados á mostrar las esenciones, é previlegios é sentencias que sobre ésta razon tienen, por quanto Nos las vimos, é catamos, é con estudio leimos; é amonestamos, é ponemos perpetuo silencio á los Perlados, é Obispos que despues de nos vernan que non demanden á la dicha Eglesia é Beneficiados della Cathedratico, nin Procuracion, ni Susidio, ni Vesitacion, ni vesiten la dicha Eglesia, por quanto Nos fallamos que ellos son esentos é enmunes de todo ello, é por tales los damos, é pronunciamos, é mandamos, que por evitar los escandalos que podrian nacer sacando las Escripturas de la dicha Eglesia, que los

nuestros sucesores non los apremien, nin costringan á que fuera de la dicha eglesia ge las muestren. E por esta nuestra sentencia lo pronunciamos, é mandamos todo asi en estos escriptos é por ellos: dada é pronunciada fué ésta Sentencia por el dicho Reverendo Obispo Don Alfonso en la Vila de Santillana dentro en las Casas que fueron de Diego Gomez de Santillana Cabiscol de la dicha Eglesia donde posa el dicho Señor Obispo, á veinte é ocho dias del mes de Enero, año Nascimiento de nuestro Señor Jesu-Christo de mil é quatrocientos, é cincuenta é tres años: de que son testigos que estaban presentes llamados, é especialmente rogados para lo que dicho es: Juan Gonçalez de Barreda é Gonçalo Ruiz de Velarde é Juan Gomez de Polanco escribano, é Gonçalo Perez de Ongayo Vecinos de la dicha Villa de Santillana. E yo Diego Gonçalez de Polanco Escribano de nuestro Señor el Rey, é su Notario publico en la su Corte é en todos los sus Regnos, que á todo lo que suso dicho es fui presente con los dichos testigos, é por pronunciamiento, é mandado del dicho Reverendo Señor, é á pedimento de Gonçalo Ferrandez Prior de la dicha Eglesia de Santa Juliana esta sentencia escrevi, é por ende fiz aquei este mio sig+no en testimonio. Diego Gonçalez.

APPENDIX II

16 September 1453, Burgos. Bishop Alfonso de Cartagena sends a letter of indulgences to the Abbey of Santillana. The beneficiaries will be those who visit the place on the feast day of Saint Juliana which will henceforth be celebrated on 6 March, coinciding with the translation of her relics from the old sepulchre (a 'chapel' in the main nave) to the high altar of the church, an initiative of the bishop himself inspired by his visit to the site during the preceding January. The document relates all the details of the translation and the motivation to carry it out. Archivo Diocesano de Santillana, Pergamino 117; published by Escagedo, *Colección diplomatica*, pp. 368–80.

Don Alfonso por la gracia de Dios é de la Sancta Eglesia de Roma, Obispo de Burgos, Oydor de la Audiencia de nuestro Señor el Rey, é su Referendario, é del su Consejo, á todas, é qualesquier personas Eclesiasticas é seglares de la tierra de Asturias de Santillana, é de todas las otras tierras é logares de nuestro Obispado salud é bendicion. La alteza de las riquezas de la Sabidoria, é Sciencia de Dios todo poderoso cuyos juicios non se pueden comprehender, nin sus carreras perfectamente investigar, é saber: é por su infinida Caridad amó a los omes como á su criatura, é fechura, que el avia fecho, é fiço á su ymagen é semejanza: E por que el mayor bien, e don que pensarse puede era é es la Bienaventurança perdurable, que es él mesmo, considerandole como á objeto della, é Vision, é fruicion del, considerandola respectivamente a la action del Ome que aquella bienaventurança alcançase, para que los omes se disposiesen á guiar la vida temporal en este mundo movible é lleno de alteraçiones, é mudanças, por que mereciesen reçebir este don, é sobir á aquella gloria perdurable, é Cibdad Eternal non mudable, é asistir, é se allegar á aquel cerca del qual non hay transmudança, nin sombra encubierta de vicisitudines, é alteraciones: dioles la raçon natural, é el entendimiento por donde podiesen conoscer lo honesto para seguirlo, é lo inhonesto é torpe para desviarse dello con alegre é buena voluntad.

Pero los omes por la mayor parte en la primera edad, é comienço del Mundo aunque tenian la raçon natural, é la lumbre del entendimiento, non la seguian tanto, que cayeron en diversos errores é pecados de guisa que fablando la Scriptura Sacra á nuestra manera de fablar dice: *Que se arrepentió Dios de Haber fecho el Ome en la Tierra.* E aunque en Dios non cae arrepentimiento cá dice un Propheta en otro logar: *El vencedor en Israel non se arrepentirá, nin se abaxará, ó mudará con arrepentimiento*: mas escribese que se arrepentió Dios á demostrar el rigor de su Justicia. E considerando su infinida Sabiduria que por la lumbre de la raçon natural los omes non conoscian perfectamente lo que debian facer, é aquello que podian conoscer, non lo obrarian algunos dellos por ventura pensando que non les era mandado por superior que mandarlo podiesse, aunque debieran conosçer que quien la raçon natural dió, cuidandola bien parescia mandar que se guiase el Ome

por ella, cá quando cada uno acatare, é pensare dentro de si la diferencia que hay entre la parte raçonable, é la parte sensitiva, bien conoscerá que la raçonable es Señora, é superior, é tiene dignidad de inperar, é regir, é la sensitiva es inferior, é debe optemperar é obedescer como aquella que non alcanza á conoscer ni desear, segun la inferioridad de sus istintos, é concupiscencias, salvo lo terreno, é corruptible, e temporal, é transitorio. Por ende la divina piedad, allende de la raçon natural, que al Ome dió, quisole dar mandamientos saludables, segun que latamente parescen por la Sancta Scriptura, assi aquellos diez principales, que se llaman *Decalogo,* como otros muchos que estan dispersos por el Sacro Canon. Los quales todos aunque son muchos en numero, se pueden reduçir, é reducen á los diez principales. Pero con todo esso la humana malicia, é la ruda negligencia de los mortales non dexó de cometer muchos, é diversos, é enormes maleficios contrarios á la rectitudine, é juicio de la raçon natural, é á los expressos mandamientos de Dios, mas aun no embargante las humanas maldades la divina clemencia, que todos los pecados vence, non cesó de procurar que el Ome anduviese por las vias derechas. E para esto el Verbo eternal Dios, Fijo de Dios Sabiduria non creada unió consigo la humana natura faciendo una persona en dos naturas Divina, é humana por una miraculosa, é inefable, é indivisible union, non confondiendo las naturas, mas uniendolas inseparablemente. E assi Dios home, é home Dios nuestro Redemptor, é Señor Jesu-christo por su sancta venida, é decenso á este mundo visible, non solamente redimio el humanal linage del poder del adversario diabulo á quien era subiugado por el pecado oreginal del primer Padre Adan, é fixo que todos aquellos homes que disponerse á ello quisieren, fuesen libres é habiles para alcançar la gloria perdurable; mas aun en tanto que en esta vida andovo, dió muchos preceptos, mandamientos, é consejos, é doctrinas, é exiemplos saludables, obrandolos el é enseñando como los obrasen los otros. Cá scripto es, que començo á facer, é enseñar: por que aquella por cierto es doctrina muy eficaz, é de grande efecto, que es acompañada de obra, conforme de quien la dá. E aunque esto debiera bastar para que fuesen los omes atraidos á bien vevir, pero allende dello quiso que los Sanctos Apostolos suyos diesen, é enseñasen muchas é notables doctrinas, segun por sus Epistolas, é actos parescen. E ellos, é otros muchos Sanctos, é Sanctas, que ovo en la Eglesia primitiva enseñaron por palabra é mostraron por exiemplo, quan preciosa es la Sancta Fé Catholica, recebiendo muchos tormentos, é muertes muy crueles por la confession della. E en las mesmas passiones, é recepcion de las plagas, é açotes, é cruas feridas predicaban á los tyranos, é á aquellos que les atormentaban doctrinas sanas de la verdad Catholica, é á las veces los convertian á ella ofreciendo sus vidas é salud en precioso Sacrificio á la muy alta Divinidad. E seguiendo los vestigios é passos quanto su capacidat bastaba, de la gloriosa Passion de nuestro Redemptor, recibieron loables, é preciosas muertes. Cá scripto es: *Preciosa es en el acatamiento del Señor la muerte de sus Sanctos:* en que non solamente salvan sus animas más dexaban odorifero exiemplo á los otros Catholicos para seguir aquella via, quando el caso latroxere. E por aquellos actos, é maravillosas Passiones, que temporalmente passaban non saliesen de la memoria de los que despues fueron, más durasen fasta en estos tiempos, en quien la fin de los siglos, segun dice el Apostol, venieron á los que despues de vos vernan fasta la fin del mundo: Quiso la inefable sapiencia divinal que los cuerpos en que aquellas benditas animas estovieron, en quien han de tornar á se unir en la universal resurrección, é quedar unidos por siempre en la gloria eternal, fuessen avidos en este mundo en gran veneracion, é reconditos, é sepelidos honorablemente, assi porque veyendo los Homes mortales que en esta vida andamos, los loculos, é monumentos en que los cuerpos, ó miembros, ó partes dellos, que comunmente llamamos *reliquias* por que fueron assi relinquidas, é dexadas de los Sanctos, se miembren de aquel tiempo en que las Sanctas animas en ellos eran, é de la Vida, é actos loables que facian, é miembrandose trabajen por seguir quanto su flaqueza podiere, las justas é piadosas, é loables vias, que los Sanctos Martyres é Confesores, é Sanctas Virgenes seguieron cada uno segun su proporcion, é condicion, é estado. Et faciendo revencia, é honor á las Sanctas reliquias, é adorando a Dios todo poderoso, que tanta gracia dió á aquellos cuyas ellas son, é suplicandole con mucha homildad, é devocion, que por los meritos dellos, aunque Nos no lo merezcamos, Nos quiera oir, é exaudir, é guiar nuestros Actos á fin vedadero, é alcançar la gloria Eternal, seamos mas ayna de la Divina piedad socorridos. Cá mucho erraron aquellos que cuidaron que los Catholicos adoran las reliquias é Cuerpos de los Sanctos por adoracion de *Latria*, que es de plena, é entera servidumbre por que aquella solamente es debida á Dios, é non á Criatura alguna, mas faciendo reverencia al loor de Dios, que tanta gracia les quiso dar, é honor, é memoria … [rotura en el original] que es reverencia e non servidumbre. E ésta es la que en diversos grados se debe hacer á los Sanctos. Onde sant Geronymo reprehendiendo mucho á un heretico, que llamaron Vigilancio, que reprehendia osada, é erroneamente aquella reverencia é honor que los Catholicos facen á los cuerpos, é reliquias de los Sanctos, dicía en efecto: *Assi non entiendas tu, que nos adoramos las reliquias de los Martyres, mas ni aun el Sol, nin la Luna, nin los Angeles, nin los Arcangeles, nin los Serafines, nin los Xerubines, nin otra cosa, que se nombre en el Siglo presente, nin en el venidero, cá non debemos servir á la Criatura más Criador, que es bendito por siempre*; pero honramos las reliquias de los Sanctos Martyres, por que adoramos aquel cuyos Martyres son, é honramos á los Siervos por que el honor dellos retorne en el Señor, el qual dixo á sus Apostolos: *Quien á vos rescibe, á mi rescibe*, cá la honor dada al Siervo por respecto del Señor, á gloria é honor del Señor retorna. Por ende cosa piadosa, é meritoria es honrar, é facer referencia á los Cuerpos, é reliquias de los Sanctos Martyres, é Confessores, é Virgines, é de todos aquellos que la Eglesia Catholica reputa por Sanctos, é beatificados en la gloria perdurable, é conservarlos en honorables logares, por que paresca la reverencia e honor, que les es fecha, é con mayor devocion é atencion puedan los homes facer sus oraciones, assi á Dios, que por contemplacion dellos los quiera otorgar nuestras suplicaciones, como á ellos que quieran interceder, é rogar por Nos. E por esta cabsa leemos en muchas escrituras, que los cuerpos de los Sanctos Martyres, é de algunos Confessores, é Virgines no solamente fueron sepellidos por devotas personas con grande omildad, é devocion en algunos honestos é honorables logares, que por entonce podian haber, mas aun despues de sus transitos, é finamientos fueron trasladados e mudados de unos logares á otros donde mas reverentemente é con mas honor paresciesen estar. Lo qual considerando Nos el dicho Don Alfonso Obispo de Burgos, quando en este año presente andovimos por diversas partes de nuestro Obispado, seguiendo en ello, quanto nuestra flaqueza basta, exiemplo de nuestro glorioso Redemptor de quien es escripto que … [rotura en el original] en las Cibdades é Villas é entramos en essa parte de Asturias, é vimos en la Eglesia Colegiada de Sancta Juliana una Capilla que en medio de la Eglesia estaba, donde segun Comun opinion era sepelido, é recondito el Sancto Cuerpo, é reliquias de la Bienaventurada Virgen é Martir Sancta Juliana, é paresciónos non estar en logar decente, segun la proporcion é forma de la Eglesia, assí por non estar tan honorablemente segun que á la excelencia de aquellas reliquias pertenescia, como por facer gran impedimento á la latitudine, é espaciosa anchura é fermosura é decor de la Eglesia, la qual era bien menester que estoviese toda libre é desembargada para que honestamente podiesen caber en ella todos sus parroquianos, que son en copioso numero, é otros muchos fieles Christianos, que á las veces vienen á ella en su peregrinacion é Romeria: Cá escripto es por el Profeta David: *yo ame la fermosura de tu Casa*; é tractamos, é fablamos en ello con vosotros los Beneficiados en la dicha Eglesia, é con muchos de los mayores Vecinos de la dicha Villa é aun notificamoslo al Noble Señor Marqués é Conde Don Iñigo López de Mendoça, Señor della, é con su Consejo, é expreso consentimiento, é de los dichos Beneficiados, é vecinos legos, deliberamos que con toda homildad, é devocion á loor, é gloria de Dios é reverencia é renovacion de la memoria de la bendita Virgen Sancta Juliana trasladasemos, é pasasemos el cuerpo, é qualesquier Reliquias que ello, ó de otro qualquier Sancto ó Sancta fallasemos estar en aquel logar, é las mudasemos á la Capilla mayor que es en la cabeça de la Eglesia, é las posiesemos ende en logar decente é honorable. Por ende confiando en la misericordia de Dios que habria por honesto obsequio é servicio, é la gloriosa Virgen nuestra Señora Sancta Maria cuyo Altar é invocacion en aquella Capilla mayor es, que le seria agradable que el Cuerpo é Reliquias de esta bendicta Virgen, é de otros Sanctos, é Sanctas, que en la otra Capilla eran, fuesen trasladadas é puestas cerca del su Altar: dispusimos nos á facer la dicha translacion é fecimosla en un dia del mes de Março, que agora passó, seyendo presentes muchas gentes de la Villa é de sus Comarcas con aquella devocion, é solepnidad que á nos, é a ellos Dios quiso otorgar, é pasamos todas las reliquias ende falladas, é posimoslas en un lugar alto honorable é decente encima de la pared de aquel Altar mayor, faciendo el altar mas largo, é mejor compuesto que primero era, é mandamos que dende en adelante oviese dos invocaciones: la una de la Virgen gloriosa Sancta Maria, que primero: la otra de la bendita Virgen Sancta Juliana, habiendo firme confiança que assi como á la Virgen gloriosa Reyna, é Señora de las Virgines es agradable que la Virgen Sancta Juliana, é las otras Virgines, que en el Reyno de los Cielos son, sean en su ministerio, é compañia, assi le placerá que acá sus Cuerpos é Reliquias sean cerca de sus Altares. E esto assi fecho, nos venimos á la Cibdad de Burgos, é notificamoslo todo al Dean é Cabillo de nuestra Eglesia con quien las tales cosas, é otras qualesquier de alguna reputacion se deben comunicar; é con consejo é consentimiento dellos deliberamos que la otra fiesta de la Translacion de Sancta Juliana fuesse passada, é mudada al tiempo en que esta segunda translacion se fizo, é amas translaciones se juntasen é celebraren en uno assi por non facer tanta multitudine de fiestas, como por ser el tiempo mas convenible para poder venir en peregrinacion aquellos que venir quisieren. Por ende por nuestra actoridad ordinaria é pontifical con consejo é expreso consentimiento del Cabillo de nuestra Eglesia, seiendo todos llamados é presentes, é consencientes, mudamos la celebracion de la fiesta de la Traslacion de Sancta Juliana, que se solia celebrar á quince dias de Febrero, para seis dias del mes de Março. E mandamos en virtd de obediencia á todos los Curas, é Clerigos de nuestro Obispado que del dia que esta nuestra Carta les fuere leida, ó de ella sopieren en cualquier manera, dende en adelante cesen de celebrar, é non celebren la dicha Fiesta de la Translacion de Sancta Juliana á quince dias de Febrero, é la celebren á seis dias de Março, que fasta aqui era dia ferial en que no habia fiesta alguna faciendo aquel mesmo Oficio é Antifanas, é Ipnos, Psalmos, Legenda é responsorios, Capitulas, é Oraciones segun e en la mesma manera que á quince de Febrero la celebraban sin mudanza alguna, salvo solamente que en la Nona Lection fagan mension desta segunda Translacion, á mutacion del dia segun que por nos les sera dado por escripto, porque los que lo oyeren sepan la cabsa porque fué mudada esta fiesta, é por que los que á la celebracion desde fiesta venieren ayan alguna consolacion spiritual, Nos confiando en la misericordia de Dios todo poderoso, e por la actoridad de los Bienaventurados San Pedro é San Paulo sus Apostolos, damos é otorgamos á cada una de las personas, que estando en estado de gracia venieren á la celebracion de la dicha fiesta, é estobieren en la dicha Eglesia á las Viesperas, é Completas, é Maytinis, é otro dia á la Prima, Tercia, Missa, ó Sexa, Nona, Viesperas, é Completas por cada hora, é tiempo destos cada quarenta dias de perdon en remission de sus pecados. E por que es raconable que aquel logar donde primero estaban las dichas reliquias sea tenido siempre en reverencia, mandamos que sea puesta en él una piedra fermosa tan luenga, é ancha como se suele poner en una Sepultura, é en ella esté esculta, é fixa Imagen de una Sancta Virgen, é en derredor de la piedra estén fierros, por que non pueda entrar alguno á ella; é la piedra non sea mas alta que el Pavimento mas que un pie, é los fierros non sean más altos que la piedra mas que dos pies por que non se embargue la espaciosidad, e fermosura de la Eglesia, é que en el circuitu desta piedra fasta diez pies non sea sepellida persona alguna, por que se guarde reverencia debida al logar de donde las Sanctas Reliquias fueron sacadas, é donde por ventura quedaron algunas otras, que al tiempo de la Translacion non fueron vistas en testimonio de lo qual mandamos dar esta nuestra Carta firmada de nuestro nombre, é sellada con nuestro Sello pontifical pendiente. Dada en la Capilla de Sancta Catherina, que es en la Claustra nueva de la dicha nuestra Eglesia, seyendo ende ayuntados con nos los dichos Dean, é Cabillo della, á diez é seis dias del mes de Setiembre anno á Nativitate Domini M° CCCC° quinquagessimo tercio. A. Epicopus Burgensis, Yo Martin Ferrandez de Salamanca canonigo en la dicha Eglesia de Burgos firmé aqui mi nombre por mandado del dicho Señor Obispo. M. Canonicus Burgensis Notarios Apostolicus.

NOTES

This article was translated by Selma Margaretten.

1. Documents confirm the existence of Santillana from the tenth century on, and even at that time there were explicit references to the saint's relics. On the diplomatic collections of the collegiate church that have been published successively, see Eduardo Jusué, *Libro de regla o cartulario de la antigua abadía de Santillana del Mar* (Madrid: Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas. Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1912); Mateo Escagedo Salmón, *Colección diplomática. Privilegios, escrituras y bulas en pergamino de la insigne y real iglesia colegial de Santillana*, 2 vols (Santoña: Tipografia Dialco Nemaen c.p. del Dueso, 1927); Carmen Díez Herrera *et alia*, *Abadía de Santillana del Mar: colección diplomática* (Santillana del Mar: Taurus, 1983). For a re-evaluation of the history of the collegiate church, see Miguel Angel García Guinea, *El románico en Santander*, 2 vols (Santander: Librería Estudio, 1979), II, 112–54, and Díez Herrera, *Abadía de Santillana del Mar*, pp. 15–67.

2. See *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, VI, 1176–77. She is mentioned briefly here. If we consult the Martyrology of Usuardo (ninth century) and the Menologian of Basil II (end of the tenth century), we see that the legend achieved its final form around 1200, incorporating episodes that had not yet appeared in these texts. For example, nothing is said about the taming of Satan by the saint, which was the most popular legend of all. It is incorporated into hagiographic compilations prior to the *Golden Legend* by Jacobus de Voragine (da Varazze), such as the English text dated around 1200 and published in *Chaste Passions: Medieval English Virgin Martyr Legends*, ed. by Karen A. Winstead (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2000), pp. 9–26.

3. On this point of destination for the pilgrims to Santiago, see Juan Ignacio Ruiz de la Peña Solar *et alia*, *Las peregrinaciones a San Salvador de Oviedo* (Oviedo: Servicio Publicaciones del Principado de Asturias, 1990); and *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela y San Salvador de Oviedo, Actas del Congreso Internacional, Oviedo, 1990*, coord. by Juan Ignacio Ruiz de la Peña Solar (Oviedo: Servicio Publicaciones del Principado de Asturias, 1993).

4. See Luis Vázquez de Parga, José M. Lacarra, and Juan Uría Ríu, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, 3 vols (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1949), II, 497–547; for Santillana, see pp. 525–28. For a more recent revision of the problem of the coastal route to Santiago, see Ruiz de la Peña Solar *et alia*, *Las peregrinaciones a San Salvador de Oviedo*, pp. 124–45.

5. García Guinea, *El románico en Santander*, records the cult at Aldueso, Horiguea, Insula, Rioseco, and Ucieda. For Burgos, documents at Valpuesta record a church whose titular saint is Juliana in 864; this advocation reappears in relation to the monastery of Oña in 1011. See José Angel Lecanda, 'Advocaciones religiosas y culto a los Santos en el núcleo primigenio del Condado de Castilla. Siglos IX–XI y su perduración hasta nuestros días', in *Actas del Simposium, 'Monjes y monasterios españoles'*, 3 vols (San Lorenzo del Escorial: Ediciones Escurialenses, 1995), III, 929–80. In 1037, Fernando I and Sancha gave the Burgos monastery of Santa Juliana near the road to the Vega to San Pedro de Arlanza; see Luciano Serrano, *Cartulario de San Pedro de Arlanza* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1925), p. 110, doc. 53. Father Berganza also records the information that the saint was solemnly commemorated at San Pedro de Cardeña (see note 8 below).

6. Santa Juliana de Aguilar and two others, Santa Juliana de Corvio and Santa Juliana de Valdebonil, close to Aguilar de Campóo. A document dated 1079 confirms the existence of the first monastery; see Gonzalo Martínez Díez, *Colección documental del monasterio de San Pedro de Cardeña* (Burgos: Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad, 1998), pp. 409–10, doc. 358. For the other two, there is documentation from the second half of the twelfth century. See María Estela González de Fauve, *La Orden Premostratense en España. El monasterio de Santa María de Aguilar de Campóo*, 2 vols (Aguilar de Campóo: Centro de Estudios del Románico, 1992), I, 122 and II, 186. See also José Luis Rodríguez de Diego, 'Monasterios e iglesias filiales de la Abadía Premostratense de Aguilar de Campóo', in *Actas del Ier Congreso de Historia de Palencia*, 2 vols (Palencia: Diputación Provincial, 1987), II, 441, n. 13, 442, n. 16. Most of the Romanesque church of Santa Juliana de Corvio still exists, now converted into a parish church. See Miguel Angel García Guinea, *El Arte románico en Palencia* (Palencia: Diputación Provincial, 1961), pp. 336–39. The information about Santa María is recorded in a sixteenth-century domestic source in José Luis Hernando Garrido, *Escultura tardorrománica en el monasterio de Santa María la Real en Aguilar de Campóo (Palencia)* (Aguilar de Campóo: Fundación Santa María la Real, 1995), p. 97.

7. The pilgrim from Picardy, G. Manier, records the relics of Saint Juliana at Compostela in the eighteenth century. He specifies that they belong to Saint Juliana, widow, and that her feast day is 7 February. His journey is recorded by José García Mercadal, *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*, 6 vols (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León-Consejería de Educación y Cultura, 1999), IV, 738. For the relics in Nájera at the end of the sixteenth century, see Fray Antonio Yepes, *Crónica General de la Orden de San Benito* (Valladolid, 1609–21), ed. by Justo Pérez de Urbel, 3 vols (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1959–60), III, 106. It is odd that there are no relics in Burgos Cathedral, since they were recorded in the sacristy in 1487; see Nicolás López Martínez, 'Don Luis de Acuña, el Cabildo de Burgos y la Reforma', *Burguense*, 2 (1961), 308–11, doc. 15.

8. Among the missing documents are the *'Breviarios antiguos'* from San Pedro de Cardeña (Burgos). Father Francisco Berganza says that 'The monks of Cardeña celebrated the feast of Saint Juliana with the office of twelve lessons as recorded in the Breviarios antiguos', in his *Antigüedades de España propugnadas en las noticias de sus reyes*, 2 vols (Madrid: Francisco del Hierro, 1719), I, 303–04. Among the extant documents, the legend of the saint is recorded in several *Flos Sanctorum*, some of which, given their content, must have originated in Burgos. This is the case, for example, of Real Academia de la Historia, MS 103, or Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 17864 (a Breviary from Calahorra). The liturgical incidence of the cult of Saint Juliana and its echo in Burgos codices is dealt with by Father Enríque Flórez, *España Sagrada*, (Madrid: Antonio de Sancha, 1772), XXVII, 799–814.

9. Mozarabic calendars commemorate her feast on 28 June, except in Córdoba, where it is celebrated on 29 June, as in the Monastery of Silos, since the eleventh century. See the *Pasionario Hispánico*, ed. by Angel Fábrega Grau, 2 vols (Madrid and Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Instituto P. Enríque Flórez, 1953), I, 233–34.

10. Within the Iberian Peninsula, the body of another Saint Juliana was venerated at the monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallés (Barcelona). Although this martyr's feast was also celebrated in February, her biography and her cult followed completely different lines from those of the Cantabrian saint. The Benedictine monastery housed the holy bodies of Saints Juliana and Semproniana, both associated with the hagiographic legend of San Cucufate, since they would have been present at his martyrdom and buried him. According to Antonio Yepes, their relics would have been divided among several altars in the monastery. Yepes, *Crónica General*, I, 356–57. The feast of Saint Juliana in the monastery of Sant Cugat was commemorated on 16 February, as in the case of the saint from Nicomedia. See José Vives, 'El Santoral de los calendarios de "Sant Cugat" del Vallés', *Hispania Sacra*, 26, (1973), 253.

11. On the building itself, see Vicente Lampérez, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española en la Edad Media*, 2 vols (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1930), II, 63–67; Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño and José Gudiol Ricart, *Arquitectura y escultura románicas*, Ars Hispaniae, 5 (Madrid: Plus Ultra, 1948), pp. 248–50; Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, *El Libro de Santillana* (1955; repr. Santander: Librería Estudio, 1999); Abundio Rodríguez and Luis María Lojendio, *Castille romane*, 2 vols (La Pierre-qui-Vire: Zodiaque, 1966), I, 47–64; García Guinea, *El románico en Santander*, II, 112–245; Enrique Campuzano Ruiz, *El gótico en Cantabria* (Santander: Librería Estudio, 1985), pp. 235–50.

12. See note 37 below.

13. Although this tomb is mentioned by all those who have studied the collegiate church from one perspective or another, it is almost unknown outside Cantabria. The handful of studies of the tombs of Spanish saints systematically ignore it. See, for example, Soledad Silva Verastegui, 'Religiosidad popular y la escultura funeraria: los sepulcros de los santos en el románico español', in *Actas del Simposium, 'Religiosidad popular en España'*, 2 vols (San Lorenzo del Escorial: Ediciones Escurialenses, 1997), II, 755–77. Among the first to describe or analyze it more or less extensively were Father Enríque Flórez, *España Sagrada*, XXVII, 70; Lafuente Ferrari, *El Libro de Santillana*, pp. 72–76, 136–37; García Guinea, *El románico en Santander*, II, 150–51; and Campuzano Ruiz, *El gótico en Cantabria*, pp. 419–20.

14. On the Gothic style in Cantabria, and sculpture in particular, see Campuzano Ruiz, *El gótico en Cantabria*, pp. 400–81. Elías Ortiz de la Torre *et alia*, *La escultura funeraria en la Montaña* (Santander: Centro de Estudios Montañeses, 1934), also deal with the question.

15. For the full texts of these documents, see Appendices I and II at the end of this article.

16. Nicolás López Martínez, 'Sínodos burgaleses del siglo XV', *Burguense*, 7 (1966), 311.

17. He speaks of it in his will dated 6 July 1453. See M. Martínez Burgos, 'Don Alonso de Cartagena, obispo de Burgos. Su testamento', *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos*, 10 (1957), 82–110. On the Cartagena family relationship with San Juan de Ortega, see Braulio Valdivieso Ausín, *San Juan de Ortega, hito vivo en el Camino de Santiago* (Burgos: Villena, 1985), pp. 145–48.

18. Concerning the tomb, see María Jesús Gómez Bárcena, *Escultura gótica funeraria en Burgos* (Burgos: Diputación Provincial, 1988), p. 51. More references can be found in Marta Cendón Fernández, '"Los santos de su devoción": aspectos de religiosidad popular en los sepulcros episcopales en la Castilla de finales de la Edad Media', in *Actas del Simposium 'Religiosidad popular en España'*, II, 779–97. The presence of these saints on the sepulchre of Alonso de Cartagena may not be justified simply by more or less devotion to them. Given that their remains were preserved in the bishopric of Burgos, in some cases, from time immemorial, their presence on the sarcophagus may also be understood as the ostentation of Burgos's episcopal patrimony over which he had authority as bishop, and consequently, as another way of exalting the figure of the prelate.

19. The text dated 28 January 1453 in Santillana del Mar is as follows: 'paresciónos non estar en logar decente, según la proporciona e forma de la iglesia, [...] y otros muchos fieles christianos que a las veces bienen a ella en su peregrinacion y Romeria'; see Appendix II for complete text.

20. '[...] passamos todas las reliquias ende falladas, posimolas en un lugar alto, honorable, decente encima de la pared de aquel altar mayor faciendo el altar mas largo, mejor compuesto que primero era [...]'; see Appendix II.

21. '[...] mandamos que sea puesta en el una piedra fermosa tan luenga e ancha como se suele poner en una Sepultura, [...] porque se guarde reverencia debida al logar de donde las reliquias fueron sacadas'; see Appendix II.

22. This data is recorded by Julián Ortíz de la Azuela, *Monografía de la antigua Colegiata (hoy iglesia parroquial) de Santillana del Mar* (Santander, 1919), p. 104; García Guinea, *El románico en Santander*, II, 230; Campuzano Ruiz, *El gótico en Cantabria*, p. 419, n. 56.

23. Information provided by the guide of the collegiate church on our visit in September 1999.

24. Although a casket is displayed in a prominent place on the altar, the original one passed into the collection of the Marqués de Comillas. See Campuzano Ruiz, *El gótico en Cantabria*, p. 419, n. 55. At present the reliquary bust is in the sacristy of the collegiate church. It does not have the silversmith's mark, but it is probably the work of the school of Burgos around 1450. See Aurelio A. Barrón García, *La época dorada de la platería burgalesa 1400–1600*, 2 vols (Burgos: Diputación Provincial, 1998), I, 191–92. For the bust, see also Enrique Flórez, *España sagrada*, XVII, 70; and Campuzano Ruiz, *El gótico en Cantabria*, pp. 419, 494–96.

25. 'Dende en adelante oviese dos invocaciones: la una de la Virgen gloriosa Sancta Maria [...] la otra de la bendita Virgen Sancta Juliana, [...] compania assi le placer que ac sus Cuerpos, Reliquias sean cerca de sus Altares'; see Appendix II.

26. See Campuzano Ruiz, *El gótico en Cantabria*, pp. 514–26, for an analysis of the retable and earlier scholarly contributions.

27. Ortiz de la Azuela, *Monografía de la antigua Colegiata*, p. 101; and Mateo Escagedo Salmón, 'Notas para la historia de la Colegiata de Santillana', *La revista de Santander*, 3 (1930), 66–75. This information is taken up by later historians. The arrival of this frontal should be viewed in a wider context, given that silver works from Mexico came to the Iberian Peninsula throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

28. They are analyzed by Lafuente Ferrari, *El Libro de Santillana*, pp. 158–59; García Guinea, *El románico en Santander*, II, 218–24; Rodríguez and Lojendio, *Castille romane*, I, 61; and Campuzano Ruiz, *El gótico en Cantabria*, pp. 246–48. For a discussion of sources relating them to the reliefs at Santo Domingo de la Calzada, see note 36.

29. The similarities with the Loarre casket are not determinant or exclusive. We have simply tried to find precedents for some of the characteristics of the Cantabrian *Maiestas*, and the sumptuary arts provide the closest parallel. As for the reproduction of the richly bound book, similar examples can be found in the apostles' books on the casket of Saint Pelagius in León. In more monumental sculpture, the Christ at Carrión has a more simply bound codex, while the one at Moarves is similar to the one at Santillana, but not in the way the book is held.

30. The friezes of these churches in Palencia are reproduced in Gaya Nuño and Gudiol Ricart, *Arquitectura y escultura románicas*, figs 400–01; and Marcial Durliat, *L'Art roman en Espagne* (Paris: Les Editions Braun et Cie., 1962), pls 200–01. The photographs reveal the joints of the ashlars separating the *Maiestas* from the Tetramorph.

31. There are numerous examples of this type of covering as a head accessory to women's clothing. See the wall paintings in the Pantheon of Kings in León and the Annunciation, in particular. See also the images of the queens in Compostela, 'Tumbo A', fols 31r, 33r, 34v, 37v, 38r, 38v, reproduced in Manuel Díaz y Díaz *et alia*, *Los Tumbos de Compostela* (Madrid: Edilán, 1985), pls 16–21. Other examples in a different technique are the silver-plated Romanesque Virgin in Pamplona Cathedral and the Virgin in Santa María de Irache; see the excellent reproductions in Clara Fernández-Ladrera, *Imaginería medieval mariana* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1989), p. 43. On the Virgin in Santa María de Irache, see the convincing chronological clarifications in Javier Martínez de Aguirre, 'Sobre la cronología y el autor de la imagen románica de Santa María la Real de Irache (Navarra)', *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte*, 7–8 (1995–96), pp. 450–55.

32. The first is reproduced in Gaya Nuño and Gudiol Ricart, *Arquitectura y escultura románicas*, fig. 411; and the second in Arthur Kingsley Porter, *La escultura románica en España*, 2 vols (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1929), II, pl. 154 (originally published as *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture* (Florence, 1928)).

33. Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo, 'The Epiphany Relief from Cerezo de Riotirón', in *The Cloisters. Studies in Honor of the Fiftieth Anniversary*, ed. by Elizabeth C. Parker and Mary B. Shepard (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991), pp. 110–45. For the Virgin and Child discussed here, see figs 6 and 25. The same peculiarity can be observed in the Butrera Epiphany, fig. 13.

34. This question will be taken up later on in regard to these formal coincidences.

35. Concerning the church of Pineda de la Sierra, see José Pérez Carmona, *Arquitectura y escultura románicas en la provincia de Burgos*, 2nd edn (Burgos: Facultad de Teología, 1974), pp. 178–79, figs 191–92; Rodríguez and Lojendio, *Castille romane*, II, 148–49; Juan Carlos Malagón Aguila, 'Pineda de la Sierra: Escultura en la portada de la iglesia', in *El románico en Silos: IX Centenario de la consagración de la iglesia y claustro, 1088–1988 (Burgos, 25-29 September, 1988)*, Stvdia Silensia. Series Maior, 1 (Santo Domingo de Silos: Abadía de Silos, 1990), pp. 595–602. The relief is located on the left-hand side of the entrance. It is repeated in a format similar to the late Romanesque relief at Santillana. A richly dressed standing female figure leads an erect four-footed beast on a rope. For Siones, Pérez Carmona, *Arquitectura y escultura románicas en Burgos*, pp. 230–33; and Rodríguez and Lojendio, *Castille romane*, I, 189–96.

36. These similarities have been noted for a long time. The recent appearance of two more reliefs, similar in format and style, corresponding to the figures of two other apostles, and embedded in the *trasaltar* confirms the original hypotheses. The figures of Peter, Paul, John the Evangelist, and possibly Saint James the Greater have already been identified. See Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, 10 vols (Boston: Marshall Jones, 1923), VI, 861; Georg Weise, *Spanische Plastik aus sieben Jahrhunderten*, 4 vols (Reutlingen: Gryphius, 1927), II, pt. 1, pp. 44–46; Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, II, 41; Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño, 'El románico en la provincia de Logroño', *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, 46 (1942), 243; August L. Mayer, *El estilo románico en España* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1931), p. 106; María Jesús Alvarez Coca, *La escultura románica en piedra en la Rioja Alta* (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1978), pp. 63–66; Dulce Ocón Alonso, 'La recepción de las corrientes artísticas europeas en la escultura monumental castellana en torno a 1200', in *El Arte Español en épocas de transición. IX Congreso Nacional de Historia del Arte, León , 1992*, 2 vols (León: Universidad de León, 1994), I, 20; Francesca Español Bertran, 'Santo Domingo de la Calzada: el cuerpo santo y los escenarios de su culto', *La cabecera de la catedral calceatense y el tardorrománico hispano. Actas del simposio en Santo Domingo de la Calzada, 29 al 31 de enero de 1998* (Logroño: Cabildo de la S.M.I. de Santo Domingo de la Calzada, 1999), pp. 251–58.

37. Suggested by Gabriel Moya Valgañón, *Etapas de construcción de la catedral de Santo Domingo de la Calzada* (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1991), p. 58. For my agreement with this theory, see Español Bertran, 'Santo Domingo de la Calzada: el cuerpo santo', pp. 256–58.

38. Lampérez Romea, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española*, II, 64–65; García Guinea, *El románico en Santander*, II, 218; and Campuzano Ruiz, *El gótico en Cantabria*, p. 248.

39. For a discussion of the cloister, see Lafuente Ferrari, *El Libro de Santillana*, pp. 153–61; García Guinea, *El románico en Santander*, II, 218–24; Rodríguez and Lojendio, *Castille romane*, I, 60–61; and Campuzano Ruiz, *El gótico en Cantabria*, pp. 243–46. The capital in question is located in the south gallery, next to the southeast pier of the cloister. One face contains a *Maiestas* flanked by the Tetramorph. Several apostles are located on the left and right, and the other side is occupied by four more apostles.

40. In Santillana, the figure is identified as a bishop only by his dalmatic. In Santo Domingo de la Calzada, a crozier is added. In my work on La Calzada, I include a number of Spanish and foreign sources on the ecclesiastic dimension of the apostle. See Español Bertran, 'Santo Domingo de la Calzada: el cuerpo santo', pp. 257–58.

41 The figure of Paul in both La Calzada and Santillana adopts the same pose: his body is frontal, his face is in profile, and he holds the usual scroll in his hands, although in this case a sword has been added. From this perspective, it presents analogies with another relief in the Museo Catedralicio-Diocesano in León, which has been studied recently by Gerardo Boto Varela, *La memoria perdida. La catedral de León (917–1255)* (León: Diputación Provincial, 1995), fig. 24; and Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras, 'Una empresa olvidada del primer gótico hispano: la fachada de la sala capitular de León', *Archivo español de arte*, 276 (1996), 397–99. Even though the pose of the Santillana Saint Paul is not the same, there are analogies with the fourth Cantabrian apostle who is more difficult to identify. The analogies with the physical type chosen, and even the position of the scroll in relation to the relief of Saint Paul from the cloister of Oviedo Cathedral, are almost undeniable. This piece is reproduced in Durliat, *L'Art roman en Espagne*, fig. 228. Of the six reliefs preserved, this figure is the only

one who adopts this pose. It is reproduced in María Soledad Alvarez-Martínez, *El románico en Asturias* (Gijón: Ed. Trea, 1999), pp. 87–89.

42. Apparently only two were preserved, but recent work carried out in the presbytery uncovered two others in the *trasaltar* hidden by a retable. These figures are Paul and another apostle, who is difficult to identify, although it might be Saint James the Greater. See notes 35 and 36.

43. There are other examples of an apostle holding a book and gesturing in Spanish Romanesque art, most notably in wall painting: Sant Climent and Santa María de Taüll, Argolell, Engolasters, Esterri de Cardós in Cataluña, and the paintings at Elines in Cantabria. The crossed feet can be found from sumptuary art to monumental sculpture. This is the case of one of the apostles in the *Arca Santa* in Oviedo, and in the cathedral itself, the Saint Paul on one of the reliefs from the cloister. See J. Manzanares Rodríguez, 'Relieves románicos del antiguo claustro de la catedral de Oviedo', *Revista de Letras. Universidad de Oviedo*, 11 (1950), 124. Serafín Moralejo Alvarez also points this out in '"Ars Sacra", et sculpture romane monumentale: le trésor et le chantier de Compostelle', *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 11 (1980), 210, n. 74, fig. 13. On the other hand, the crossing of one foot in front of the other is also observed in the apostles on the Loarre casket. On this work, see Serafín Moralejo Alvarez, 'Les Arts somptuaires hispaniques aux environs de 1100', *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 13 (1982), 285–310.

44. Several churches contain this type of frieze or, in view of the sections preserved, it is legitimate to surmise that it was incorporated into their overall plan. The churches in Carrión de los Condes, Moarves de Ojeda, and Zorita del Páramo, in Palencia; Santibáñez and Quintanadueñas, in Burgos; and Mimizan, in the south of France are examples of this type. For the first two examples, see note 30 above. For the third, see Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, II, fig. 115b. This sculptural group is analyzed in José Luis Hernando Garrido, 'El Apostolado románico de la iglesia de San Lorenzo en Zorita del Páramo (Palencia)', in *Actas del III Congreso de Historia de Palencia* (Palencia: Disputación Provincial, 1995), pp. 453–68. Santibáñez and Quintanadueñas are reproduced in Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, II, figs 114, 115a.

45. Reproduced in García Guinea, *El románico en Santander*, II, fig. 140; also in Rodríguez and Lojendio, *Castille romane*, I, figs 4, 5.

46. This type is found in Cervatos and Santa María de Yermo, in Cantabria; reproduced in García Guinea, *El románico en Santander*, II, figs 394, 397, 400, 586, and 588. They are also included in the church of Saint-Aventin in the French Pyrenees; see Durliat and Victor Allegre, *Pyrénées romanes* (La-Pierre-qui-Vire: Zodiaque, 1969), figs 22, 24, 25.

47. The tower is dated within the thirteenth century; see García Guinea, *El románico en Santander*, II, 154.

48. Amós de Escalante, *Costas y montañas* (1867; repr. Madrid, 1961), p. 101.

49. 'Vimos en la Eglesia Colegiada de Sancta Juliana una Capilla, que en medio de la Eglesia estaba, donde según Comun opinion era sepelido, recondito el Sancto Cuerpo reliquias de la Bienaventurada Virgen, Martir Sancta Juliana [...] que á las veces vienen á ella en su peregrinacion é Romeria'; see Appendix II.

50. 'Seria agradable que el Cuerpo é Reliquias de esta bendicta Virgen, é de otros Sanctos, é Sanctas, que en la otra Capilla eran, fuesen trasladadas [...];' see Appendix II.

51. 'Con grand deligencia buscado fallamos el Santo Cuerpo de la bienaventurada Virgen é Martyr Sancta Juliana acompañada [*sic*] de otras muchas infinitas reliquias [...] á façer la dicha traslacion por parte de los honrados Prior, é Cabillo de la dicha Eglesia'; see Appendix I.

52. This possibility cannot be discarded. Iconographically, there is no doubt that they fit and, if the hypothesis I shall present is correct, it was a question of keeping the reliefs together with the relics. On the iconography of frontals and antipendiums, see Jacques Bousquet, 'Des antependiums aux retables. Le problèm du décor des autels et de son emplacement', *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 13 (1982), 201–32.

53. 'otorgamos á cada una de las personas, que [...] venieren á la celebracion de la dicha fiesta, [...] E por que es raconable que aquel logar donde primero estaban las dichas reliquias sea tenido siempre en reverencia, mandamos que sea puesta en él una piedra fermosa tan luenga, é ancha como se suele poner en una Sepultura, [...] é en derredor de la piedra estén fierros, por que non pueda entrar alguno á ella; é la piedra non sea mas alta que el Pavimento mas que un pie [...]'; see Appendix II, and above, note 22.

54. García Guinea, *El románico en Santander*, II, 151, n. 242.

55. The system of vaulting accords perfectly with mid-fifteenth-century work of this type, given the characteristics of Gothic in Cantabria.

56. The sarcophagus measures 194 x 57 cm, and the supposed baldachin, 182 x 85 cm (the width varies less than a centimetre from side to side).

57. Alonso de Cartagena, himself, does not ignore the fact that, when he opened the tomb, some of the relics could have been left in situ, and for this reason he recommends that the *locus* be remembered with a new sepulchre, albeit, simpler than the previous one ('que non se embargue la espaciosidad, e fermosura de la Eglesia, [...] se guarde reverencia debida al logar de donde las Sanctas Reliquias fueron sacadas, é donde por ventura quedaron algunas otras, que al tiempo de la Translacion non fueron vistas'); see Appendix II. On the permanence of some type of relic in the places where saints' bodies were buried, Fray Juan de Salazar expresses this opinion in the seventeenth century about San Vicente de Ávila: 'In the city of Ávila the bodies of the glorious martyrs for Christ, the brother and sisters, Saint Vincent, Saint Cristeta, and Saint Sabina, were entombed for a time and, if there is no doubt that they were transferred by King Ferdinand I to the monastery of San Pedro de Arlanza, where they are displayed, the people of Ávila are convinced that they are still in their city, since a few relics and the ashes of those saints still remain'; *Naxara ilustrada* (Logroño: Patronato del Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Nájera, 1987), p. 159. This paragraph should serve as a warning in regard to how we label certain saints' tombs. Undoubtedly, the classification of the mausoleum of Saint Vincent at Ávila as a cenotaph responds to certain supposed 'historical' issues that have nothing to do with the particular history of the relic as seen from the perspective of traditional beliefs in Ávila.

58. For an analysis of the tomb of San Millán within the context of other contemporary sepulchres, see my study, 'Les autres saints du chemin Saint-Jacques', presented at the *XXX Journées romanes de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*. It does not appear in the corresponding volume, but will be published shortly. For the pilgrimage to Santo Domingo de Silos, see Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo and Constancio del Álamo, 'Témoins de la foi. Le portique nord de Silos et le pèleri-

nage à Saint Dominique', *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 31 (2000), 17–35. For San Millán, Santo Domingo de Silos, and San Pedro de Osma, see the article by Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras in the present collection.

59. Díez Herrera, *Abadía de Santillana del Mar*, pp. 41, 45, nn. 81–83, and p. 46.

60. For the first two works, see the study by Moralejo Alvarez, 'Les Arts somptuaires hispaniques'; for the Orense casket, Josefa Gallego Lorenzo, 'San Martin de Tours, San Marcial de Limoges y Santiago en el llamado "frontal" de la catedral de Orense', *Los caminos y el arte. VI Congreso Español de Historia del Arte (Santiago de Compostela, 1986)*, 3 vols (Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Compostela, 1989), III, 61–69.

61. The tomb of San Juan de Ortega incorporates an apostolic college in an architectural setting with a *Maiestas Domini* accompanied by the Tetramorph on the antependium of the sarcophagus. The shorter sides contain, respectively, Saint Martin sharing his cloak with a beggar and an *Agnus Dei* in a *clipeus*, a round disk held up by angels. The lid depicts the death of the saint in the centre and the officiants and acolytes who participate in the funerary liturgy, on either side under an arch. The sepulchre was first studied by Pérez Carmona, *Arquitectura y escultura románicas en Burgos*, pp. 222–23. The nuances of the apostles' draperies are studied in Sánchez Ameijeiras, 'Una empresa olvidada', p. 404, and for the imagery, see her article in this volume. For the saint's tomb, see the excellent reproductions in Salvador Andrës Ordax, *San Juan de Ortega. Santuario del Camino Jacobeo* (León: Edilesa, 1995), pp. 24–25, 27, 28–29. This sepulchre, a vernacular work, is proof of the suitability and circulation of certain formulas linked to the tombs of saints in Castilla. Echoes of this phenomenon are found in the baptismal font at Villamiel de Muño, apparently unknown until now. Taking into account the saint's tomb, it is evident that if we contrast the figures identified, respectively, as an apostle and a prophet, there are actually more apostles. See Isabel María Frontón Simón, 'Dos nuevos ejemplos de irradiación silense en el románico burgalés: las pilas bautismales de Villamiel de Muño y Cayuela', *Burgos en la plena Edad Media. III Jornadas burgalesas de historia (Burgos, 1991)* (Burgos: Asociación Provincial de Libreros, 1994), pp. 715–28. A capital in the cloister at Aguilar de Campóo utilizes the same prototype of apostles in architectural frames, although with differences in the treatment of the draperies from those at Ortega and Villamiel. See M. Isabel Bravo and Pedro Matesanz Vera, *Los capiteles del monasterio de Santa María la Real de Aguilar de Campóo (Palencia) en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional* (Salamanca: Caja de Ahorros, 1986), figs 54–55. On the technique and workmanship of the Silos enamel, see Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, 'L'Atelier d'orfèvrerie de Silos à l'époque romane', in *El románico en Silos*, pp. 377–87; and Constancio del Álamo, catalogue entry for *Tesoro Sagrado y Monarquía*, exh. cat., León, 2000 (in press). [Constancio del Álamo and] Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo, 'El retablo con esmaltes de Silos', *De Limoges a Silos* [ext. cat.], introd. by Joaquín Yarza Luaces (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior, 2001), pp. 298–309. Due to a printing error, the name of Constancio del Álamo does not appear. The sepulchre of Saint Vincent is studied by Werner Goldschmidt, 'El sepulcro de San Vicente en Ávila', *Archivo español de arte y arqueología*, 13 (1935), 161–70; José Manuel Pita Andrade, *La escultura románica en Castilla. Los maestros de Oviedo y Ávila* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Diego Velázquez, 1955), pp. 20–25; Margarita Vila da Vila, 'La iconografía de San Vicente y sus hermanas en el arte medieval' in *Parentesco, familia y matrimonio en la historia de Galicia* (Santiago de Compostela: Tórculo, 1989), pp. 255–70; and, most recently, by Daniel Rico in this volume.

62. See fig. 3 in the article by Leah Rutchick in this volume.

63. See *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela: A Critical Edition*, ed. by Paula Gerson, Jeanne Krochalis, Annie Shaver-Crandell, and Alison Stones, 2 vols (London: Harvey Miller, 1998), II, 36–40; and Richard Hamann and Kurt Wilhelm-Kestner, 'Der Schrein des Heiligen Aegidius', *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 6 (1931), 114–36.

64. The tomb in Parma is an altar-tomb. Its long sides display the figures of six apostles, respectively, in addition to four others alongside the martyrdom of the saints; and on the short sides is a *Maiestas Domini* accompanied by the Tetramorph and the figures of the two saints surrounded by lions. It is studied and reproduced in Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, *Benedetto Antelami* (Milan: Electa, 1990), p. 123 and figs 116–20.

65. On this sepulchre, see Sabine Komm, *Heiligengrabmäler des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich* (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1990), pp. 51–53, figs 18–20. The original tomb is preserved in situ. What is left of the sculptural decoration added in the twelfth century is in the narthex of the church.

66. This is a frequent placement within the overall context of saints' tombs, both in monumental works and in reliquary caskets. In addition to the examples presented here, the reliquary of San Millán also included a *Maiestas Domini* in the same place, if we accept the proposed reconstruction. See Julie H. Harris, 'Culto y narrativa en los marfiles de San Millán de la Cogolla', *Boletín del Museo Arqueológio Nacional*, 9 (1991), 69–85. According to this reconstruction of the ivory plaques, the long sides would include most of the hagiographic scenes; the short sides would contain another series of biographical episodes of the saint and his own death, in one case and in the other, the *Maiestas Domini*. Elsewhere in this volume, Stephen Lamia discusses an identical iconographic device for the feretory of the tomb of Edward the Confessor as it appears on fol. 30r of the *estoire de seint Aedward le rei* (see the essay by Lamia and colour pl. 3).

67. For this sepulchre, see Paul Deschamps, 'Les Inscriptions du tombeau de saint Junien et la date de ses sculptures', *Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 24 (1927–28), 193–208; and Robert Favreau and Jean Michaud, 'Les Inscriptions du tombeau de Saint Junien', in *Le Limousin. Études archeologiques. Actes du 102 Congrès national des sociétés savantes (Limoges, 1977)* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale), pp. 145–55. For a more recent study and for the tomb, see Komm, *Heiligengrabmäler*, pp. 7–15, figs 2–5. The mausoleum is decorated on three sides, but the fourth is blank because it was attached to the altar. One of its long sides contained the Virgin and Child in a mandorla surrounded by angels, flanked by the twelve Elders of the Apocalypse, seated and playing musical instruments, and arranged in superimposed rows. The opposite side depicts the remaining twelve Elders, in this case, flanking the *fenestella* of the mausoleum, under which is a *clipeus* containing the Mystic Lamb sustained by angels. The only short side that is decorated contains the *Maiestas Domini* with the usual Tetramorph.

68. Although controversial from a chronological point of view, an analysis of the Provençal tomb, which also incorporates an Epiphany on the frontal, can be found in Isabelle Maillard-Rilliet, 'Le roman du sarcophage dit de "Saint-Guilhem-Guillaume d'Orange" à Saint Guilhem-le-Désert (Herault)', *Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise*, 29 (1996),

183–230. For the Roda tomb, see Francesca Español, 'Le sépulchre de Sant Ramón de Roda', *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 30 (1998), 177–87. The frontal of the tomb is a cycle containing the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, and Epiphany. The sides depict the Flight into Egypt and a scene, perhaps relating to the originator of the sepulchre, Bishop Gaufrido, who initiated a project to write the saint's *vita* and promote the magnificence of his cult, including his tomb in the episcopal see.

69. This is the case, in France, of the tympana at Pompierre (Voges), and in the north portal of Bourges Cathedral; both are published by Gilberte Vezin in *L'Adoration et le cycle des Mages dans l'art chrétien primitif* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950), pls 26a, 26b. The Virgin and Child occupy the outer part of the Lescar capital, and behind them unfurls an elaborate draped curtain similar in composition to the one in the tympanum at Uncastillo (see notes 31, 32, and 68), and another one on a whalebone relief considered to be Spanish. For a discussion of the question, see *The Art of Medieval Spain AD 500–1200,* exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum, 1993), pp. 287–88, cat. no. 141. The star appears to the left of the spectator alongside the Magi and an angel is on the right. The capital is reproduced in Durliat and Allegre, *Pyrénées romanes*, fig. 100. At Santiago, the Christ Child is also in the frontal position, but not so directly as in Santillana or Lescar, and seems indifferent to the presence of the Magi to the left of the viewer. The star appears between them and the Virgin.

70. See Jacques Lacoste, 'La Décoration sculptée de l'église romane de Santa Maria de Uncastillo (Aragón)', *Annales du Midi*, 83 (1971), 149–72; Dulce Ocón Alonso and Paloma Rodríguez-Escudero Sánchez, 'Los Magos de Oriente, santos patrones y peregrinos a través de una portada de Santa María de Uncastillo (Zaragoza)', in *Caminos y viajes en el arte. VI Congreso Español de Historia del Arte (Santiago, 1989),* 3 vols (Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Compostela, 1989), III, 95–105. On Piasca and similar examples, see Hernando Garrido, *Escultura tardorrománica en Aguilar de Campóo*, p. 134, figs 147, 148. For the relief from La Daurade in Toulouse and its possible integration in an Epiphany that may have belonged to the door of the chapter house, see Serafín Moralejo Alvarez, 'De Sant Esteve de Tolosa a la Dourade. Notes sobre l'escultura del claustre romànic de Santa Maria de Solsona', *Quaderns d'estudis medievals*, 4 (1988), 104–19; and idem, 'La fachada de la Sala Capitular de la Dourade de Toulouse. Datos iconográficos para su reconstrucción', *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 13 (1983), 179–204.

71. For a complex overview of the anthropological components of the saint who defeats Satan, see Jacques Le Goff, 'Culture ecclésiastique et culture folklorique au Moyen Age: Saint Marcel de Paris et le Dragon', *Ricerche storiche ed economiche in memoria di Corrado Barbagallo*, ed. by L. De Rosa, 2 vols (Naples: E.S.I., 1970), II, 51–90.

72. For this tomb, see José Manuel Pita Andrade, 'El arte de Mateo en las tierras de Zamora y Salamanca', *Cuadernos de estudios Gallegos*, 8 (1953), 207–26; and more recently, Margarita Ruiz Maldonado, 'Dos obras maestras del románico de transición: la portada del obispo y el sepulcro de la Magdalena', in *Arte medieval en Zamora,* Studia Zamorensia, Anejos, 1 (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1988), pp. 39–47.

73. For a convincing discussion, see García Guinea, *El románico en Santander*, II, 396, 410–11.

74. Reproduced in ibid., II, fig. 397.

75. Transcribed and reproduced in ibid., II, 406, fig. 431.

76. Escagedo, *Colección diplomática*, II, 132–34.

77. Ibid., I, 97–98.

78. On this abbot, see García Guinea, *El románico en Santander*, II, 142–44. This is reflected in the *Martirologio o kalendario antiguo de la iglesia de Burgos* (Archivo capitular, Catedral de Burgos, vol. 73), which we consulted using the copy in Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, MS 9/5393, which is marked: 'Copiase para uso de Rmo. P. Florez', fol. 10v: 'Notum sit quod Rodericus Petri Abbas S. Juliane fecit festum translationis sancte Juliane cum II. capis et dat ii. mar. In caritate et posuit in hereditate sati Andre'. Fol. 43v: 'Notum sit quod Rodericus Petri abbas sancte Juliane cum duabus capis et habeant duos aureos in caritate in hereditate sancte andree'.

79. Gerson *et alia*, *The Pilgrim's Guide*, II, 48.

80. Marcel Aubert, 'L'Église Saint-Front', in *Congrès Archéologique de France. Xe. Session. (Périgeux, 1927)* (Paris: Société Française d'Archéologie, 1928), p. 53, n. 3.

81. On this tomb, see Neil Stratford, 'Le Mausolée de Saint Lazare à Autun', in *Le Tombeau de Saint Lazare* (Autun: Ville d'Autun, 1985), pp. 11–38.

82. See note 61.

Civic Promoters of Celestial Protectors: The *Arca di San Donato* at Arezzo and the Crisis of the Saint's Tomb around 1400

ULRICH PFISTERER

On 15 March 1478, Giovanni Antonio Piatti, the Milanese sculptor acclaimed as the new Praxiteles, Polykleitos, and Phidias of his time,[1] was commissioned by the abbot of the Benedictine monastery of San Lorenzo in Cremona to design and construct a new marble shrine for the monks' prized relics—the bones of the four 'Holy Persian Martyrs'. The contract specified that the shrine was to be made

> eiusdem bonitatis et in ita laudabili forma, in ea de qua sunt figure sculpte ad Archas Sanctorum Augustini confessoris in Castro Civitatis Papie, et Sancti Petri Martiris in Civitate Mediolani et Sancti Dominici in Civitate Bononie

that is, on the model of the tombs of Saint Augustine in Pavia, Saint Peter Martyr in Milan, and Saint Dominic in Bologna (commonly known as the *Arca di San Domenico*).[2] Indeed, it was not uncommon for fifteenth-century contracts to refer to works already in existence as a sort of quality control. In Piatti's case, however, the sculptor was required to follow a group of examples, the oldest of which—the 1267 *Arca di San Domenico*—had been completed more than two centuries earlier. This unusual retrospection resulted from the distinctive status of the model in question: Nicola Pisano's *Arca di San Domenico* was known to have introduced a new type of saint's tomb, one raised on columns and ornamented with reliefs showing scenes from the saint's life.[3] Over the next two centuries, this form became somewhat of a template, a standard invested with tradition and meaning. Piatti's return to it, in fact, seems to continue a tendency already evident in the fourteenth century. We know, for instance, that the decision of the Dominican general chapter of 1335 to erect a new tomb for Saint Peter Martyr also insisted that its artist base his work on the *Arca di San Domenico*.[4] The result, signed and dated 1339 by the Pisan sculptor Giovanni di Balduccio, seems not merely to imitate, but to improve upon and even outdo the prototype. This might remind us of the precise demands made in the contract for the Persian Martyrs: 'potius melioris bonitatis quam deterioris'. And what is true for these two examples also seems to be true for countless others. All pursued a strategy of emulation, a strategy motivated most often by competition between orders, cities, or donors.[5]

It might be said that Piatti's strategy was itself anticipated in the *Arca di San Domenico* for it was not only the imitator who, in the eyes of his contemporaries, rivalled ancient sculptors. Pisano's *arca* itself had been compared with ancient Roman triumphal arches and commemorative columns.[6] His innovative design for a saint's tomb, with its supporting columns and narrative reliefs, was understood from the outset as a revisitation, or an updated interpretation, of ancient Classical monuments—that is to say, a triumphant Christian memorial for a saint. Significantly, the burial of saints in ancient sarcophagi, previously a frequent practice in the Middle Ages, virtually came to an end with the appearance of this new tomb type in 1267.[7]

Together, tombs like those by Piatti and Balduccio, among others, illustrate what seems to

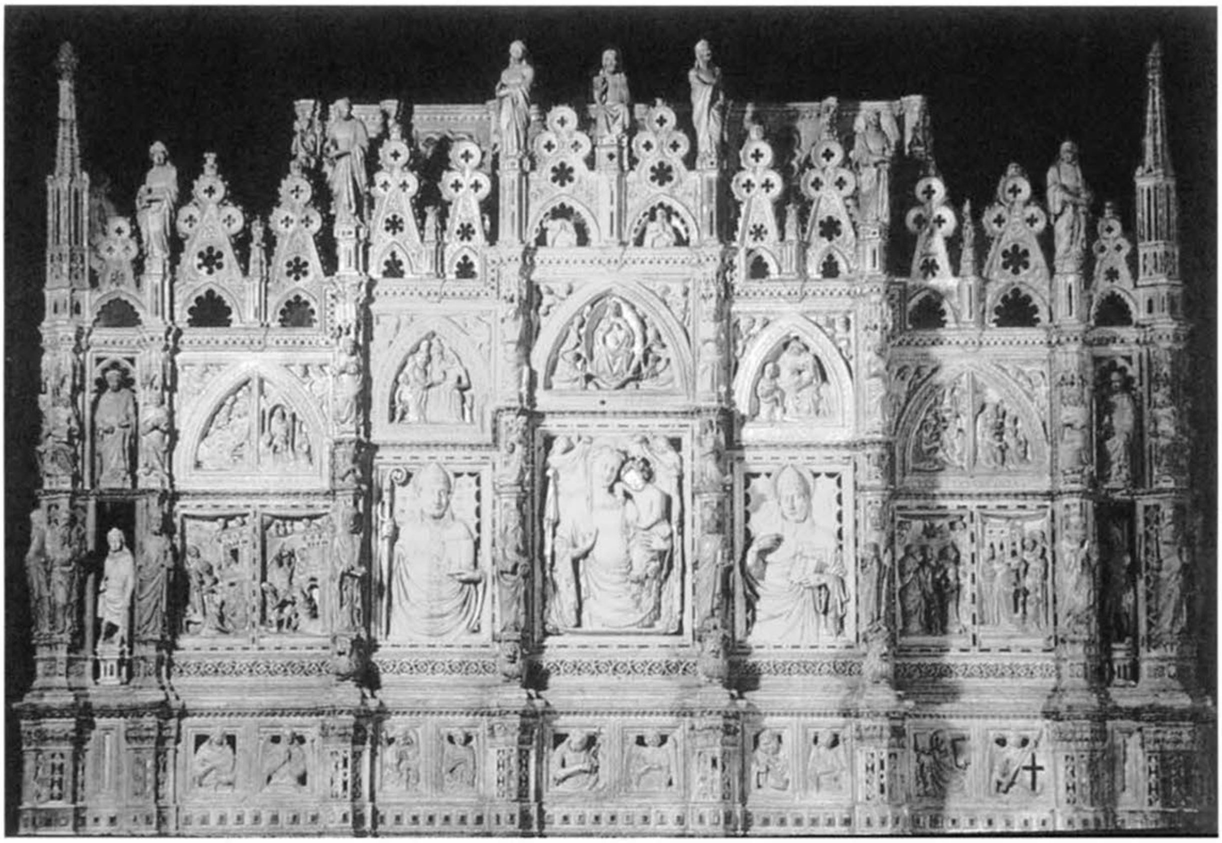


Fig. 1. *Arca di San Donato*, front. Arezzo, cathedral, after 1362–*c.* 1375 (photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence)

be a continuous development in the design of saints' tombs from the appearance of the *Arca di San Domenico* to the beginning of the Reformation in the early sixteenth century—all, directly or indirectly, in response to Nicola Pisano's archetype.[8] The impression of 'emulative continuity', however, does not tell the complete story: there is also a striking and previously unexplained interruption in this series of monuments. A survey, undertaken here for the first time, of 94 tombs erected in northern and central Italy between 1267 and *c.* 1524/25 reveals that some 36 monuments originated in the first 120 years of this period, and another 53 in the last 80 years (see Appendix). In the 50 to 60 year interval, however (that is, from *c.* 1380 to 1430/40) a crisis in the development of the saint's tomb seems to have occurred. In these years, with five (mostly provincial) exceptions,[9] all those funerary monuments that do appear are 'simple' tomb forms—wooden sarcophagi, frescoed epitaphs, or plain slabs.[10] Even allowing a margin of error for the statistics (later renovations often destroyed all traces of numerous tombs, and I surely have not catalogued every example), the hiatus around 1400 remains to be explained.

The aim of this article is twofold: first, to discuss one of the last and greatest of the saints' monuments that appeared before the onset of this 'crisis', the *Arca di San Donato*, begun after 1362 in Arezzo Cathedral; second, to examine more closely the interruption in the construction of saints' tombs that occurred between *c.* 1380 and 1430/40.

The Arca di San Donato in Arezzo

When the Aretines completed the reconstruction of their cathedral in the late thirteenth century, they reserved the place of honour, the space behind the altar, for the shrine containing the body of Saint Donatus (figs 1–3).[11] Donatus, the second Bishop of Arezzo, who was martyred according to legend in 362, had become the city's patron saint.[12] His tomb-monument was built in two phases. The actual altar block, with its blind arcade of pointed arches and figures of saints on the reverse, should probably be dated around 1289, since, by this date, masses were already being celebrated in the

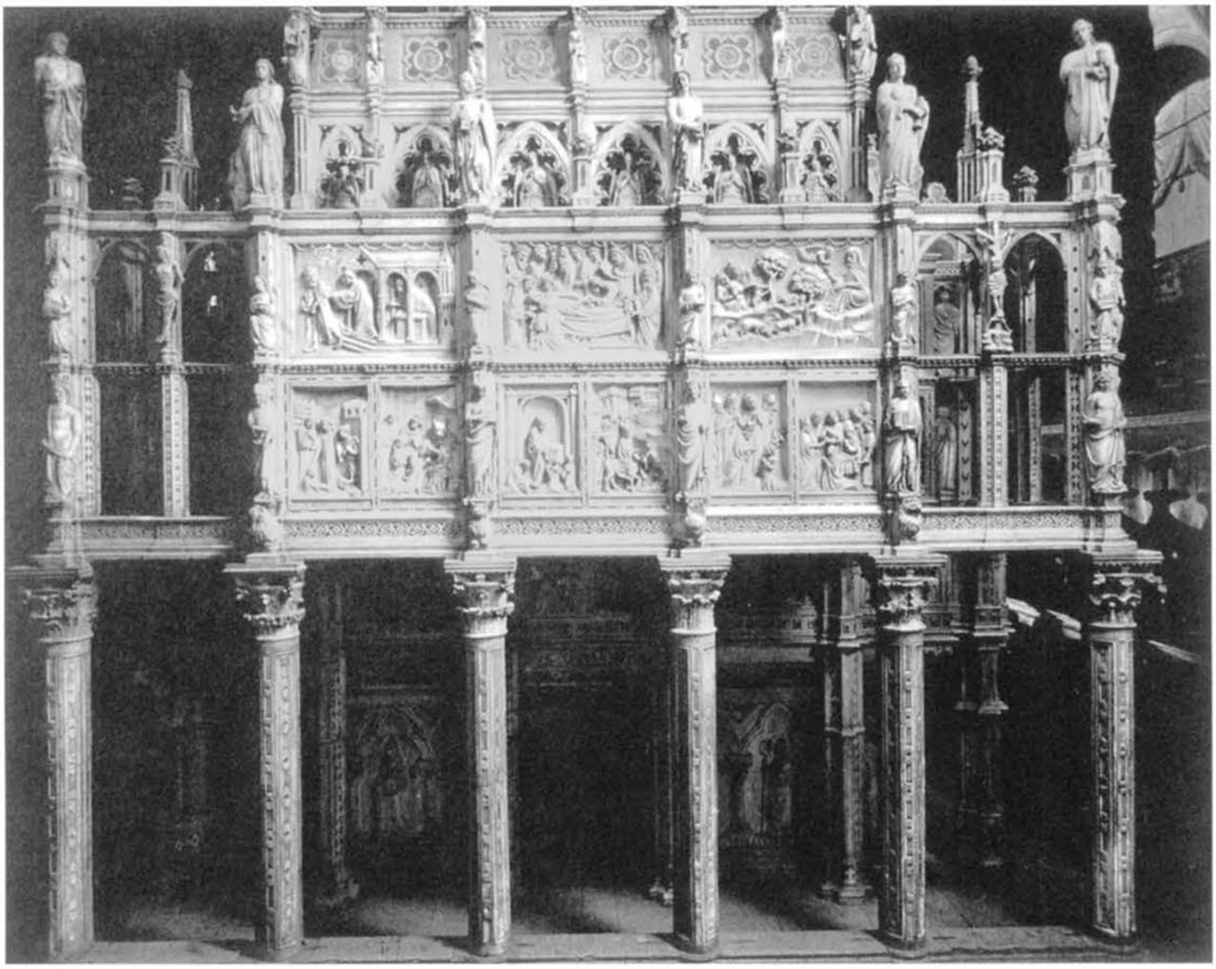
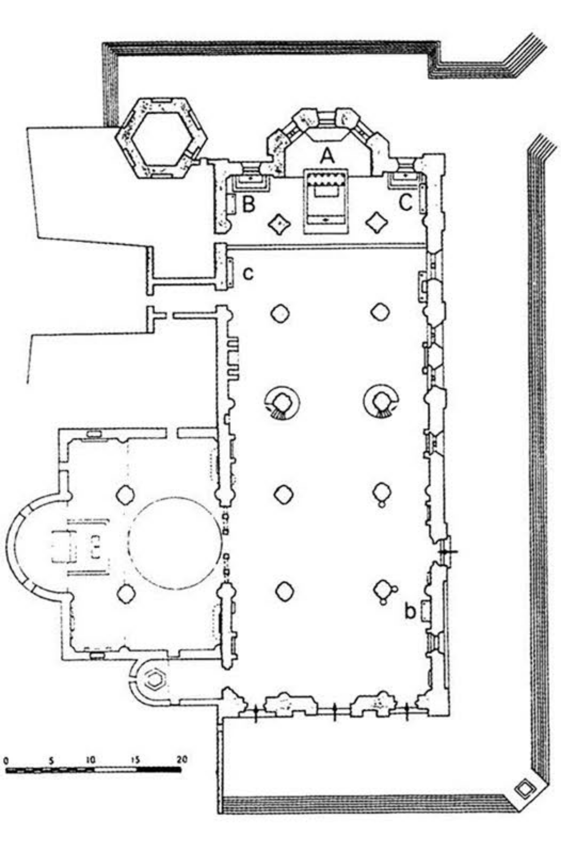


Fig. 2. *Arca di San Donato*, rear. Arezzo, cathedral, after 1362–*c.* 1375 (photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence)



cathedral's presbytery.[13] The original cult seems to have required an open passage behind the altar, as its construction indicates. On either side of this space, two rows of saints were arranged: Saints Peter, Donatus, and Lucilla (?) to the right; and Saints Paul, Gregory X, and Flora (?) to the left. The faithful must have, in all likelihood, approached the back of the altar on their knees, that is, with the small statues of saints at eye-level, in order to view and contemplate the relics found there.[14]

After 1362, this altar block was covered with a hybrid structure that superimposed an altarpiece upon a reliquary shrine. Of the group of

Fig. 3. Ground plan of Arezzo Cathedral, indicating the locations for the *Arca di San Donato* (A) and the tombs of Pope Gregory X (B: original location, b: location after 1810) and Bishop Guido Tarlati (C: original location, c: location after the late eighteenth century)
(drawing: author and Michael Pfisterer)

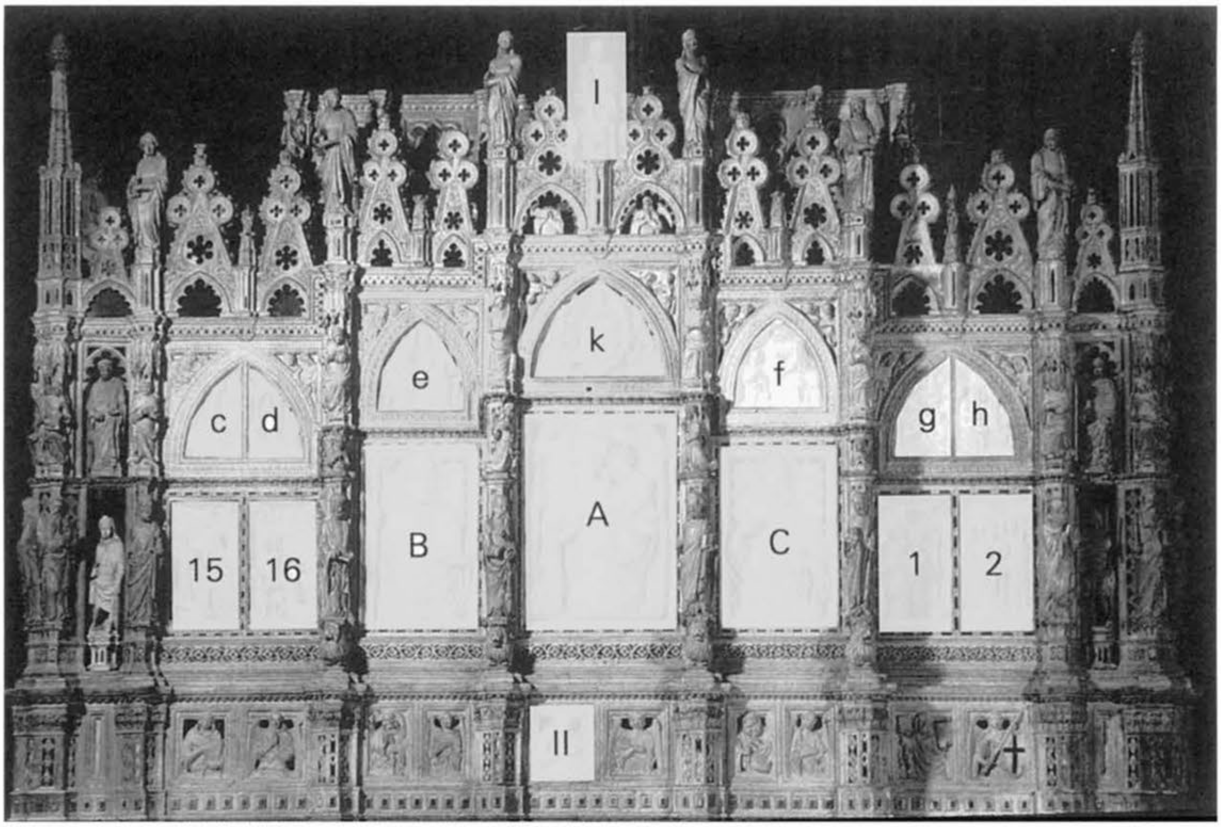


Fig. 4. Iconographic scheme of the *Arca di San Donato*, front.
A Madonna and Child, **B** St Donatus, **C** St Gregory X, **I** Blessing Christ, **II** Saint John the Baptist, **c** Birth of the Virgin, **d** Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, **e** Marriage of the Virgin, **f** Annunciation, **g** Nativity, **h** Adoration of the Magi, **k** Assumption of the Virgin, **1** Baptism of Donatus, **2** Donatus Meets the Monk Hilarius, **15** Donatus Preaching in the Prison, **16** Decapitation of Donatus (graphics: author and Michael Pfisterer)

sculptors who executed this, the names of Giovanni di Francesco da Arezzo and Betto di Francesco da Firenze are recorded.[15] Unfortunately, the sources give no further information about this alteration, so that a discussion about it must rely on visual evidence alone. Noting the numerous ways in which strategies of emulation are pursued best elucidates this evidence. The tomb in Arezzo aimed not only to exceed every comparable saint's tomb in the area, but also—through its sculptural richness, opulent ornament, and distinctive iconography—to compete with the increasingly popular, ever more magnificent lay tombs. Some of these were also being erected behind high altars, even as free-standing monuments on supports emulating a typology formerly reserved for saints.[16] Of special note is the front side of the altarretable, which shows the Madonna and Child flanked by the civic patrons Donatus and Gregory; it utilizes a support apparatus adopted from the so-called buttressed altarpiece, a form most likely introduced first by Duccio in his much admired high altar for Siena Cathedral.[17] The technique of the mosaic-inset marble frame seems to have been inspired by the newest Florentine fashion as seen in Orcagna's tabernacle in Orsanmichele, which, by the way, also heavily influenced the composition of the reliefs with the Life of the Virgin.[18] The combination of altarpiece (albeit in painted form) and saint's shrine likewise appears in earlier works devoted to Tuscan civic patrons.[19]

The programme of the *arca's* imagery is equally competitive (figs 4, 5). With the eleven scenes depicting the Life of the Virgin, the two *imagines pietatis*, the personifications of the Theological and Cardinal Virtues, and the panels representing the Life of Saint Donatus, it unites, so to speak, the programme of a Marian altarpiece with the canonical iconography of the saint's tomb, that is, the formula utilized since Nicola Pisano's Bolognese monument for Saint Dominic. No other saint's tomb in central Italy, however, includes a narrative so elaborately extensive as that of the Arezzo tomb, where, in

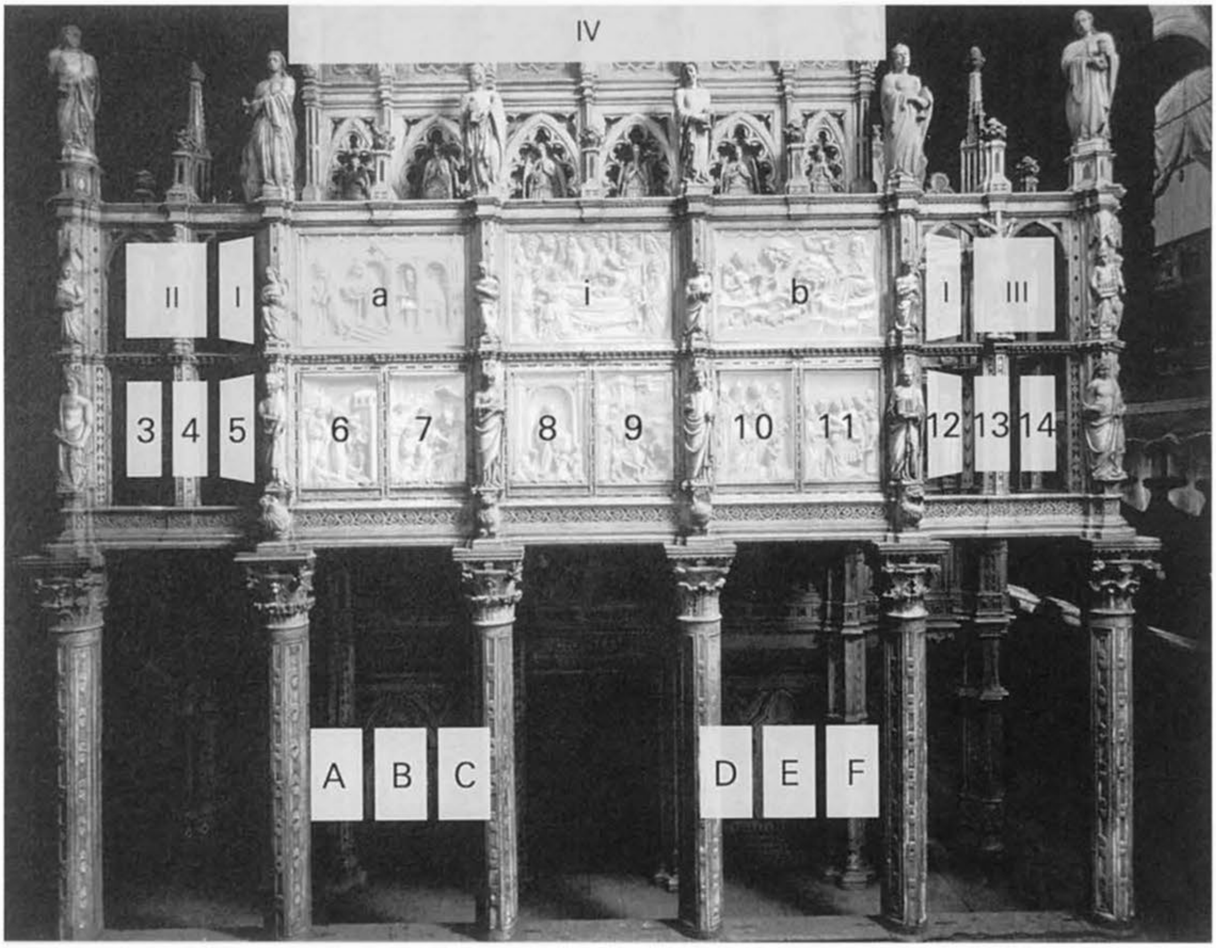


Fig. 5. Iconographic scheme of the *Arca di San Donato*, rear.
A St Flora (?), **B** St Gregory X, **C** St Peter, **D** St Paul, **E** St Donatus, **F** St Lucilla (?), **I** *Imago Pietatis*, **II** Resurrection of Souls at the Last Judgement and Hell, **III** Resurrection of Christ and Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin, **IV** Theological / Cardinal Virtue (on the lateral sides: Liberal Arts), **a** Expulsion of Joachim from the Temple, **b** An Angel Speaks to Joachim in the Wilderness, **i** Death of the Virgin, **3** Donatus Cures the Blind Siranna, **4** Donatus Exorcises Asterius, Son of the Roman Prefect, **5** Donatus Baptizes Siranna, **6** Eufrosina Is Resurrected by Donatus, **7** The Pope Installs Donatus as Bishop of Arezzo, **8** Miracle of the Chalice, **9** Miracle of the Dragon, **10** Donatus Exorcises Antilia, Daughter of the Emperor Theodosius, **11** A Dead Man is Resurrected by Donatus, **12** Donatus Provokes a Miraculous Rain, **13** Donatus Consecrates the First Cathedral of Arezzo, **14** Donatus Is Interrogated by Quadrazianus (graphics: author and Michael Pfisterer)

addition to six purely biographical scenes like Donatus' baptism and martyrdom, ten miracles performed by him are represented—interestingly, no posthumous, more recent interventions of the saint are recorded.[20] The only comparable monument, the roughly contemporary tomb of Saint Augustine in Pavia, also appeared in a competitive milieu.[21] In Arezzo, however, the *vita* reliefs had to surpass not only those embellishing other saints' tombs, but also the ones for the tomb of Bishop Guido Tarlati, built in 1330 in the chapel immediately adjacent to the high altar. Previously, it must have been this tomb that, through its sculptural richness, attracted a great deal of attention. Tarlati, the city's powerful bishop and ruler, had had the most important events in his life portrayed on his tomb in a series of sixteen reliefs, thus creating, simultaneously, a liturgical and secular monument (fig. 6).[22] Saint Donatus's tomb did not trump this profane, elaborate monument by increasing the number of narrative scenes it included. Instead, by incorporating the many miracle scenes attributed to Saint Donatus, the *arca*'s hagiographic identity underscored the difference between a tomb for the holy dead and a tomb for a non-canonized person. Moreover, it used the *arca* itself to visualize the Heavenly Jerusalem, thereby implying that the saint was already an inhabitant of the *civitas Dei*. For contemporary viewers, this association between the *arca* and the Heavenly Jerusalem would have

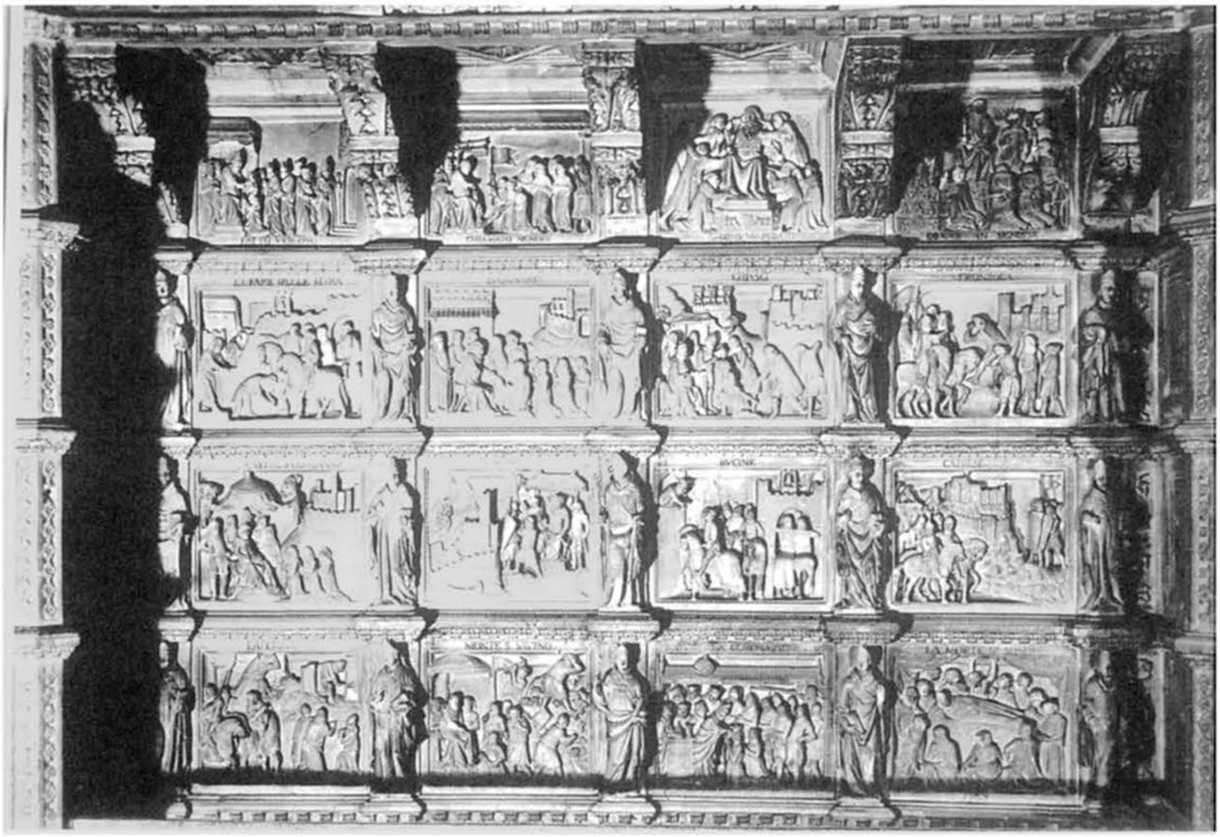


Fig. 6. Agostino di Giovanni and Agnolo di Ventura, tomb of Bishop Guido Tarlati (detail). Arezzo, cathedral, 1327–30 (photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence)

been a familiar one: a sermon on Saint Donatus by Peter Damian, whose writings on Church reform were well known in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, had described the blessed bishop's fervent faith metaphorically as the 'walls of a shining town fortress' and Donatus himself as the 'building block' of a heavenly city.[23] This traditional characterization of the saints as *lapides vivi* was, in fact, still widely current by the late Trecento. Petrus de Natalibus, for one, recalled this metaphor explicitly in the introduction to his roughly contemporary *Catalogus Sanctorum*: 'The uncreated Wisdom of the Divine Word [...] built itself the house of the most holy Church [...] not with hewn stones or handmade walls, but rather invisibly, out of the merits of the saints'.[24] Related to this comparison was another metaphor, the idea that the Heavenly Jerusalem outshone all the marble works and all known mosaics created by the ancients.[25] This association between the Heavenly Jerusalem and artistic media, in turn, was visually reinforced by the framework of the *arca* itself, for, like the celestial city, its diminutive architectural border is also surrounded by angels. The relief showing the resurrection of souls at the sound of angels blaring trumpets during the Last Judgment (fig. 7), makes it probable that Peter Damian's sermon influenced the designers of the programme for this tomb. In point of fact, Damian had described the very same musical instruments as heralding Saint Donatus.[26] Thus, the unique presence on the *arca* of the episode of the Last Judgment with its significant inclusion of trumpets visually invokes the holy bishop as an intercessor during this crucial moment in the salvation of the souls of the departed. Naturally, everyone hoped for the intercession of the saints at the end of time; tellingly, however, the event was not represented on any other fourteenth-century saint's tomb.[27] Concomitantly, the *arca* in the choir of the cathedral must have appeared to the faithful as a prospective symbol of the *civitas Dei*, which would, together with the Last Judgment, come about at the end of time. At its gates, the patron saint of Arezzo, Donatus, would intercede on behalf of the citizens of this commune.

The *Arca di San Donato* was erected after 1362, the same year in which the remains of the saint were rediscovered in the cathedral. Their discovery put an end to a long dispute over the

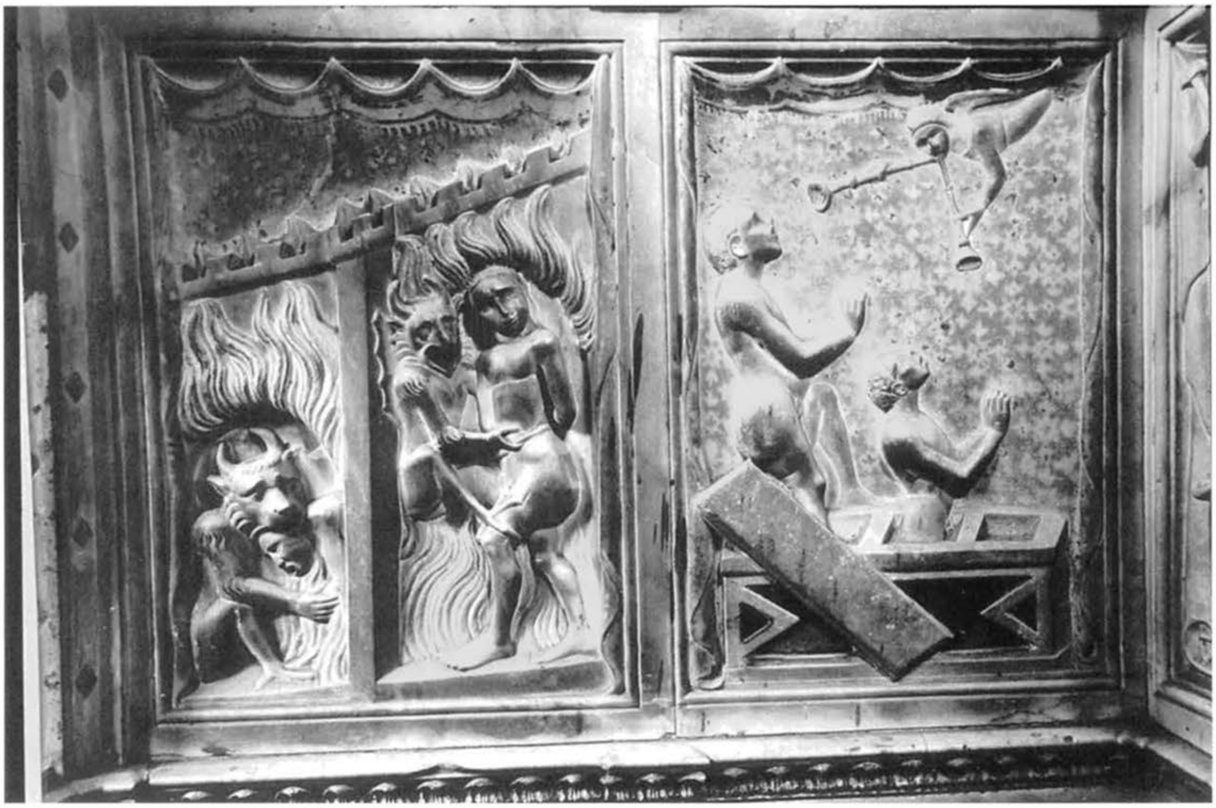


Fig. 7. Resurrection of Souls at the Last Judgment, detail of the *Arca di San Donato*, after 1362–*c.* 1375 (photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence)

saint's true burial place between the canons of the cathedral and the rival clerics of the Pieve, who had earlier defended their claim with the evidence of a head reliquary.[28] Yet as the private contributions made by the populace demonstrate, the tomb did not originate simply as a result of an argument between competing clergymen.[29] It was understood by both the city's inhabitants and by others to be an integral focal point of civic identity. This civic character of the shrine, moreover, was reinforced by the presence of yet another *persona sancta*. Sometime before 1327, the body of Gregory X, a sainted pope (d.1276), who rendered outstanding service in the rebuilding of Arezzo Cathedral, was provided with a tomb in the left chancel, on the opposite side of Tarlati's monument (figs 3, 8).[30] Gregory X was first mentioned in 1327 in official documents as the cathedral's second patron saint. This multiplication of tombs reflects a larger phenomenon thoroughly discussed by André Vauchez: the striving of central Italian cities in the late Middle Ages to acquire and adopt additional, more recently deceased patrons as celestial advocates.[31]

The relics of the two patrons guaranteed the protection and the cohesion of the city.[32] In the

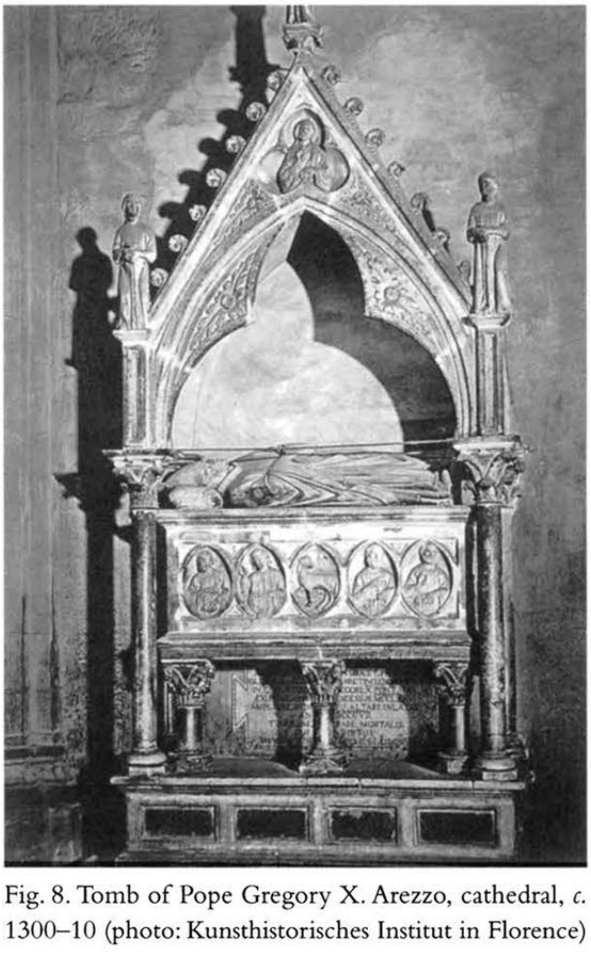


Fig. 8. Tomb of Pope Gregory X. Arezzo, cathedral, *c.* 1300–10 (photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence)

early 1360s, as disputes between Guelphs and Ghibellines reached a new high point, and as Florence increasingly asserted its claims to political hegemony over Arezzo, this protection and civic unity were urgently needed. A few years earlier, radical Guelphs had chopped off the heads of all sixteen portrayals of the Ghibelline bishop Tarlati, and probably of his predecessors in the episcopate, on his tomb in the cathedral (the current heads are an eighteenth-century restoration). The new tomb of the city's patron would serve, in contrast to the vandalized monument, as a unifying symbol and an embodiment of *civitas*. During 1384–86, when Arezzo was in the midst of being plundered by foreign soldiers, it seemed to one contemporary that the final sign of indignity was the desecration of the relics of Saint Donatus.[33]

The Crisis of the Saint's Tomb around 1400

How might we now begin to account for the fact that, with the *Arca di San Donato* in central Italy and, analogously, with the tomb of Saint Augustine in north Italy, the building of monumental saints' tombs came to an almost abrupt end? The hybrid form of both of these saints' tombs already suggests a sort of exhaustion of possibilities. The strategies used in the *Arca di San Donato* of emulating recent precedents could no longer be escalated; the differences between sumptuous secular monuments and those for saints had become too blurred. Formal reasons alone, however, can hardly account for the whole phenomenon, which lasted half a century and which prevailed in all of north and central Italy. A number of additional factors must also be considered.

The crisis of the saint's tomb coincides with a crisis of the institution of the commune itself. In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, a number of smaller city-states lost their political independence, and early forms of territorial states took shape in their place.[34] With the disappearance of civic autonomy, the need to erect publicly financed saints' tombs as foci for shared religious identity and protection apparently disappeared as well. Even when there was no apparent decrease in devotion or spending, resources were redirected towards other forms of veneration.[35] It is telling that the *Arca di San Donato* appeared during the last years of Arezzo's independence. It was built after the first, unsuccessful, attempt by Florence to conquer the city, but before the city's final subjugation in 1384. The commune-crisis theory, of course, fails to explain why neither the large new centralized states, nor the religious orders unaffected by the new political and military developments, ceased to venerate their patrons with traditional monuments.

The conditions of the time, such as the economic collapse after the plague, political chaos, and the crisis of faith during the Great Schism,[36] must also have been decisive, if only in some of the areas that manifest an interruption in the building of saints' tombs. This appears to have been the case, for example, in Rome, where new tombs only began to appear between 1430 and 1440, as part of a general renovation of the city under Popes Martin V, Eugenius IV, and Nicolas V.[37] We might compare the spirit of this enterprise to that described in the preface to Antonio degli Agli's near contemporary *Vitae gestaque sanctorum*, which credits the popes' renovation for his own interest in collecting scattered saints' lives, the earliest surviving humanist undertaking of its kind.[38]

Surprisingly, the intense honour accorded to saints actually seems, on the whole, to have increased in the late fourteenth century. What differentiates this devotional intensity from that of other centuries, however, is that the official presentation of sanctity and the devotion of the masses parted ways. A mere six persons were canonized in the fourteenth century, and of those, none corresponded to the newly popular type of the ascetic-mystic layperson—what Richard Kieckhefer describes as the 'unquiet soul'.[39] Only with the acceptance of Catherine of Siena's sainthood would the official position of the Church change. Furthermore, the Church's critical viewpoint regarding ascetics and mystics was bolstered by such contemporary intellectuals as Giovanni Boccaccio and Franco Sacchetti, who sharply condemned, even mocked, some of the popular forms of attention paid to obscure, local saints.[40] The ecclesiastical rejection of the popular saint-type and the even more strident criticism of these forms of devotion contributed to the same end: for the 'new local saints', no large, official tomb monuments were erected. Although, even in the first half of the fourteenth century, congregations had built tombs with hopes for the quick canonization of their occupants, and although popular religious movements continued to seek 'worthy resting places' for their holy heroes, demands for such honourable collocations were answered in the decades around 1400 only with altarpieces, frescoes, wooden shrines, and the like.[41]

Finally, religious aspirations of the period around 1400 were characterized by the search for an undiluted *ecclesia primitiva,* in an attempt to follow the examples of the apostles, the first Christian congregations, and the famous mystics of the High Middle Ages.[42] In some respects, this pursuit conformed to the early humanists' 'rediscovery' of the church fathers, with their new interest in Early Christian monuments, and with the demand for a *sancta rusticitas,* or 'holy simplicity'.[43] Given the ideal of an *ecclesia primitiva,* a postulate of simplicity, and an orientation towards Early Christianity, relatively modest shrine forms for sacred bones must have seemed far more fitting than the previously used and much more decorative sarcophagi, which, following the example of the *Arca di San Domenico,* vied with ancient pagan monuments and with each other.

This constellation of circumstances also helps to explain the exceptional situation in Florence, where, in the later Middle Ages, no single large monument for any saint's tomb seems to have been constructed. Only in 1409, with the advancement of the rebuilding of the cathedral, did Florentines respond to the monuments for civic saints that other Tuscan cities boasted, deciding then and there to build a marble tomb for Saint Zenobius in a chapel of the cathedral's apse. Not until 1428, moreover, were any specific plans underway for an altar and a bronze or marble shrine, on which the *gisant* of the saint was to be visible. Five years later, the entire original project was scrapped in favour of something wholly different, namely the bronze shrine for the head of the saint executed by Lorenzo Ghiberti and a reliquary-altar for the bones designed by Filippo Brunelleschi.[44] Previously, Ghiberti had completed a similar shrine for Saints Proto, Hyacinth, and Nemesius—albeit, in this case, for their entire bodies. Of this, we know not only the format of its original setting, in a sort of arcosolium in the wall of the monks' choir, but also the name of its *spiritus rector*—the Camaldolese abbot Ambrogio Traversari, known for being one of the main protagonists of the 'patristic revival'.[45] The shrine form is not the only feature of these works to return to its presumably ancient models. The inscription, which designates the tomb as a *loculus,* also alludes explicitly to Late Antique and Early Christian funerary customs. Incidentally, the new arcosolium form of these tombs was immediately adapted for secular monuments, and the competitive endeavours refuelled once again the fabrication of ever more elaborate monuments.[46]

To sum up, in the late fourteenth century, with the competitive, aggressive building campaigns to construct saints' tombs, and with the appearance of ever more elaborate secular tomb-monuments, the formal possibilities that such escalation demanded reached their culmination. The attempt by cities and orders to promote their own saints and celestial protectors through lavishly decorated tombs had finally precipitated a 'crisis' in the decades around 1400. Neither the political decline of the communes nor their economic situations, and neither the restrictive politics of canonization by the Church nor the increasing criticism of popular forms of devotion, permitted the erection of elaborate monuments for the countless, but for the most part officially unrecognized, local saints. When holy bones were to be newly presented, communities turned, in accordance with the ideals of an *ecclesia primitiva,* to simpler forms. In the humanistic climate of early fifteenth-century Florence, it was ostensibly Early Christian models, such as the shrine in a *loculus,* that were revived.

In the second half of the fifteenth century, especially in northern Italy, the emulative impulse in saint's tombs began anew. Relics were once again buried in free-standing sarcophagi decorated with reliefs and columns.[47] Additionally, as before, visual parallels were drawn between several contemporary sacred and secular tomb-monuments.[48] Only after sweeping Church reforms in the middle of the sixteenth century does the horizon of expectations seem to have changed fundamentally. Only then, finally and exclusively, does the 'archaic form' of the *arca* raised upon supporting columns—which thus seems both metaphorically and visibly to lift the meritorious body of the holy dead to heaven—denote an unmistakable sign of sainthood.[49]

APPENDIX

Monumental tombs (marble, bronze, or terracotta) of saints in northern and central Italy, *c.* 1267–1525

TOMBS	LOCATION	DATE
S. Agatha	Verona, Cathedral	1353
B. Osanna Andreasi	formerly Mantua, S. Domenico	*c.* 1505
S. Aniello	Lucca, Cathedral	1416
S. Ansovino	Camerino, Cathedral	*c.* 1390–1418
S. Antonio	Padua, The Santo	1263, 1310, 1350, 1470, 1500–34
SS. Apollonio and Filastio	Brescia, Duomo Nuovo	*c.* 1504–10
S. Arealdo	Cremona, Cathedral	1484
S. Atto	Pistoia, Cathedral	1337 sqq.
S. Agostino	Pavia, S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro	*c.* 1355–*c.* 1383
SS. Avertano and Romeo	Lucca, Oratorio della Madonnina	1480s
S. Bartolo	S. Gimignano, S. Agostino	1317, 1492–1500
B. Benedetto XI	Perugia, S. Domenico	1324/25
B. Bernardino da Feltre	Pavia, S. Giacomo fuori le mura	1496
S. Bernardino da Siena	L'Aquila, S. Bernardino	1505
B. Bernardo degli Uberti	Parma, Cathedral	after 1439, 1519–48
B. Bertrando	Udine, Baptistery	*c.* 1340–50
S. Boccardo	Berceto, S. Moderanno	1355
B. Bovo	Voghera, S. Bovo	after 1469
SS. Quattuor Canziani	Aquileia, Cathedral	*c.* 1330
S. Catherina da Siena	Rome, S. Maria sopra Minerva	1380, 1430
S. Celestino	L'Aquila, S. Maria di Collemaggio	1517
S. Cerbone	Massa Marittima, Cathedral	1324
S. Colombano	Bobbio, Cathedral	1480
S. Cristina	Bolsena, S. Cristina	*c.* 1495
S. Pietro Damiano	formerly Faenza, S. Maria fuori porta	1354
S. Domenico	Bologna, S. Domenico	1265–67, 1469–73, 1494, 1532
S. Donato	Arezzo, Cathedral	after 1362
S. Donnino	Fidenza, Cathedral	1488
S. Emiliano	Faenza, Cathedral	*c.* 1462
B. Enrico da Bolzano	Treviso, Cathedral	1316 (?)
S. Eutichio	Como, S. Giorgio in Borgonuovo	mid-fifteenth century
S. Evasio	Casale Monferrato, Cathedral	*c.* 1525
S. Felice II	Padua, Santo	1503/04
B. Gabriele Ferretti	Ancona, S. Francesco ad Alto	1489 (?)
S. Fina	S. Gimignano, Collegiata	1472 sqq.
S. Geminiano	Modena, Cathedral	1442
S. Giannelli	S. Ciriaco	*c.* 1509
B. Giovanni di Cagli	Cagli, S. Francesco	1372
B. Giovanni da Fiesole (Fra Angelico)	Rome, S. Maria sopra Minerva	late fifteenth century
S. Girolamo	formerly Rome, S. Maria Maggiore	1461–64
S. Giustina	formerly Padua, S. Giustina	*c.* 1475
B. Gregorio X	Arezzo, Cathedral	early fourteenth century

TOMBS	LOCATION	DATE
S. Imerio	Cremona, Cathedral	1479–82
S. Isidoro	Venice, S. Marco	*c.* 1350–55
S. Lanfranco	Pavia, S. Lanfranco	1498
B. Luca Belludi	Padua, Santo	*c.* 1285, 1382
S. Luca	Padua, S. Giustina	*c.* 1316
SS. Marcellino and Pietro	formerly Cremona, S. Tommaso	1506 sqq.
B. Marcolino	formerly Forlì, S. Giacomo	1458
B. Margherita da Cortona	Cortona, S. Margherita	*c.* 1320
B. Margherita di Lussemburgo	formerly Genova, S. Francesco di Castelletto	1313 sqq.
B. Michelina	Pesaro, S. Francesco	1356/59
S. Monica	Rome, S. Agostino	1455
S. Mustiola	Chiusi, Cathedral	1474
B. Nazzario	Capodistria, Cathedral	before 1381
S. Nicola da Tolentino	Tolentino, S. Nicola	1474
B. Oderico Mattiuzzi da Pordenone	Udine, S. Maria della Carmine	1332
S. Ottaviano	formerly Volterra, Cathedral (?)	*c.* 1320, 1522
B. Pacifico	Venice, S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari	*c.* 1437
S. Pellegrino	S. Pellegrino in Alpe	*c.* 1474–84
SS. Martiri Persiani	Cremona, Cathedral	1478–84
S. Pietro Martire	Milan, S. Eustorgio	1339
B. Pier Pettinaio	formerly Siena, S. Francesco	1289 sqq.
B. Gioacchino Piccolomini	formerly Siena, S. Maria dei Servi	*c.* 1320
B. Lorenzo Pisano di Ripafratta	Pistoia, S. Domencio	1457/58
SS. Proto, Giacinto, and Nemesio	formerly Florence, S. Maria degli Angeli	1425–28
S. Ranieri	Pisa, Camposanto	*c.* 1300–06, 1451–52
S. Regolo	Lucca, S. Martino	*c.* 1485
S. Rocco	Venice, S. Rocco	1516–24
S. Romano	Lucca, S. Romano	*c.* 1490
S. Rufillo	formerly Forlì, S. Giacomo	before 1362
B. Beatrice Rusca	Milan, S. Angelo	1499
B. Giacomo Salomoni	formerly Forlì, S. Giacomo	1340 sqq.
B. Ambrogio Sansedoni	formerly Siena, S. Domencio	1287 sqq.
S. Savino	Faenza, Cathedral	1474 sqq.
S. Sigismondo	Imola, S. Maria della Regola	1372/75
S. Silao	formerly Lucca, S. Giustina	late fifteenth century
S. Simeon	Venice, S. Simeon Profeta	1317
B. Simona dei Cantulli	Parma, Cathedral	*c.* 1476
SS. Simeone, Giuda, and Saturnino	Verona, S. Giovanni in Valle	1395/96
S. Terenzio	formerly Faenza, S. Renzio	1461/62
S. Terenzo	S. Terenzo, S. Terenzo Monti	1525
SS. Teonesto, Tabra, and Tabrata	Treviso, Cathedral	1485–1506
S. Tiziano	Brescia, SS. Cosma e Damiano	1505
S. Venanzio	Camerino, S. Venanzio	*c.* 1400
S. Vittore	Volterra, now Museo d'Arte Sacra	*c.* 1325
SS. Quattuor Vergini	Aquileia, Cathedral	1330
B. Villana	Florence, S. Maria Novella	*c.* 1451
SS. Vittore and Corona	Feltre, Santuario di SS. Vittore e Corona	1438–40
S. Zenobio	formerly Florence, Cathedral	1432–40
Anonymous saint	Volterra, now Museo d'Arte Sacra	*c.* 1331

NOTES

This essay represents part of a larger project on 'Body and Image of the Saints in the Italian Renaissance'. I would like to thank Stephen Lamia and Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo for the invitation to Leeds, and Michael Cole for illuminating discussions and the translation.

1. See the *encomium* in Piattino Piatti, *Epigrammi Elegiaeque* (Milan: Alexander Minutianus, 1502), p. 52; on this, see Giovanni Agosti, 'Scrittori che parlano di artisti, tra Quattro e Cinquecento in Lombardia', in *Quattro pezzi lombardi (per Maria Teresa Binaghi)*, ed. by Barbara Agosti *at alia* (Brescia: Edizioni L'Obliquo, 1998), pp. 39–93 (esp. pp. 62–65, n. 62).

2. After the death of Piatti in 1479 the *arca* for the 'Persian Martyrs' was completed by G. A. Amadeo; it was dismantled in the nineteenth century. See Marco Tanzi, 'Novità per l'*Arca dei Martiri Persiani*', *Prospettiva*, 63 (1991), 50–62; and idem, 'Piatti, Amadeo e l'*Arca dei Martiri Persiani*', in *Giovanni Antonio Amadeo*, ed. by Janice Shell and Liana Castelfranchi (Milan: Cisalpino, 1993), pp. 175–88.

3. Anita Fiderer Moskowitz, *Nicola Pisano's Arca di San Domenico and its Legacy* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994); Barbara W. Dodsworth, *The Arca di San Domenico* (New York: Peter Lang, 1995); Klaus Krüger, 'Selbstdarstellung im Konflikt. Zur Repräsentation der Bettelorden im Medium der Kunst', in *Die Repräsentation der Gruppen*, ed. by Otto G. Oexle and Andrea von Hülsen-Esch (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), pp. 127–68; Randi Klebanoff, 'Sacred Magnificence: Civic Intervention and the *Arca* of San Domenico in Bologna', *Renaissance Studies*, 13 (1999), 412–29.

4. '[...] in forma et materia simile per omnia sepulcro beati Dominici, patris nostri [...]'; see Anita Fiderer Moskowitz, 'Giovanni di Balduccio's Arca di San Pietro Martire: Form and Function', *Arte lombarda*, 96–97 (1991), 7–18.

5. See the examples in Jörg Garms, 'Gräber von Heiligen und Seligen', in *Skulptur und Grabmal des Spätmittelalters in Rom und Italien* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990), pp. 31–60.

6. Compare the Dominican bishop Bartolomeo di Vicenza's 'translation' sermon, 5 June 1267: 'De tertio benedicta est benedictione decoris, quod patet ex sculpturis et diversis caelaturis. Si enim Tyrannorum fortia gesta in arcubus, columnis et portis sculpebantur, eritura tamen, et plurimum nocitura, quanto magis mirabilia istius gesta et facta memorie filiorum utiliter et delectabiliter et salubriter commendanda in eternum victura?'. On this, see Andrea Franci, 'Le arche dei Santi: evoluzione e continuità nei monumenti sepolcrali di S. Domenico, S. Pietro Martire e S. Agostino', *Arte Cristiana*, 83 (1995), 157–60.

7. Giorgio Bejor, 'Il reimpiego di sarcophagi antichi nell'Italia Longobarda', in *Colloquio sul reimpiego di sarcophagi romani nel Medioevo*, ed. by Bernard Andreae and Salvatore Settis (Marburg: Verlag des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars, 1984), pp. 93–102.

8. This is not to deny that, alongside this principal form, there were other types of tombs. One thinks, for instance, of the Sienese wall-tomb. See Garms, 'Gräber', *passim*; and idem, 'Arca', in *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1991–), II (1991), 259–62; Moskowitz, *Nicola Pisano's Arca*; Sarah Blake McHam, *The Chapel of St. Anthony at the Santo and the Development of Venetian Renaissance Sculpture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 85–89; Joanna Cannon and André Vauchez, *Margherita of Cortona and the Lorenzetti* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), pp. 53–78.

9. These include the monuments for San Ansovino and San Venanzio, both in Camerino; for San Aniello in Lucca; for Santi Proto, Giacinto, and Nemesio in Florence; and the tomb for Santi Simeone, Giuda, and Saturnino in Verona (see Appendix).

10. See the examples in *Sumptuosa tabula picta. Pittori a Lucca tra gotico e rinascimento*, exh. cat., ed. by Maria T. Filieri (Livorno: Sillabe, 1998), pp. 242–44; see also the frescoed memorial for the blessed Angelo Mazzingi in Florence Cathedral.

11. The earliest ground plan of Arezzo Cathedral dates from 1760. It was published by Marina Armandi, 'Vescovi e committenza, il caso della cattedrale aretina', in *La battaglia di Campaldino: Atti del convegno (Arezzo 1989)*, pp. 234–57, esp. 242; and Stefano Casciu, 'Pianta della cattedrale', in *Mater Christi: Altissime testimonianze del culto della Vergine nel territorio arretino*, exh. cat., ed. by Anna M. Maetzke (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 1996), p. 104.

12. *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, IV, 773–82; see also Alain Boureau, 'Le Calice de Saint Donat. Legende, autorité et argeuil dans la controverse hussite (1414–1415)', *Médiévales*, 16–17 (1989), 209–15; Guglielmo Lützenkirchen, 'Il culto di San Donato di Arezzo nell'Italia centro-meridionale', *Atti e memorie della Accademia Petrarca di Lettere, Arti e Scienze*, 52 (1990), 33–47.

13. These two phases of development were first observed by Alessandro del Vita, *L'altar maggiore del duomo di Arezzo* (Milan: Alfieri & Lacroix, 1911), pp. 7–9; and idem, *Il duomo di Arezzo* (Milan: Alfieri & Lacroix, 1915), pp. 26–40. Del Vita, following Vasari, proposes that Giovanni Pisano was the *'ideatore'* of the entire work. The best available overview of the relevant issues is that of Angelo Tafi, *Arezzo, guida storico-artistica* (Arezzo: Litostampa, 1978), pp. 238–40.

14. Originally, the opening must have been sealed with a grate or a door: compare the similar arrangements of the former high altar of the Florence Baptistry (early thirteenth century) and of the altar of the Old Sacristy in San Lorenzo. In both of these examples, the opening was on the front side of the altar, apparently because the priest preached *versus populum* here. See Giovanni Poggi, 'L'antico altare del battistero fiorentino', *Rivista d'arte*, 7 (1910), 73–87.

15. Ersilia Agnolucci, 'L'arca-altare di San Donato nella cultura artistica del Trecento aretino', *Antichità viva*, 27 (1988), 32–38.

16. The most prominent examples are the now dismantled wall-tomb for Henry VII in the choir of Pisa Cathedral; the tomb for Robert the Wise in Santa Chiara, Naples; and the free-standing monument for Bernabò Visconti in San Bernardo in Conca, Milan, begun before 1363. For these, see, respectively, Volker Herzner, 'Herrscherbild oder Grabfigur? Die Statue eines Thronenden Kaisers und das Grabmal Heinrichs VII. von Tino di Camaino in Pisa', in *Ikonographia*, ed. by Bazon Brock and Achim Preiß (Munich: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1990), pp. 11–77; Johannes Tripps, '*Restauratio imperii*: Tino di Camaino und das Monument Heinrichs VII. in Pisa', in *Grabmäler der Luxemburger*, ed. by

Michael V. Schwarz (Luxemburg: CLUDEM, 1997), pp. 51–78; Lorenz Enderlein, *Die Grablegen des Hauses Anjou in Unteritalien* (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1997); and Allison Lee Palmer, 'Bonino da Campione's Equestrian Monument of Bernabò Visconti and Popular Piety in the Late Middle Ages', *Arte lombarda,* 121 (1997), 57–67.

17. Christa Gardner von Teuffel, 'The Buttressed Altarpiece: A Forgotten Aspect of Tuscan Fourteenth Century Altarpiece Design', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen,* 21 (1979), 21–65.

18. Gert Kreytenberg, *Orcagna's Tabernacle in Orsanmichele, Florence* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994).

19. Examples are found in Max Seidel, 'Condizionamento iconografico e scelta semantica: Simone Martini e la tavola del Beato Agostino Novello', in *Simone Martini,* ed. by Luciano Bellosi (Florence: Centro Di, 1988), pp. 75–80; Marco Pierini, *L'Arca di San Cerbone* (Massa Marittima: Centro Studi Storici 'Agapito Gabrielli', 1995), p. 17. On panels with painted fronts and backs made for tomb-altars, see also Julian Gardner, 'Fronts and Backs: Setting and Structure', in his *Patrons, Painters and Saints* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993), pp. 297–322.

20. Originally, each scene was labelled beneath with a metal inscription. Eleven of the inscriptions are known; following a theft in the nineteenth century, however, only one of the actual labels is left. The Donatus cycle begins beside the central triptych on the front of the altar in the lower register on the right. In all of the literature since Angiolo and Ubaldo Pasquini's *La cattedrale aretina e i suoi monumenti* (Arezzo: Ernesto Bellotti, 1880), pp. 51–65, the eleventh relief has been falsely identified as a 'Salvation of a Man Condemned to Death', and the subjects of the fourth and tenth scenes have been reversed. My captions to figs 4 and 5 indicate the correct subjects. In addition to a lectionary of the Archivio Capitolare in Arezzo, already cited by Pasquini, I have consulted the *Golden Legend,* a twelfth- or thirteenth-century passional in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence (Plut. XX, cod. II, fols [148v–150r]) and Petrus de Natalibus, *Catalogus Sanctorum et gestorum eorum* (Vicenza: Enrico di Ca' Zeno, 1493), lib. VII, cap. xxxiii, fol. &8r. No single text containing every scene shown here is known.

21. For the competition between the Augustinian eremites and both the Dominicans and the priests responsible for San Pietro, as well as for the competition between the cities of Pavia and Milan, see Max Seidel, 'Die Fresken des Ambrogio Lorenzetti in S. Agostino', *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz,* 22 (1978), 185–252; and Anita Fiderer Moskowitz, 'A Tale of Two Cities: Pavia, Milan, and the Arca di Sant'Agostino', *Source,* 11 (1992), 1–9 (Moskowitz appears unfamiliar with Seidel's prior study).

22. On the Tarlati tomb, see Roberto Bartalini, 'Agostino di Giovanni e compagni. I. Una traccia per Agnolo di Ventura', *Prospettiva,* 61 (1991), 21–28; and, most recently, Georgina Pelham, 'Reconstructing the Programme of the Tomb of Guido Tarlati, Bishop and Lord of Arezzo', in *Art, Politics, and Civic Religion in Central Italy, 1261–1352,* ed. by Joanna Cannon and Beth Williamson (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2000), pp. 71–115; for observations about the dubious authenticity of the upper section and other passages, see Herzner, 'Herrscherbild oder Grabfigur', pp. 38–40. A comparable case is discussed in Jean-François Sonnay, 'Paix et Bon Gouvernment: à propos d'un monument funéraire du Trecento', *Arte medievale,* 2 ser., 4.2 (1990), 179–93.

23. Petrus Damianus, Sermo XXXVIII, 'De SS. Donati et Hilariano Martyribus', in *Patrologia Latina,* 144, cols 705–10; and 'De SS. Donato et Hilariano. Hymnus', in ibid., 145, cols 954–56. For the image of the Heavenly Jerusalem in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and its connection to real cities, see Chiara Frugoni, *A Distant City. Images of Urban Experience in the Medieval World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Anna I. Galletti, 'Gerusalemme o la città desiderata', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Moyen Age–Temps Modernes,* 96 (1984), 459–87.

24. Petrus de Natalibus, *Catalogus Sanctorum,* fol. A2r, 'Prologus totius operis': 'Increata sapientia summi verbi [...] volens omnes homines salvos fieri: ut electas sanctorum animas vocaret ad arcem: & ad superne menia civitatis: edificavit sibi domum ecclesie sacrosancte septem excisis columnis fundatam septemplici fundamento: videlicet septiformis gratie stabilitam: muris munitissimis: & turribus altissimis circunseptam: non quidem sculptis lapidibus: aut manufactis lateribus erectis: sed sanctorum meritis invisibiliter fabrefactis [...]'.

25. See the slightly later description in Federico Frezzi, *Il quadriregno,* ed. by Enrico Filippini (Bari: Laterza, 1914), lib. IV, cap. xv, pp. 347f.: 'Paulo mi mise poi nel templo sacro, / fatto di sangue e fatto di fortezza / di santi, morti a duolo acerbo e acro. / Parea ch'andasse al cielo la sua altezza, / edificato in dodici colonne, / e quattro miglia o quasi nell'ampiezza: / [...] / Mai Policleto, né musaica arte, / neanco Giotto fe' cotal lavoro, / qual era quel di quelle menbra sparte / [...]'.

26. Petrus Damianus, *Sermo,* col. 709f.

27. A painted example can be found on a family tomb in the Bardio di Vernio Chapel in Santa Croce, Florence; the meaning of the *elevatio* scene on the Margharete tomb in Genoa is contested; see most recently Johannes Tripps, 'Eine Schutzheilige für Dynastie und Reich. Giovanni Pisano und das Grabmal der Margarete von Brabant in Genua', in *Grabmäler der Luxemburger,* pp. 27–49.

28. Daniela Galoppi Nappini, 'Nuovi contributi allo studio dell'oreficeria aretina trecentesca', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia,* 3 ser., 14.2 (1984), 581–601; Diana Webb, *Patrons and Defenders. The Saints in the Italian City-States* (London and New York: Tauris, 1996), pp. 66–68, 118, 222–24.

29. Arezzo, Archivio della Fraternità dei Laici, Libro dei Testamenti A, segn. 726, fol. 44r, Testament of Iacopo da Bibiena, 14 February 1362: 'Item reliquit operi episcopatus civitatis aretii ob Reverentiam pretiosi martiris sancti donati episcopi / cuius corpus [...] est reinventum in catecdalj (*sic*) ecclesia. Libras decem'.

30. The tomb was only transferred to the right side aisle of the church in 1810; see Gianna Bardotti Biasion, 'Il monumento di Gregorio X ad Arezzo', in *Skulptur und Grabmal,* pp. 265–73.

31. On civic patrons, see André Vauchez, 'Patronage des saints et religion civique dans l'Italie communale à la fin du Moyen Age', in *Patronage and Public in the Trecento,* ed. by Vincent Moleta (Florence: Olschki, 1986), pp. 59–80; see also Alba M. Orselli, *L'immaginario religioso della città medievale* (Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole, 1985); and Webb, *Patrons and Defenders, passim.*

32. The importance of the relics of a patron for the existence of a city was demonstrated in 1362, when, following the destruction of Forlimpopoli, Albornoz transferred the bones of San Rufillo to Forlì and had a new tomb built for them. See Michele Maccarrone, 'La traslazione di S. Rufillo nel 1362 e la sua arca in Forlì', *Rivista per la storia della chiesa in Italia,* 5 (1951), 358–71.

33. Giovanni L. De Bonis, *Liber inferni aretii*, ed. by Arturo Bini, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, 15.1 (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, n.d.), p. 26 (this appeared well after 1386): 'Odi che fe' un crudel pattarino: / ruppe, du' sta, il co' di san Donato, / nè curò ch'esso fusse sacro o divino; / e l'ornamento ebbe dirobbato / e lassolli 'a cuca remonita: / el presul nostro e martire beato!'. On the historical situation in Arezzo in the second half of the fourteenth century (with further bibliography), see Augusto Antoniella, 'Affermazione e forme istitutionali della dominazione fiorentina sul territorio di Arezzo (secc. XIV–XVI)', *Annali aretini*, 1 (1993), 173–203.

34. Giorgio Chittolini, *La formazione dello stato regionale e le istituzioni del contado* (Turin: Einaudi, 1979); Ovidio Capitani, 'Dal Comune alla Signoria', in *Storia d'Italia*, ed. by Giuseppe Galasso (Turin: UTET, 1979–84), IV (1981), 135–75.

35. See the general observations in Daniel Arasse, '*Ad perpetuam memoriam*. Les nouvelles fonctions de l'image peinte en Italie: 1250–1400', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Moyen Age–Temps Moderns*, 100 (1988), 541–615; Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Richard Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300–1600* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), esp. pp. 109–14.

36. Roberto Rusconi, *L'attesa della fine: Crisi della società, profezia, ed Apocalisse in Italia al tempo del grande scisma d'Occidente (1378–1417)* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 1979).

37. This was contemporary with the 1430 renovation of the second tomb for Catherine of Siena (originally erected 1380), as well as with the competition for the relics of Saint Monica; see Lidia Bianchi, 'Il sepolcro di S. Caterina da Siena', in *Iconografia di S. Caterina da Siena*, ed. by Lidia Bianchi and Diega Giunta (Rome: Città Nuova, 1988), pp. 15–62.

38. Antonio degli Agli, *Vitae gestaque sanctorum*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3742, fol. [1v]; the *vita* of Saint Donatus is in lib. VIII, cap. ii, fols [143r–143v]; for the author and his work, see Diana M. Webb, 'Sanctity and History: Antonio degli Agli and Humanist Hagiography', in *Florence and Italy. Renaissance Studies in Honour of Nicolai Rubinstein*, ed. by Peter Denley and Caroline Elam (London: Westfield College, 1988), pp. 297–308.

39. André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. by Jean Birrell, rev. edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Richard Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls. Fourteenth-Century Saints and their Religious Milieu* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1984); Claudio Leonardi, 'Committenze agiografiche nel Trecento', in *Patronage and Public*, pp. 37–58.

40. Claudio Leonardi, 'Intellectuals and Hagiography in the Fourteenth Century', in *Intellectuals and Writers in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. by Piero Boitani and Anna Torti (Tübingen and Cambridge: Gunther Narr and D. S. Brewer, 1985), pp. 7–21; Emilio Pasqualini, 'La santità nella letteratura italiana del Trecento', in *Santi e santità nel secolo XIV* (Perugia: Università degli Studi, 1989), pp. 23–53.

41. See the examples in Aviad M. Kleinberg, 'Proving Sanctity: Selection and Authentication of Saints in the Later Middle Ages', *Viator*, 20 (1989), 183–205; Dominique Rigaux, 'Par la grâce du pinceau. Canonisation et image aux derniers siècles du Moyen Age', in *Santità, culti, agiografia*, ed. by Sofia Boesch Gajano (Rome: Viella, 1997), pp. 275–98; Letizia Pellegrini, 'Agiografia e santità dei Mendicanti: il caso di Nicola da Tolentino', in *Agiografia e culto dei santi nel Piceno*, ed. by Enrico Menestò (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1998), pp. 153–72.

42. Giles Constable, 'Twelfth-Century Spirituality and the Late Middle Ages', *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 5 (1971), 27–60; Scott H. Hendrix, 'In Quest of the *Vera Ecclesia*: The Crisis of Late Medieval Ecclesiology', *Viator*, 7 (1976), 347–78; Mario Fois, 'L'Osservanza come espressione della Ecclesia sempre renovanda', in *Problemi di storia della chiesa nei secoli XV–XVII* (Naples: Edizioni Dehoniane, 1979), pp. 13–107.

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47. Early examples are the tombs of San Arealdo, San Imero, San Donnino and the Santi Martiri Persiani; see Appendix.

48. See the examples in *I monumenti Borromeo*, ed. by Mauro Natale (Turin: Umberto Allemandi, 1996).

49. It was for this reason, for example, that the de' Lupi tomb in the oratory of San Giorgio in Padua was dismantled in 1592: people were mistakenly venerating the *Stützentumba*, with its baldachin, as a saint's tomb. See Mary D. Edwards, 'The Tomb of Raimondino de' Lupi and its Setting', *The Rutgers Art Review*, 3 (1982), 37–49.

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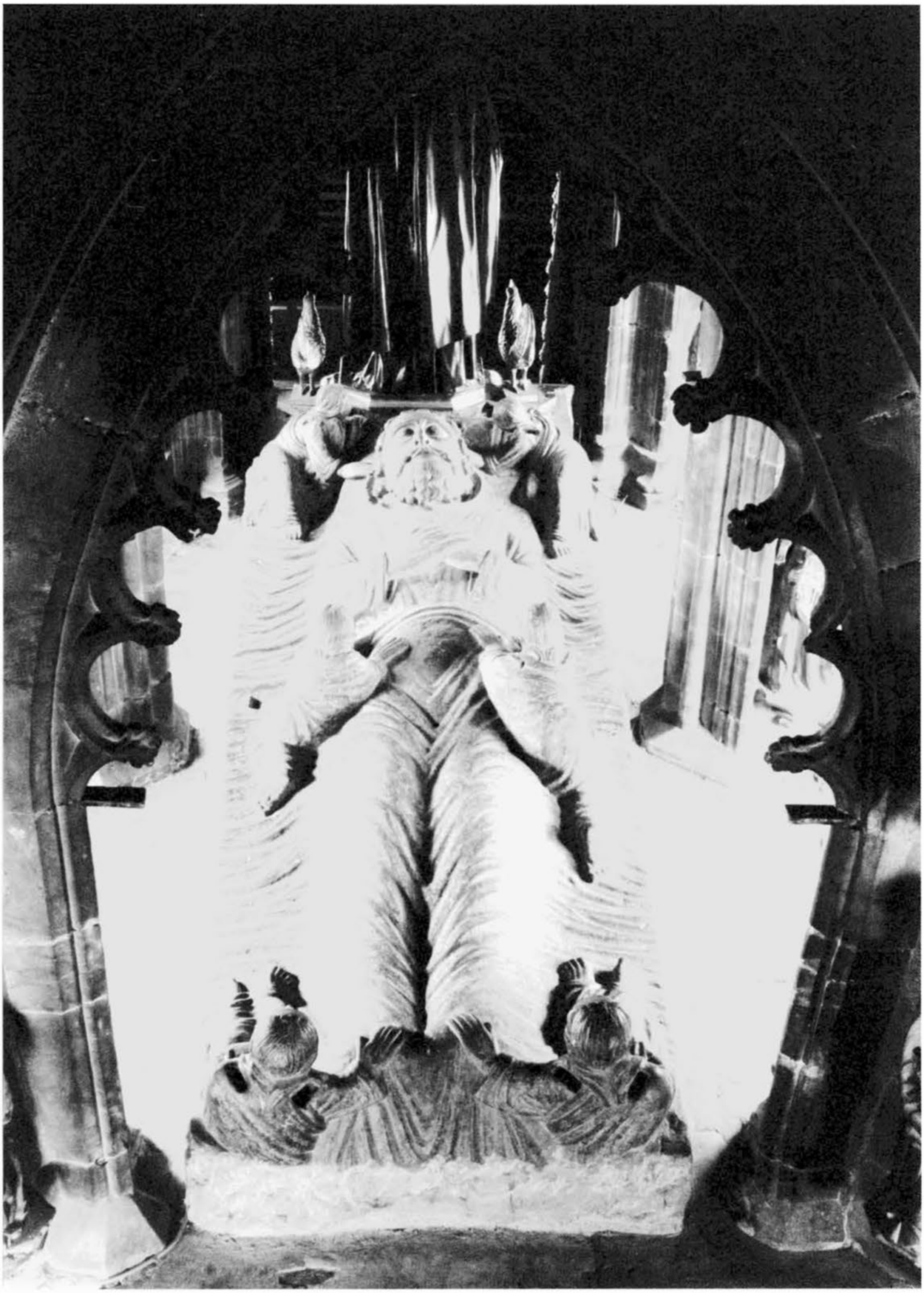
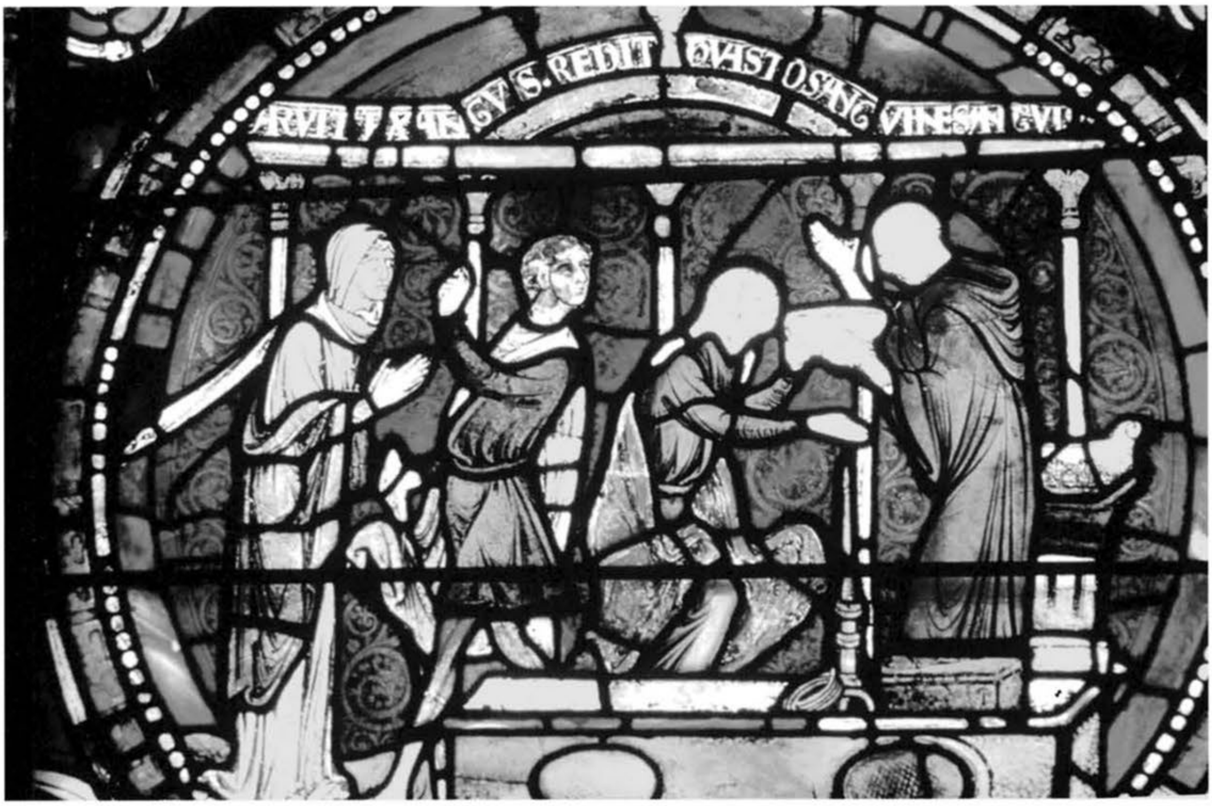
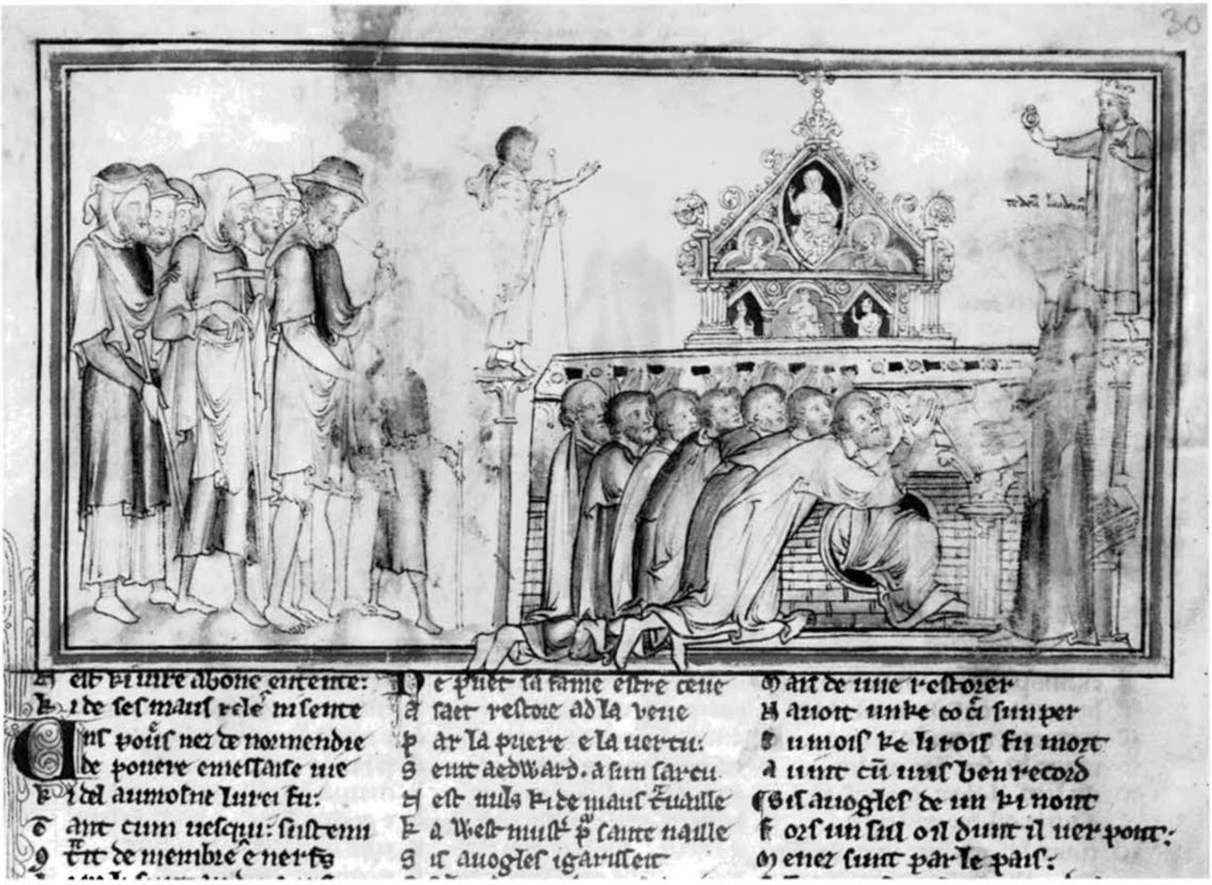
PLATES



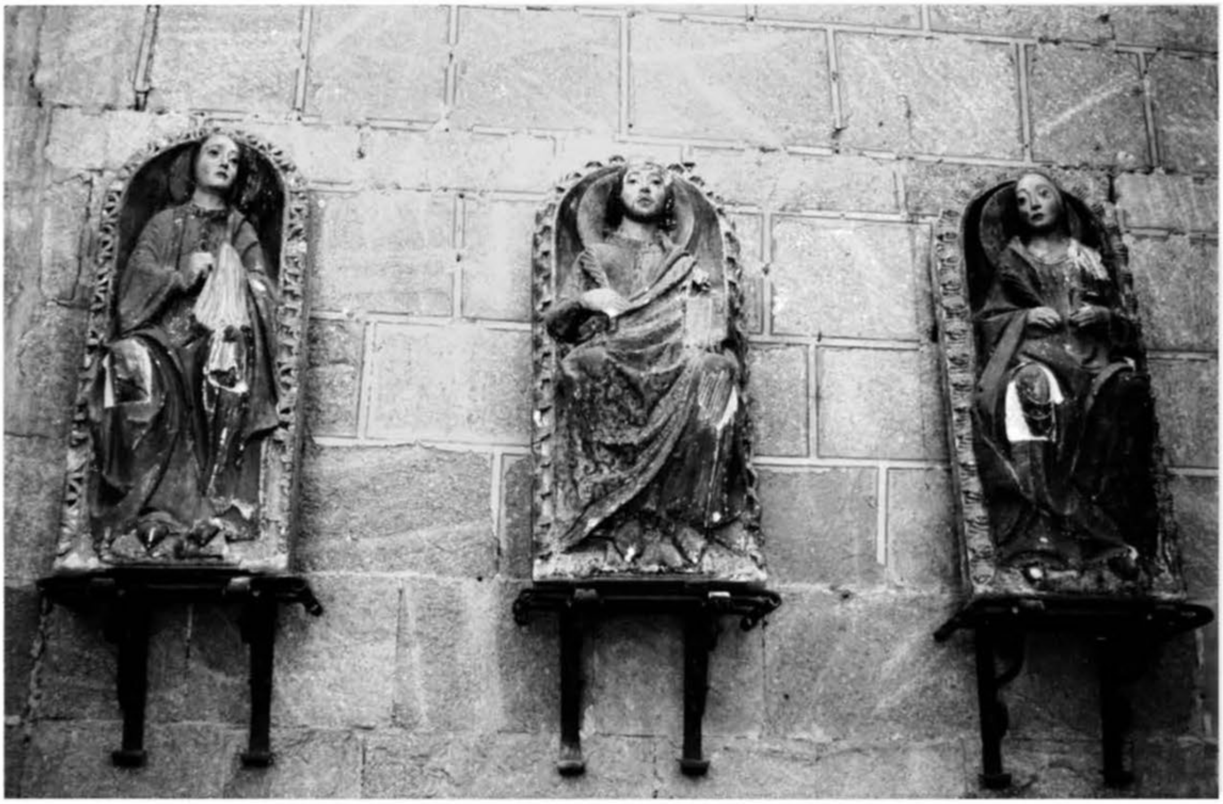
Pl. 1. Effigy of Santo Domingo of La Calzada, *c.* 1210–25. Cathedral of Santo Domingo de la Calzada (photo: Domingo Contreras)



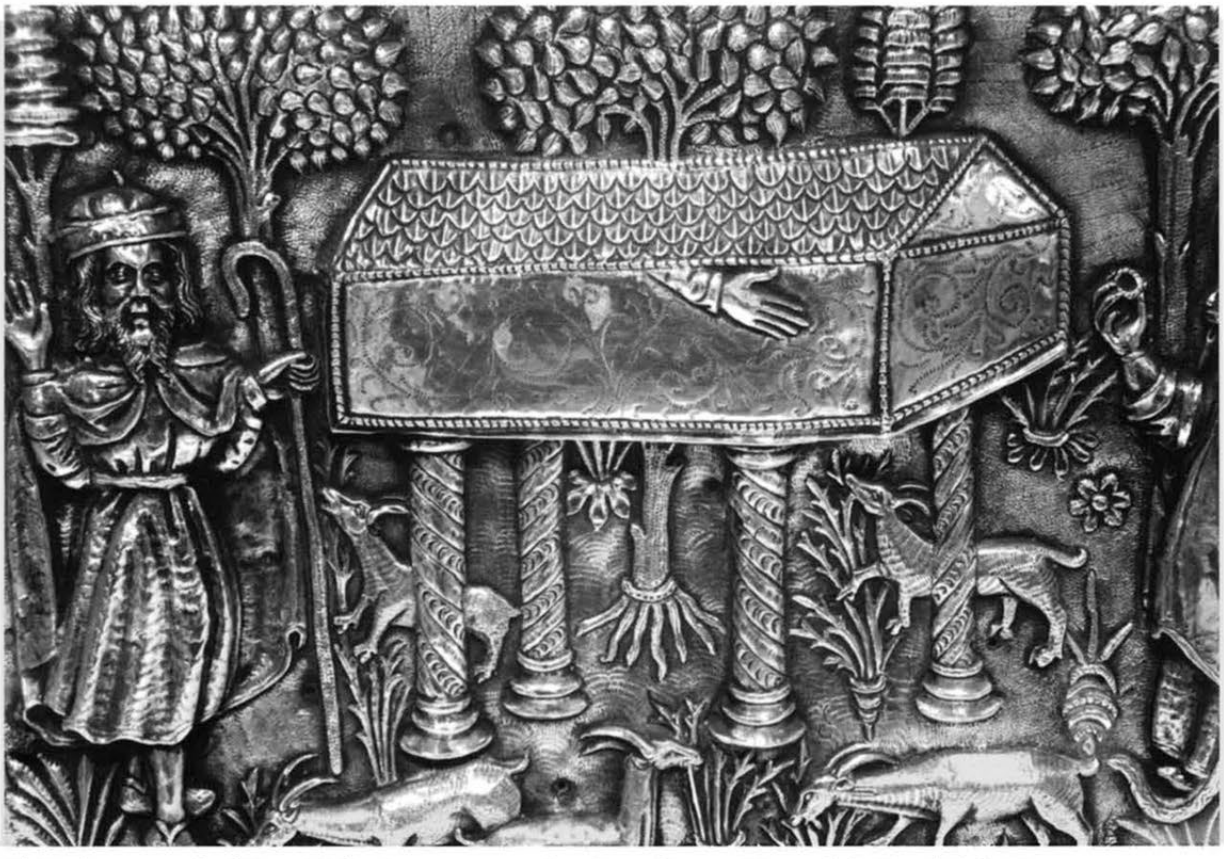
Pl. 2. Ethelreda of Canterbury Taking the Cure at the Tomb of Thomas Becket, late twelfth century, stained glass window. North aisle, Trinity Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral (photo: Anthony Scibilia/Art Resource, NY)



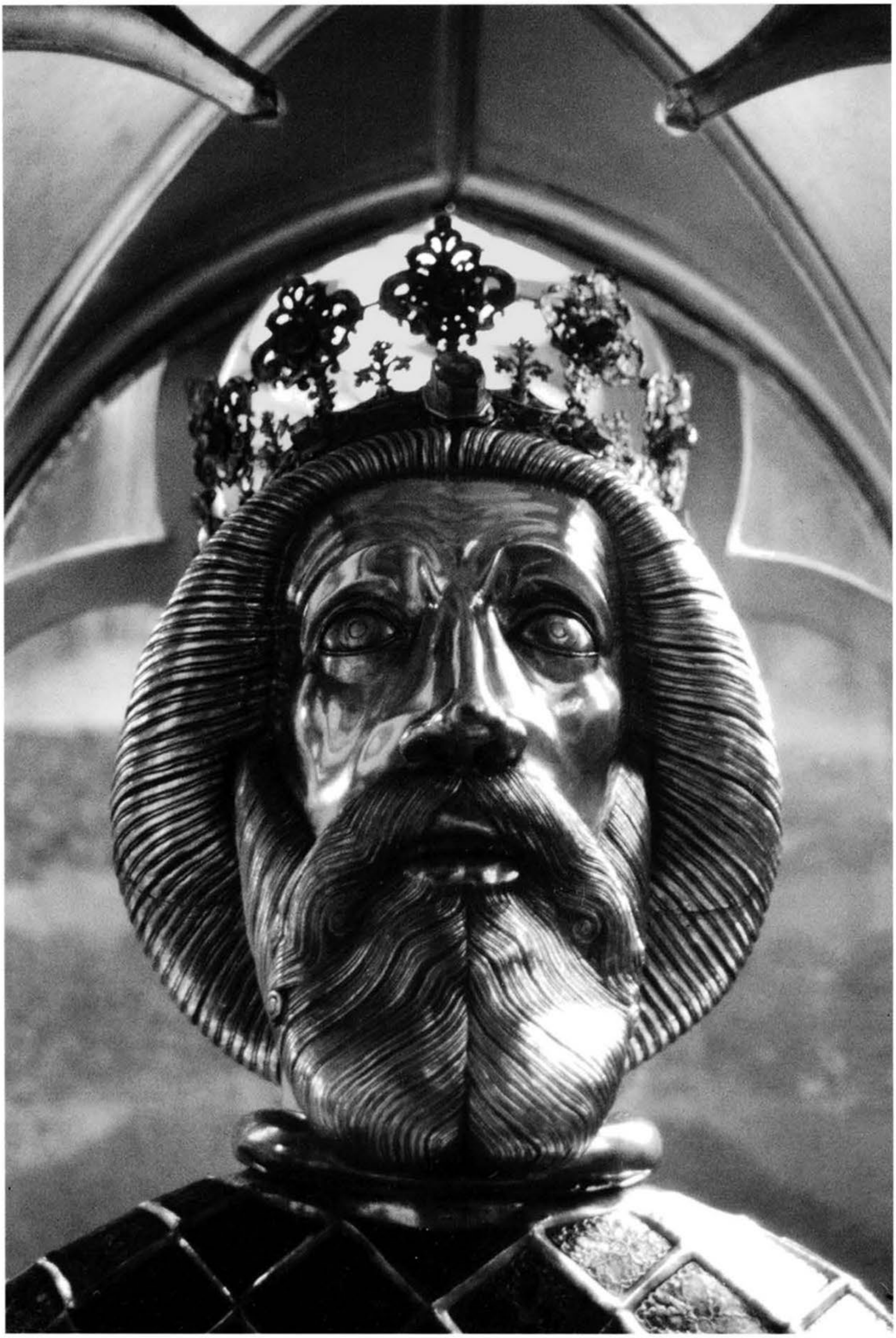
Pl. 3. Blind Men Cured at the Shrine of Saint Edward, *La estoire de seint Aedward le rei* (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee. 3.59, fol. 30r), *c.* 1250–60 (photo: by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library)



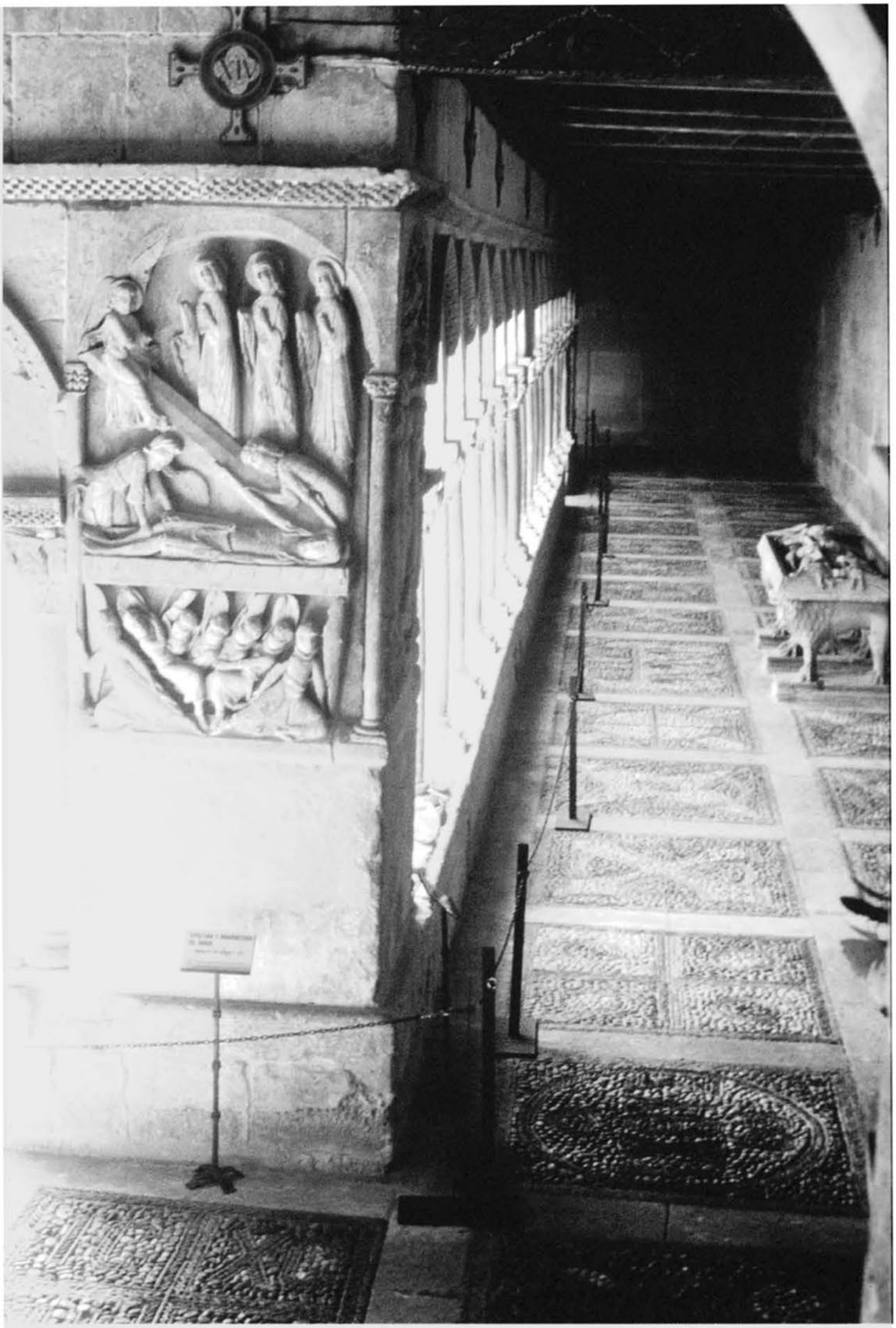
Pl. 4. Stone effigies of Saints Vincent, Sabina, and Cristeta. Church of San Vicente in Ávila (photo: D. Rico)



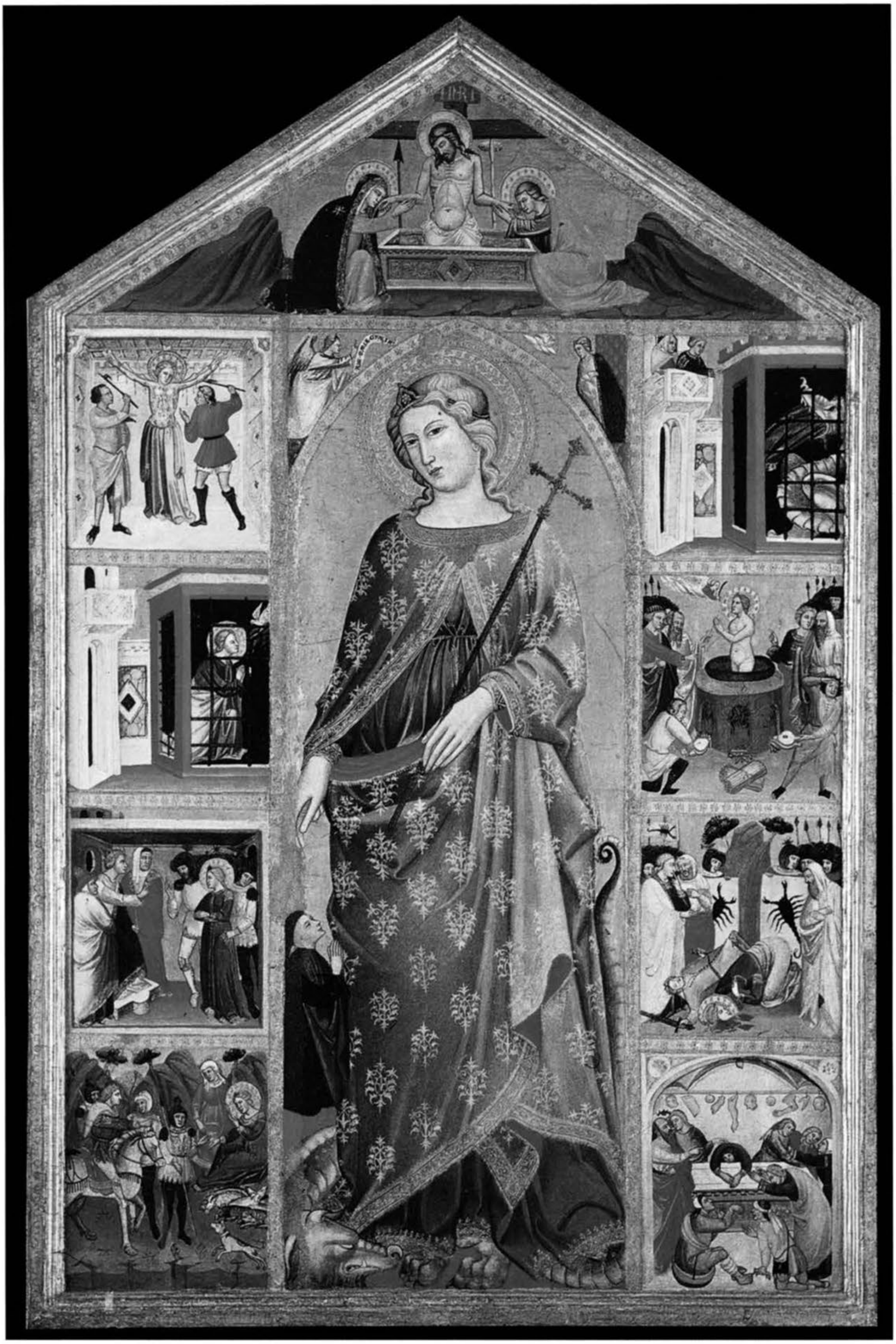
Pl. 5. The cenotaph of Santa Eufemia as represented on her reliquary. Museo de la Catedral de Ourense (photo: E. Carrero)



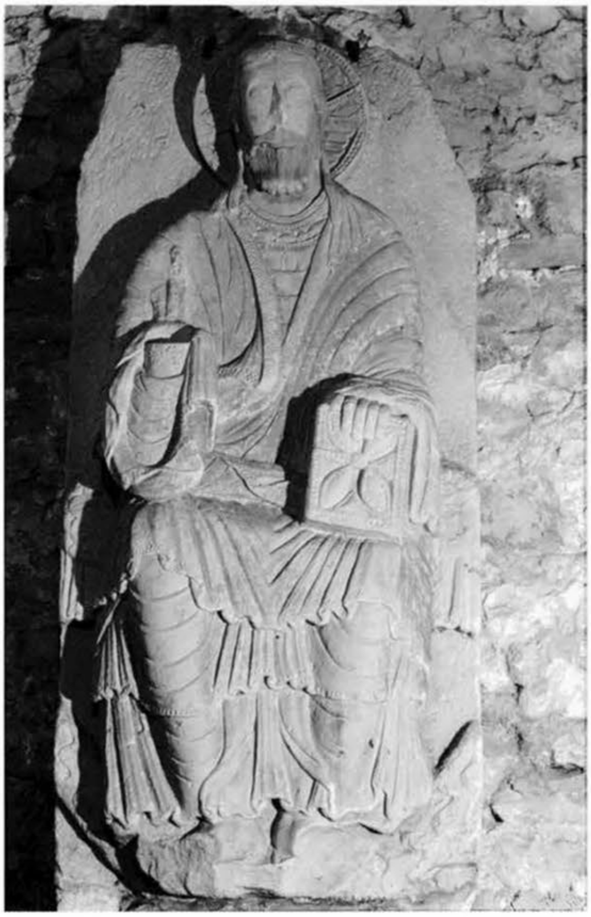
Pl. 6. Reliquary bust of Saint Ladislas, between 1357–78, silver, partially gilded, enamel. Györ Cathedral (photo: S. Montgomery & A. Bauer)



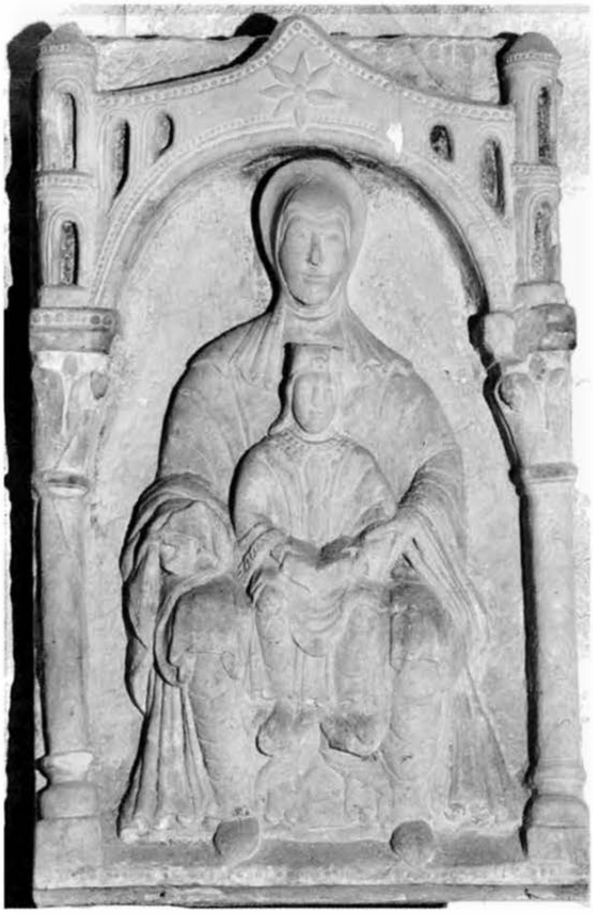
Pl. 7. Cloister of Santo Domingo de Silos, view from stairs of Romanesque south transept to north gallery, *c.* 1100, with original burial site of Domingo marked by cenotaph (photo: C. & E. V. del Álamo)



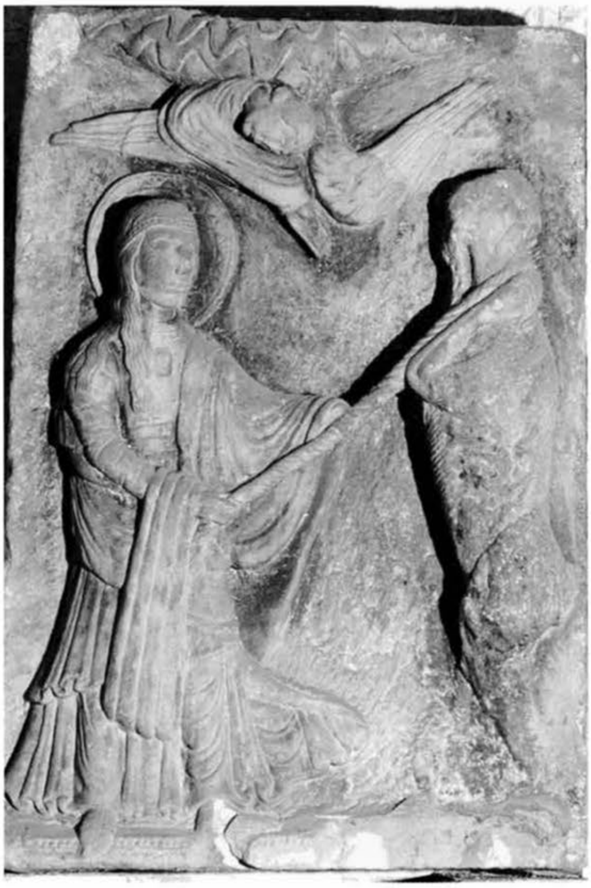
Pl. 8. Saint Margaret and Stories of Her Life, manner of Turino Vanni, *c.* 1349–1438, tempera on wood panel. Vatican Collection (photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY)



Pl. 9



Pl. 10



Pl. 11

Pl. 9. Christ in Majesty, late twelfth century, polychromed limestone. Santillana del Mar (photo: F. Español)

Pl. 10. Virgin and Child under canopy, fragment of an Epiphany, late twelfth century, polychromed limestone. Santillana del Mar (photo: F. Español)

Pl. 11. Saint Juliana Taming the Devil, late twelfth century, polychromed limestone. Santillana del Mar (photo: F. Español)

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